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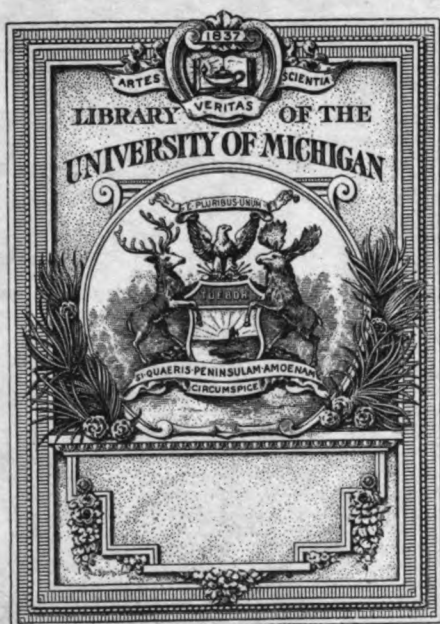
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The Critical review of theological & philosophical literature

Stewart Dingwall
Fordyce Salmond



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The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation.

By Albrecht Ritschl, the Positive Development of the Doctrine. English Translation. Edited by H. R. Mackintosh, D. Phil., Tayport, and A. B. Macaulay, M.A., Forfar. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900. Pp. 670. Price 14s.

AT last there is provided what has been a desideratum for years—a really reliable translation of the great dogmatic work on *Justification* by which the most noted of modern theologians chiefly made his mark on the thinking of his age. “Ritschl” and “Anti-Ritschl” have been long bandied about as watchwords of controversy, but the English reader has hitherto had a difficulty in getting to close quarters with the man whose thoughts have been the occasion of so much stir. “Ritschlian Theology” is a term made to cover a great deal more than Ritschl’s own contributions to theological system; yet, while books like Kaftan’s *Truth of the Christian Religion*, Herrmann’s *Communion with God*, Harnack’s *History of Dogma*, supposed to represent Ritschlianism, have been translated, there has always been a shrinking—due, it may be presumed, to the ponderous and involved nature of Ritschl’s style—from grappling with the master himself. The courageous translators who undertook the task of rendering Ritschl’s dogmatic tome into lucid and readable English were certainly not to be envied in their work. It is all the more to their credit that the difficulties of their enterprise have been so successfully overcome, and that we are at length in possession of a translation which, in point of accuracy, clearness, and frequently even felicity of expression, is nearly all that the most exacting could desire.

Of the *collaborateurs* in the translation the main responsibility has lain with the Rev. Dr. Mackintosh, of Tayport, to

whom also the greatest individual share in the work belongs. The freshness and intelligence of Dr. Mackintosh's part of the translation speaks not only to his mastery of the language, and happy faculty of conveying its meaning in nervous and idiomatic English, but to his grasp also of Ritschl's ideas and general scheme of thought, without which the most skilled of translators must often feel himself fumbling in the dark. It is a guarantee of the excellence of the work as a whole that Dr. Mackintosh declares himself in every case responsible for the rendering finally adopted. His coadjutors, however, the Rev. A. B. Macaulay, M.A., of Forfar, the Rev. A. R. Gordon, M.A., of Monikie, the Rev. R. A. Lendrum, M.A., of Kirkliston, and the Rev. James Strachan, M.A., of St. Fergus, show by their independent work that they need commendation from no man. The distribution of chapters seems to have been skilfully made, and the translation generally reaches a high level of excellence. The English reader, therefore, may rest satisfied that he has in this volume a faithful reproduction of Ritschl's principal work; and that, in founding on it, he is in practically as good a position for judging of the system as those who have access to the original. In some respects he is even more favourably situated, for, in reading so extensive and cumbrous a book, one may catch points in English which are apt to be overlooked in exploring at first hand the dense jungles of the German.

The translators are specially to be congratulated on the way in which they have often succeeded in disentangling Ritschl's intricate and lumbering paragraphs, and brought daylight into statements disconcerting in their obscurity. If, in spite of all, the translation is heavy to read, if one often feels as if wandering in a mist, or tends to lose patience with iterations and circumlocutions that might easily, one may think, have been avoided or curtailed, this is to be laid at the door, not of the translators, but of the author. For this is Ritschl's greatest defect in method—his mind works with large, vague, looming conceptions, which it is difficult ever to reduce to precise or consistent expression—which he

is constantly going round and round, and stating in new and varying forms, while his course of exposition obeys no recognisable law, but is marked by the most provoking desultoriness and repetition. If one pictures the task of hewing a path through a forest with a dash of fog thrown in, he will not have a very inaccurate idea of what working through these chapters of Ritschl's means. On the other hand, to avoid a false impression, let it be said that the reader who perseveres will soon begin to realise that it is a remarkably powerful, original and penetrative mind that is working behind all this apparent vagueness. He will feel growing up in his apprehension a sense of unity of another kind, of a range and concatenation of ideas that hold together in an original combination from their author's point of view. He will discover that he is moving in a world of thought different from that to which he is accustomed, and that there is gradually shaping itself in his consciousness a knowledge of what really constitutes the inwardness of Ritschlianism. Even where he disagrees, he will be compelled to acknowledge that it is always the deepest questions that are being raised, and that the criticism of current conceptions is of the most searching kind. This might *a priori* be expected in view of what Ritschl's influence has actually been.

In a translation to which such praise is given it may seem invidious to point out minor blemishes and defects. These in any case are not numerous, and no one who has ever tried to put Ritschl into English for himself will be disposed to make much of faults or slips of others. Misprints, so far as we have observed, are rare in the volume. "Primitive" for "punitive" (p. 255), and "alternitatis" for "æternitatis" (p. 325) are examples. For the rest, sometimes a choice of renderings may be a matter of taste; sometimes it may depend on difference of understanding of the author's meaning. But there remain instances—happily none of them serious—in which the point, if not missed, appears at least blunted, or is not made perfectly clear by the translation. In the definition of Christianity, *e.g.*, it would have been

better, we think, if, instead of co-ordinating the clauses, "involves the impulse to conduct from the motive of love, aims at the moral organisation of mankind" (p. 13), Ritschl's form of statement had been adhered to: "involves the impulse to conduct . . . which aims at the moral organisation of mankind" (das auf die sittliche Organisation der Menschheit gerichtet ist). Distinguishing between "concomitant" and "independent" judgments of value, Ritschl says, on p. 205: "But all perceptions of moral ends or moral hindrances, in so far as they excite moral pleasure and pain . . . are *independent* value-judgments," adding a sentence or two further down: "Religious knowledge forms another class of independent value-judgments". The translation unfortunately transposes subject and predicate in the former sentence to the obscuring of the sense—"But *independent* value-judgments are all perceptions of moral ends," etc. The soul's "self-existence" is hardly the best equivalent for "Existenz an sich" and "Ansich der Seele" (pp. 20, 21). "Self-existence" has the suggestion of *causa sui*. Perhaps, on p. 25, "generally" would be better than "universally" in the sentence "the Christian ideal of life, and no other, satisfies the claims of the human spirit to knowledge of things universally". Ritschl does not mean that the Christian ideal confers omniscience, but that it accords with the demand for a satisfying general view of things. On p. 28 we read: "From the social character of religion we can gather that, in a complete view of it, its relation to the world must necessarily be included". Ritschl, however, is not thinking of a complete view of religion, but of the complete view of things (*Gesamtanschauung*) which religion leads us to form, in which he says a relation to the world is necessarily included. In the same context (p. 29) is not "professes to possess" for "zu besitzen verspricht" a little aside from Ritschl's idea, which tallies rather with such a usage as the day "promises" well? The point of view is the subjective. Man is sustained by such a view of God as awakens the confidence that he possesses, etc. In describing justification (p. 38), religious "peculiarity" or "character-

istic," might be better than "character," which is apt to suggest the idea of moral renovation Ritschl wishes to avoid. As a statement of Tieftrunk's view, the sentence "not merely as a result of the law" (p. 93) should surely rather be "not merely for the sake of the law" (nicht bloss um des Gesetzes willen). In this connection "reconcilability" (Versöhnlichkeit) and "irreconcilability" (Unversöhnlichkeit) do not convey quite a clear idea in such a sentence as "the second (pre-requisite) when reconcilability becomes a commandment of outstanding importance in the law, and when irreconcilability, conceived as the law of a moral kingdom, would be self-contradictory" (p. 93). It is the element of placability (reconcilableness) and implacability in God which is in view, and the meaning is (expounding Tieftrunk) that placability in God is an obligatory demand or prescription of the moral law (eine hervorragende Pflichtvorschrift im Gesetze), and that the opposite supposition would be self-contradictory. On p. 86, "to estimate the characteristic note of faith which is to be found in the objects of justification along with, and apart from, their consciousness of guilt," is surely an unfortunate periphrasis for "to estimate the mark of faith which, besides the consciousness of guilt, has to be taken account of in the objects of justification," which is the plain sense of the German (das ausser dem Schuldbewusstsein zu beachtende Merkmal des Glaubens zu beurtheilen). Similarly, on p. 106, in place of Ritschl's statement: "The marks which distinguish Christianity as a religion, and those which denote its ethical purpose, must not be confused with one another, if Christianity in both respects is not to be distorted and falsified" (nicht in einander gewirrt werden dürfen, wenn das Christenthum nicht in beiden Beziehungen getrübt und verfälscht werden soll), we have the needlessly paraphrastic form: "The characteristic marks . . . are therein confused with each other; whereas, if Christianity is not to be distorted and falsified in both respects, they ought to be clearly distinguished." In the chapter on Sin, the translator, we think, in one or two instances misses the idea. Thus, on p. 345, we read:

"The sin of individual persons, as Paul declares, then arises only because the doom of death is already valid for all individuals in virtue of the divine decree". The "because" and "only" here completely change the sense, which, as the context shows, is that the sinning of individuals takes place in a condition of things where already death is valid for all (apart from such sinning, *cf.* p. 347) by an act of divine judgment. This, too, is the meaning of the German (Das Sündigen der Einzelnen finden statt, indem schon jenes Todesverhängniss für alle Einzelnen in kraft des göttlichen Urtheils giltig ist). On the next page (346) the rendering "the sinful state of the many which, in his (Paul's) opinion, is latent in Adam's disobedience," might suggest the idea of transmission of depravity by generation, which Ritschl seeks to exclude. "Sündenstand" had better be translated as on p. 347, "status of sin," and "involved" (enthalten) might be less ambiguous than "latent". The discussion of the distinction of sin and crime on p. 334, throws light back upon an earlier passage where that distinction is a little blurred. On p. 27 we read: "The conception of sin committed by men is also, it is true, a religious one, as distinct from injustice and crime". What Ritschl aims at saying is, that the notion of sin is certainly also a religious one, in distinction from that of injustice and crime. Materially the acts are the same, but in describing them as *sin* we estimate them in comparison with God's precept and honour. To take only another instance, it is distinctly ambiguous if we read, as on p. 330: "On that basis Christ can be understood only as the Bearer of God's operation against sin". This *might* be understood in the sense of endurance of the consequences of transgression (sin-bearer). The ambiguity would be removed if some such expression as "the representative of the divine operation in counteracting sin (or directed against sin)" were employed (der Träger der göttlichen Gegenwirkung gegen die Sünde). A verbal criticism may be offered on the word "primitive" on page 390, "the primitive formula of the One Person in two natures". Ritschl would hardly grant that this formula was "primitive"

“Old ecclesiastical” (altkirchliche) would better express the meaning.

As already hinted, even to bring these stray illustrations together is almost an unfairness to the book, the general and all but uniform excellence of which casts such criticisms into the shade. In the event of a new edition being called for, however, some of them may be felt worthy of consideration.

The scope of this notice does not permit of lengthened review of the theological positions of the book, for which in other circumstances the publication of a translation might afford a tempting opportunity. The reader will readily discover to his satisfaction that throughout the work there breathes the profoundest conviction of the reality and completeness of the revelation of God in Jesus Christ; of the truth and worth of Christianity as the perfect spiritual and moral religion; of the dignity of Christ's Person, and indispensableness of His work, within the limits set by the rejection of everything which Ritschl would call metaphysical (pre-existence, union of divine and human “natures”) and legal; of the freedom of access to God accorded to believers, unhindered by the consciousness of guilt; of the religious elevation and freedom from the world attainable through trust in God, and the sublimity of the moral task imposed by the ideal of the kingdom of God. In one sense the closing section of Ritschl's book—that on the religious and moral functions springing out of reconciliation—is the key to the whole, for the goal to which all religion is directed is attained by faith in God's Fatherly providence, and devotion to the ethical ends of the kingdom. It is when the reader goes a little deeper that he finds reason to doubt whether these ideas, which have so remarkably Christian an imprint, are apprehended in a manner truly in accord with the Christian revelation and consciousness of reconciliation. This question will be specially pressed upon him by Ritschl's withdrawal of the whole sphere of religious knowledge from contact with theoretic thought, and the setting forth of such knowledge in the form of what he is pleased to call “independent value-judgments”; by his polemic against

an abiding nature in the soul and in God ; by his thoroughgoing attack on the idea of a divine essential righteousness, and his rejection of a punitive or retributive moral order ; by his substitution of the revelation-Person of Jesus Christ, which has for us the "religious value" of God, for an essential Deity of the Redeemer ; by his denial of hereditary sinfulness ; by his view of justification, which, if contrasted with the Roman Catholic "*Gerechtmachung*" is just as little, in a real sense, the "*Gerechtsprechung*" of Paul and of the Evangelical Church, seeing that legal or forensic ideas are altogether excluded from it ; with many other points that will readily occur. He will find, at any rate, abundance of paradoxes to solve, and apparent inconsistencies to reconcile, in one place, *e.g.*, the contention that "religion and theoretic knowledge are different functions of spirit which, when they deal with the same object, are not even partially coincident, but wholly diverge" (p. 194) ; in another, a rebuke of Kant for opposing practical and theoretical reason, since "knowledge of the laws of our action is also theoretical knowledge, for it is knowledge of the laws of our spiritual life" (p. 222) ; in one place, an energetic combating of the idea of an essential nature in God (pp. 240, 283), in another, mention of "the law of love, the authority of which is based in the very nature of God" (p. 253) ; in one place, the representation of God as "the Author and the Active Representative of the moral law" (p. 58), and agreement with Kant in his description of God as "the Moral Creator and Ruler of the world" (p. 219), in others, a keen antagonism to every conception which makes "law" in any degree determinative of the relations of God and men (*e.g.* pp. 95, 261). Throughout the book "forgiveness of sins," or "justification," is rightly put in the forefront as the first necessity of the sinner, and is frequently spoken of as an act or judgment of God altering the relation of the sinner to Himself ; in passages that take us more into the interior of the system we learn that forgiveness is not an act in time at all, and relates, not to the individual, but to the community, does not denote, therefore, any change in God's relation to the sinner other-

wise than as that is implied in a change in the sinner's relation to God. From the "religious" or "temporal" point of view, we may "have the impression of a change from divine wrath to divine mercy," but this is simply "because we cannot but regard and judge our relations to God under the form of time" (pp. 323-5). "Forgiveness," in truth, is, in the strict sense, a misnomer in the system. Ritschl's theology, if it is to be rightly apprehended, needs to be taken as a whole, and if it is so regarded, it will present itself as a very unique and striking, but in many respects also very challengeable, product of a strong, but not always particularly coherent, mind.

JAMES ORR.

Kurzer Hand-commentar zum Alten Testament. Lieferung 10. Das Buch Jesaia erklärt.

Von Karl Marti. Tübingen, Freiburg i. B., und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. Large 8vo, pp. xxvi. + 428. Price 7s. net.

MARTI's commentary on Isaiah has been eagerly looked for, and will not disappoint its readers. So much has been written about Isaiah during the last ten years that he has the best of opportunities for bringing some of the problems to be solved some steps nearer to a final solution. The best of scholars cannot afford to disregard his predecessors, and Marti shows no disposition to neglect them; he is therefore sure to produce a better book than a self-centred scholar. The comparative narrowness of his limits is no doubt a disadvantage, but such a well-equipped scholar and such a skilful writer as Marti will know how to minimise this hindrance.

Passing over the introductory summary of results, the due criticism of which would expand this article too much, I turn at once to chap. i. There the unity of vers. 2-17 is ably maintained; this is facilitated by omitting ver. 6b as a gloss. Marti's restoration of vers. 10-17, metrical superfluities being rejected, is certainly very attractive. For the rest of the chapter Marti proposes views which are partly new. Ver. 18 is an independent utterance of Isaiah of uncertain date. Vers. 19 f. belong to the period of the negotiations with Egypt (705); vers. 21-26 are a little poem of about the same date; vers. 27-31, a late passage, referring to the early Samaritans, about B.C. 440. To this separation of ver. 18 from vers. 19 f. I am at present disinclined. Wellhausen's and Duhm's well-known explanations are forced; Marti's also fails to

commend itself to me. The redactor of chap. i. certainly saw no sarcasm in ver. 18. But just admit the correction of **חרב** in ver. 20 which I proposed in the *Expositor*, June, 1899, and Isaiah's authorship of vers. 19, 20 receives a blow; it was not Isaiah who said, "If ye be willing and obedient, carob-pods shall ye eat". That neither ver. 18a nor ver. 20b is Isaiah's, is admitted by Marti; if we further admit that vers. 19, 20a is not Isaiah's, it becomes hardly worth while to defend the Isaianic origin of ver. 18b. Treat this passage as post-exilic, and a reference to the possible forgiveness of the sins of Judah is no longer improbable (cf. Ps. li. 7 [9]).

Marti's view that vers. 27-31 possesses literary unity, seems to me doubtful. There is colour and definiteness in vers. 29-31, but not in vers. 27 f., which are also more effective at the close of the poem, vers. 21-26. Marti's defence of **חסן** and **פעלו** (ver. 31) does not go to the root of the matter. But the passage no doubt needs further correction. Ruben has corrected **ניצוץ** into **נעצוץ**; in **נערת** I have lately ventured to recognise **תנור**; **החסן** should probably be **החפן**. If I am right in these suggestions, we should render ver. 31:—

And the **Ḥammân** shall become a furnace,
And his maker thorns;
And they shall both burn together,
And none shall quench them.

That the author should still (as in 1899 in his *Geschichte der Israelit. Religion*) deny the Isaianic authorship of ii. 2-4, ix. 1-6 and xi. 1-9—passages of the greatest interest and of historical value for the time to which they really belong—is not surprising. Three clearly written small type *Excursus* justify the post-exilic date here assigned to these passages. The author's adhesion to the most prevalent rendering of **אבי עד** (ix. 5), combined with Toy's suggestion of **מבין** as a possible correction, has led me to reinvestigate the whole passage. That my own correction of **עד** into **הד** **אבי** into "glorious father, or, governor" (not, "possessor of majesty,"

as Marti gives the rendering) is only plausible, I admit. But no explanation of **מְבִי עֵד** seems to me even plausible, and the other difficulties of the fourfold title assigned to the great king in our Bible compel one to look more sceptically into the text. The result is to my own mind highly satisfactory. The title, it is true, loses in magniloquence, but the whole prophetic vision gains, and the twofold name, which is all that I can find justified, is grand enough even for such a hero as the Messiah. It would not be fair to turn aside from Marti's work to give even a condensed description of the steps by which I arrive at this result. But I am in great hopes that the critical and therefore exegetical problems of the passage have been solved.

Marti's metrical treatment of ii. 6-22 seems to me admirable; it is only the text which needs a keener criticism. I have exchanged ideas privately with the author with regard to ver. 6b, and find that we have independently worked on the same lines. I cannot help preferring my own solution of the problem, which will be found in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, s. v. "Haran"; my solution of the textual problems of ver. 16 exists in the same work, s. vv. "Ebony" and "Ivory". Once more, let me express my sense of the difficulty of such problems, which need to be revolved in the mind again and again at intervals, as one's grasp of critical method becomes firmer, and at the same time my appreciation of Marti's bold stand for a re-examination of the text. On iii. 1-15 the new commentary is very instructive; vers. 4 and 12a have been misunderstood, they do not really require us to place the passage at the beginning of the reign of Ahaz. Robertson Smith, however (in a letter quoted in *Sacred Books of the Old Testament, Isaiah*, Heb. ed., p. 81), had already indicated the right course. But surely the puzzling **תַּעֲלָלִים** in ver. 4 has arisen out of **מַעֲלָלִים**, miswritten for **מַעֲלָלִים**; and in ver. 12a also we should probably read **מַעֲלָלִים**. And should we not correct either **נַעֲרִים** in ver. 4 into **נָשִׁים** "creditors, exactors" (cf. Marti on ver. 12) or **נָשִׁים** in ver. 12, perhaps a corruption produced by **נִגְשִׁיו**, into **נַעֲרִים**

("common soldiers," see *Ges.-Buhl*, יַעַר 1b). The date of the prophecy is of importance, because in it the prophet declares the ruin of the kingdom of Judah to be imminent, and Marti's determination of the date is very probable.

Passing on to chap. vi., I would call attention to the frank and lucid explanation of the "inaugural vision" of Isaiah from a psychological point of view (pp. 69 ff.). The exegetical details are treated with much care, and with a condensation which does not produce obscurity. Marti recognises (against some recent critics) that "this people" in vers. 9, 10 means Isaiah's fellow-citizens in Jerusalem and Judah; "at any rate it is not *only* the northern kingdom which is concerned". Exegesis is simplified by the view that vers. 12-13^{ba} and 13^{bβ} are two later additions, the second of which, as Marti and others hold, is indicated as such by its non-existence in \tilde{G} . Marti mentions (but rejects) the opinion of Meinhold (*Jesaja und seine Zeit*, p. 37), that ver. 12 is the only addition, and that ver. 13 is the continuation of the Divine speech in ver. 11. I would venture, however, to ask for an arrest of judgment. The whole of the second part of ver. 13 is awkward and improbable; the text needs re-examination upon the basis of experience of the ways of the scribes. כֹּאֲלֵךְ וְכֹאֲלֵךְ surely must be wrong: and מַצֵּבֶת "stump" is purely imaginary. זֶרַע קֹדֶשׁ מַצֵּבֶתָה appears to be a second editorial attempt to extract sense out of a corrupt passage; it is valuable, however, for the purpose of comparison with the preceding editorial effort. Ver. 13^b in the original text must have run nearly thus, וְשָׂדֶמָן בְּצִמְחָהּ בִּיבְלִיּוֹן בְּזִרְעֶיהָ; the whole passage will become, "And should there yet be a remnant (שְׂאֲרִית) therein, it shall once more be destroyed; for consumption shall be on its (*i.e.*, the land's) plants, and parching on its sprouts". It seems to me that considering the strong feeling expressed in vers. 9, 10, the announcement in ver. 11 is unaccountably meagre as the close of the whole passage. In Isaiah v. 15 a pathetic description is given of the effect of the judgment on the population; we expect here

an equally pathetic description of its effect on the land. The land being so utterly desolate, the scanty remnant will have no means of livelihood.

Chaps. vii.-ix. 6 suggest many interesting notes. Suffice it, however, to remark that Marti adopts the now familiar view that "Immanuel" is not the Messiah, and that the entire stress is laid on the name, which, for those who give or bear it, will be a reminder of the great mercy of Judah's deliverance from Rezin and Pekah. Like Duhm, Marti fully realises the religious significance of the encounter between Isaiah and Ahaz; he illustrates his view by a reference to Robertson Smith's *Prophets of Israel*, pp. 274 f. I note also that he takes viii. 8b-10 to be a later insertion (*cf.* "Isaiah," ii., *Encyclopædia Biblica*), and that, with Oettli, he takes the whole of viii. 19 from וְשִׁירָא onwards to be the speech of the advocates of necromancy. Passing on to ix. 7-x. 4 (to which, with almost all critics, he joins ver. 26-29, but see Peiser and Winckler), I notice that he defends the plausibly supposed reference to Beltis and Osiris as Isaiah's, which seems to me hazardous (*cf.* a similar question as to Am. v. 26), and that he recognises the large non-Isaianic element in x. 5-34. On x. 27b-32 there is, I think, much more to be said from a text-critical point of view (see *Expositor*, Sept., 1899, and *cf.* the relevant geographical articles in *Encyclopædia Biblica*). That Isaiah wrote such a passage, is highly improbable, as Marti has shown. That Giesebrecht (*Berufsbegabung der Propheten*, p. 73), should assert that there is an Isaianic basis, is very difficult to understand.

I reluctantly skip over to xiv. 24-27, which, as Marti's clear exhibition of the arguments convinces me, is certainly not Isaianic. This result is of importance for an estimate of Isaiah's view of the future; it also obliges us (again following Marti) to question the Isaianic character of xviii. 3, 7, which passage, equally with xiv. 24-27, assumes the world-wide significance of the judgment upon Israel's enemies. Chap. xiv. 28-32, is also to be regarded as post-exilic (so Duhm and Marti). Surely the (supposed) occasion of the composition is the death of Sennacherib, whose history possessed a typical

significance for the later Jews (*cf.* Ps. xlviii.); a restoration of the corrupt portions is offered in the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament, Isaiah*, Heb. ed., p. 195, where, too, the late date is admitted. Marti's commentary on chaps. xv.-xvi. is particularly helpful. In xv. 9. he corrects **אֲדָמָה** into **אֲדָרָם**, "for a lion do I appoint for the escaped Moabites and for the remnant of the Edomites". The original elegy, he thinks, related to Moab, but an editorial insertion (xv. 9^a-xvi. 4^a, 6, 12) introduced a reference to the calamity brought upon Edom by the Nabathean Arabs. The epilogue (xvi. 13 f.) Marti is disposed to assign (with Duhm) to the time of Alexander Jannæus. I will not here refer to textual questions, except so far as to remark that the disputed **בְּאֵר הָאֵלִים** in xv. 8, seems to have arisen out of **בְּאֵלֵּעֵלָה** "in Elealeh". In chap. xviii. two distinct passages are recognised, vers. 1, 2, 4 and 5, 6; the latter passage is viewed as the close of the oracle in xvii. 1-11. This is, in fact, the necessary consequence of the excision of ver. 3, as a late insertion. Looking at my own restorations (*Sacred Books of the Old Testament, Isaiah*, Heb. ed., pp. 195 f.) of xvii. 11 and xviii. 4 f. respectively, I am struck by the way in which the two passages fit together; I think that students in general, and Professor Marti in particular, will also be impressed by this. A valuable *excursus* on the date follows the commentary.

That Marti (like Duhm) should assign the main part of chap. xix. to the time of Artaxerxes Ochus is not wonderful. But that he should prefer the reading **עִיר הָהָרִים** in ver. 18, which, like Duhm, he even renders "lion-city," *i.e.*, Leontopolis) is somewhat strange. The reading in the common text of \tilde{G} ($\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma \alpha\sigma\epsilon\delta\epsilon\alpha$) is really a confirmation of the reading **עִיר הָהָרִים**; **חֶסֶד** and **צֶדֶק** are liable to confusion (so *e.g.*, **חֶסֶדִי** in Ps. cxliv. 2 should be **צֶדֶקִי**), and we actually find another \tilde{G} reading $\alpha(\epsilon)\sigma\epsilon\delta$, **הַחֶסֶד**, *i.e.* **הָהָרִים**. Chap. xxi. 1-10, is assigned to the period between 549 and 538, and the commentary seems to me nearly as satisfactory as it could

possibly be made on the basis of an imperfectly corrected text. But the fact that two scholars of our own day (Dr. W. H. Cobb and Dr. W. E. Barnes),¹ still hold out against the prevalent critical view—and perhaps I may add that other fact that two earlier English writers did for a time, following a German scholar (Kleinert), also reject that view—might perhaps have suggested to Marti the desirableness of a deeper investigation. I feel that I am myself to blame for not having made such an investigation before him. Marti has really done more for the text of this passage than I was able to do in the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* in treating Isaiah. But I have now repaired my omission, with the result that I feel confident that the poem (for such it is, as Marti points out) has been greatly misunderstood owing to corruptions of the text. I will not occupy space by a too brief condensation of my conclusions, which might tempt some critic to attempt a premature refutation of it. But I will at least say that in my opinion the poem has nothing to do with Babylon, but is parallel to Ps. cxxxvii. (which, as Barnes nearly suggested, and as I am in a position to prove, refers exclusively to Edom), and also, of course, to the prophecy of Obadiah (*cf.* Mal. i. 2-4). It is a poetic prophecy on the fall of Edom, which since Nebuchadnezzar's time had more and more come to be regarded as Israel's arch-enemy, and it is very fitly placed beside the oracles of Seir and Arabia.

Earnest support is given to Duhm's interpretation of xxi. 1-18, as referring, not to Tyre, but (altering צר in ver. 8 into צידון) to Sidon, which was destroyed by Artaxerxes Ochus, B.C. 348. I must confess that בושׁי צידון in ver. 4, seems to me to imply that "Sidon," in the sense (whatever it was) in which the port was the town, was still borne by the community referred to. Perhaps further study of the text may convert me to the new view! I perceive that Marti has over-

¹ Cobb, *Journal of Biblical Literature* (Boston, U.S.A.), 1898, pp. 40-61, carefully criticised by Marti; Barnes, *Journal of Theological Studies* (Oxford and Cambridge) July, 1900.

looked my restoration of ver. 10; but **כִּיָּאֵר** is almost certainly a corruption of **מִצֵּר** (Egypt); **כִּי** passed into **מ**, and **צ** into **א**; parallels need not be here given. On chaps. xxiv.-xxvii., Marti again follows Duhm's bold suggestions as to dates. I cannot here enter into these. I think he will agree with me that **אֲוִרֶת** in that famous passage, xxvi. 19, should be **אֲרָכָתָם** (*G lapa autrois*); other hard passages I pass over. In xxviii.-xxxiii. Marti, like myself, is much indebted to his Basle colleague. I must be brief, but may remark that he adopts corrections of xxxiii. 17 and 18, which seem to me most important, and venture to say that both (not only that of ver. 18) are my property; there seems to be a slight error in Marti's statement. He also adopts my explanation of **אֲרִיָּאֵל** in xxix. 1, 2, 7. I have come to see, however, that this is only a stage on the road. The true reading must be **יִרְחָמָאֵל** which would appear to have been an old name of Jerusalem (in 2 Sam. v. 6, 8, **עִירִים** and **פַּסְחִים** both represent fragments of the true reading **יִרְחָמָאֵל**; **צִנּוֹר** should be **צִיּוֹן**). The prophet says, The old name of David's city was Jerahmeel ("God has mercy"), but too soon it shall become **לֹא יִרְחָמָאֵל** Lo-jerahmeel ("God has not mercy"), ver. 2. The restoration seems to me not unworthy of adoption; compare the symbolic name Lo-ruhamah in Hos. i. 6.

It is time however to pass on to the second part of the Book of Isaiah, which presents peculiar problems, much discussed at the present time among critics. Questions of text cannot be left out of account, but I hope, even within my limited space, to be able to do some justice to Marti's treatment of that difficult section, chaps. xl.-lv. The question of primary importance is that of unity or plurality of authorship. To this Marti gives a clear and definite answer. Chaps. xl.-lv. (the prophecy of consolation) belong to a prophetic writer (2 Isaiah), whose date was about B.C. 540, and who probably lived in Egypt. Chaps. lvi.-lxvi. come from a writer influenced especially by 2 Isaiah and by Ezekiel, who lived at Jerusalem shortly before the first advent of Nehemiah, *i.e.*,



before B.C. 445. To the view that the original prophecy of consolation consisted of chaps. xl.-xlix., in an earlier form, and that this great prophecy was expanded by the insertion of the passages uttered by or descriptive of the Ebed-Yahwé (servant of Yahwé) and of chaps. l.-lv. (including l. 4-9, lii. 13-liii. 12), he is, like Budde and König, decidedly opposed. At the close of the commentary on 2 Isaiah, he gives a condensed but lucid summary of the results as to the Ebed-Yahwé poems to which he has been led in the preceding exegesis.

1. To separate liii. 1-11a as an independent poem relative to an individual (Bertholet) is not possible, nor can we venture to assert (Schian, Kusters, Laue) that lii. 13-liii. 12 is the work of a different writer, since it is the culmination of the entire series of passages.

2. Nor can l. 4-9 be supposed to have a different origin from the other passages (Ley, Laue), with which in reality it presents close affinities.

3. Everywhere the term "Servant of Yahwé" means Israel. The personification of Israel does not go beyond that of Zion (*i.e.*, the community of Jerusalem, or the entire people). All attempts to explain the passages of an individual—Isaiah (Ewald), Jeremiah (Duhm), Zerubbabel (Sellin), the aged scribe Eleazar (Bertholet), or the Messiah of the future (*cf.* Ley, Laue) are mistaken. So too is the view that the reference is to the inner circle of the pious, or the company of the scribes, or those who taught in the spirit of Deuteronomy (Kusters, Bertholet).

There is, therefore, according to Marti, nothing to differentiate the conception of the Ebed (servant) in the passages referred to from that in the undoubted 2 Isaiah. Add to this that at every step in the exegesis of 2 Isaiah, we find glances at the Ebed-Yahwé passages, and that the metres of these passages are used by 2 Isaiah. The result is that these passages must, from the first, have formed part of the prophecy of consolation, which indeed would be seriously injured by their removal.

That scholars like Marti and Smend should take opposite

sides on this question shows that the question is a difficult one. Marti means well in endeavouring to simplify it, but the presumption is that it is complicated, and that further study of the texts is required. When Marti adds the remark that to remove the passages on the Servant is to tear out the heart of 2 Isaiah I am startled. Is it the keen critic of Isa. i.-xxxix. who writes this? Truth does not need such arguments, which do indeed show that a warm human heart beats underneath the armour of the critic, but which nevertheless imply a temporary forgetfulness of the functions of criticism. Perhaps however I misapprehend Marti's meaning; if so, it is only an accidental excess of language, such as may easily happen even to a clear-sighted critic. Certainly I for one shall pay attention to Marti's arguments. We have to penetrate deeper into the genesis of 2 Isaiah than has hitherto been possible. If Marti stimulates us to do this, his work will not have been in vain. It is a less important question whether a single person wrote chaps. lvi.-lxvi. Marti, like Kautzsch, follows Duhm in accepting a Trito-Isaiah; I confess I think this view scarcely tenable, even apart from the question of the date of lxiii. 7-lxiv. A Trito-Isaiah, for me, does not exist—only a group of writers, not in minute agreement, but all looking in the same direction; the advent of Yahwé to deliver his faithful ones. With regard to lxiii. 7.-lxix I note with much interest that in lxiii. 18, Marti expresses the opinion that not destruction, but only contemptuous treatment of the temple on the part of the heterodox party is referred to. Also that lxiii. 15 f. and lxiv. 9-11 are rather boldly treated as insertions, due to a writer who lived in the great Syrian persecution when part at least of the temple was burnt and the country laid waste (1 Macc. iv. 38). Rightly enough, he compares Ps. lxxiv., which he regards, with doubtful accuracy, as a Maccabæan psalm.

I will now take up the remunerative task of reporting some of Marti's interpretations. On xli. 22, he remarks that "the former things" is a comprehensive phrase for prophecies and events belonging to the past. In xliii. 18, however, "former" events and not prophecies are referred to. In both passages

the "new things" are the deliverance and restoration of Israel, together with the consequences for Israel and mankind. "No politician could foresee that Cyrus would treat Israel differently from the other peoples, and that this would lead on to the future importance of Jerusalem as the centre of the world; only a prophet could so speak, who had such a full conviction respecting Yahwé and his aims that God's honour would be imperilled if the great political movement were not subservient to the bringing of salvation." On that difficult passage, xliii. 22-28, he says:—

It is first of all emphasised that Israel has done nothing to impel Yahwé to interpose with help. Israel has not called upon Yahwé, much less accompanied its call with sacrificial offerings. The prophet here passes over the fact that during the exile the Israelites were precluded from sacrificing. During the exile—for we are not to refer this passage on sacrifices to the entire history of Israel. Before the exile the Israelites had by no means been backward with sacrifices (*cf.* i. 10-27), and 2 Isaiah is not an Ezekiel, that he should regard these sacrifices as not having been offered to Yahwé (*cf.* Ezek. xvi. 22). In ver. 22, "not me hast thou called," requires to be supplemented by "but I thee," not by "but rather the idol-gods," and in vers. 22-24 it is absolutely denied that any sacrifices whatever had been offered. On the other hand it is said in ver. 23*b* that Yahwé lays no stress on sacrifices, but this does not mean that sacrifices are altogether rejected (*cf.* xl. 16); but to throw a bright light on the spontaneity of the help of Yahwé. To suppose that sacrifices were entirely rejected would take away all justification for the argument. Then (vers. 24*b*-28) it is shown how Israel, by its conduct, had worked in opposition to the Divine grace. Israel loses all merit, but Yahwé's grace becomes all the more splendid. That in vers. 24*b*-28 2 Isaiah is thinking of the pre-exilic period, is unmistakably shown by ver. 27 *f.* It will be seen that 2 Isaiah's object is, not to bring accusations against the Israelites, but to comfort them, and to give some explanation for the preceding period of calamity.

On ver. 27 Marti comments thus:—

"Thy first father is not Adam, who was not the father of Israel alone, nor Abraham, who is called in xli. 8 Yahwé's 'friend,' but Jacob (*cf.* Hos. xii. 3 *f.*). מְלִיצִיךָ 'thy middle-men, mediators' (*lit.*, interpreters, Gen. xlii. 23; *cf.* Job xxxiii. 23), means the prophets; of the unfaithfulness of such the older history has much to relate; *cf.* also Jer. xxiii. 11-18)."

This is no doubt the best that can be said. But it is not quite satisfactory. Using the methods of the newer textual criticism, we should, I think, correct the text thus:—

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| וּמִשְׁלֵיהֶם פָּשְׁעוּ בִי : | אָבוֹ רִזְנִיהָ לַחֲטָא 27 |
| * * * * | וַיַּחֲלִלוּ שְׂרִידָה קֹדֶשִׁי 28 |
| וְיִשְׂרָאֵל לְגִדּוּפִים : | וְאַתְנָה לַחֲרָם יַעֲקֹב |

The restoration of ver. 27 was made before I had read Marti's note, in which he objects to my restoration of the next verse (in *Sacred Books of the Old Testament, Isaiah*, p. 135) that it is not in accordance with the context ("cf. patriarch and prophet, ver. 27"). It is in accordance with the true context; the patriarch and the prophets owe their existence to corruptions of the text. As Marti has pointed out, vers. 25 and 26 are later insertions, so that ver. 27 fits on to ver. 24b, unless indeed vers. 25 and 26 occupy the place of an illegible passage. מִשְׁלֵיהֶם supports my original reading מִשְׁלֵיהֶם for מִשְׁלֵיהֶם in xlii. 19. Perhaps the writer of the gloss (see *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, and Marti *ad loc*) in xlii. 19bβ had xliii. 27 in his mind.

The book of Isaiah is so full of problems that a simple *compte-rendu* of a commentary like Marti's is impossible. It was time indeed that such a work should be written, and its inevitable *lacunæ* are no discredit to the author. As Prof. Jastrow lately said of histories of Babylonian religion, finality is out of the question. But Marti is young enough to do much more both for Isaiah and for other Old Testament writings, and his scrupulous respect for scholars of the past and the present makes it a pleasant task to interchange ideas with him. As such an interchange the present article, which is of course very far from complete, may be regarded.

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The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.

By W. W. Capes, M.A., Honorary Canon of Winchester. London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. xi. + 391. Price 7s. 6d.

CANON CAPES'S book is the third volume of the "History of the English Church," now appearing under the editorship of the Dean of Winchester and Mr. Hunt; in date of publication it follows immediately on the first volume, which was noticed in these pages some months ago. Mr. Capes is fortunate in a subject less familiar than the story which it fell to Mr. Hunt to relate, in the first volume of the series. There are, of course, portions of his history about which "every schoolboy knows" something—the period of Wycliffe and Chaucer, or the quarrels between Edward I., Peckham and Winchelsey. But students of English history have long desired a work like this, the main theme of which is the *Realien* of Mediæval Church life in England, the organisation of dioceses and cathedrals, the constitution of religious houses, and the arrangements for parish work, and in these respects Mr. Capes has given us a notable addition to our available information; within narrower limits and on a smaller scale, he has done for ecclesiastical institutions part of what Mr. Rashdall's great book did for Universities and academic life. In this, rather than in the narrative of the political relations between Church and Crown, lies the permanent value of the book.

The earlier chapters, which deal with the reign of Edward I., afford additional proof of how thoroughly Papal was the English Church in mediæval times. Yet Mr. Capes, in discussing the policy of Archbishop Winchelsey—"so strong a partisan of Papal power"—permits himself the reflection that the archbishop's wisdom was questionable, because "it

was clearly not the true policy of a National Church to appeal to the authority of the Pope against the Crown in the question of temporal possessions". The reflection is itself irreproachable; but it is difficult to find in the writer's own pages any traces whatsoever of a National Church, if the phrase is to have any meaning at all. Any attempt to make the Church national came from the Crown and was bitterly opposed by the clergy, from the time of Henry II. to that of Queen Elizabeth. There is no evidence that the Church sympathised even with the feeling against the pretensions made by the Pope to Scotland, "as a fief of the Apostolic See," which, "naturally provoked an outburst of passionate protest throughout England". One may, however, pardon Winchelsey for withholding his assent to this passionate protest; the passion is natural and intelligible; but the protest came somewhat strangely from a nation whose only legal claim to the possession of Ireland was a gift from the Pope, who had as much right to preserve Scotland from Edward I. as to give Ireland to Henry II. Whether his readers find themselves in agreement with Mr. Capes or differing from him, on such points as these, it will be freely admitted that his narrative is scholarly and accurate, and he never yields to the temptation of placing out of their due proportion, facts that tell rather against than for his own controversial sympathies. In spite of limits of space, he has done much to state more clearly disputed questions of various kinds. His account of the downfall of the Templars is remarkably just to that much maligned Order, because he has taken the trouble of actually reading the evidence against them, instead of trusting to general tradition. His chapter on the persecution of the Lollards states with fulness and in a complete form what must have been evident to any student who has ever looked through the pages of an Episcopal Register—that Lollardry was very far from being completely suppressed under the House of Lancaster. It has frequently been regarded as "a passing eccentricity of religious sentiment, soon to be forgotten," while, in point of fact, it was silently preparing

the way for the changes of the sixteenth century, and for the realisation of the faith of the Lollards themselves, that though they should "be in a manner destroyed, notwithstanding at length they should prevail and have the victory against all their enemies".

The later chapters in Mr. Capes's book explain why the Lollards lingered on, after they had ceased to be an organised sect, for the picture which he draws of the condition of the Roman Church in England is indeed lamentable. There are, of course, exaggerated statements in common circulation, and the considerations on the other side are not always stated. It must be remembered that if the great statesmen bishops did not devote themselves to the work that we should now regard as the main duty of a great ecclesiastic, they yet did for England work of another kind. Education has owed much to the munificence of such prelates as Wykeham and Chichele (whom Canon Capes defends from the accusation of having forced on the French wars of Henry V.) and Waynflete. But when all is said that can be said in defence of the Mediæval Church, there remains a strong indictment which its advocates will not attempt to answer. Even with regard to the parochial clergy, among whom we may hope that there were many exceptions like Chaucer's poor priest, Mr. Capes, after a very fair review of the evidence, sums up thus : "The shortcomings of the clergy have in all ages furnished ample materials for satire ; but such sweeping charges of coarse vices as Gower recounts at length would now be simply impossible for any satirist or critic, and even after allowance has been made for the ruder spirit of those times, it must be owned that the level which they imply was very low". With regard to the regular clergy, Mr. Capes points out that somewhat ignorant prejudice has affected the popular judgment, but his own opinion is scarcely less severe. For good and evil alike, the monasteries have been misunderstood. Men have judged them from the standpoint of the general good ; while they existed for the individual alone, they have been credited with services to education, and have acquired a reputation which they little deserved. From the date of the

Norman Conquest, the schools attached to monasteries were, as Mr. Leach has shown, comparatively unimportant, and the men who taught in them were not monks. As to their charity, Mr. Capes considers that it "took the worst form of doles spread broadcast from time to time, provided for the most part by special benefactions, and not to any great extent out of the common fund, which had been itself given originally in 'free and perpetual alms'." It is, however, pleasant to find a good word for the nunneries. Even "the lighter literature of the times deals tenderly with the nuns, and drops its tones of coarseness and satire in their presence".

Canon Capes has written out of very full knowledge, in a fair spirit, and in a pleasant style. His book adds another, and a very valuable, source on which the student may draw, and the general reader who wishes to understand something of the actual life of our forefathers will find it indispensable for his purpose.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

Handkommentar zum Alten Testament herausgegeben

Von Dr. W. Nowack, etc. Das Buch Ezechiel übersetzt und erklärt von Richard Kraetzschmar. Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. Pp. xv. + 302. Price M.6.

WITH the publication of Kraetzschmar's *Ezekiel* the indispensable series of Old Testament commentaries, edited by Professor Nowack of Strassburg, takes a long step towards its approaching completion. The leading features of the series are now well known to readers of the CRITICAL REVIEW, the most characteristic being the presentation on the same page of a full translation in addition to the commentary, by which feature it is distinguished from the other two series of Old Testament commentaries now in course of publication—Clark's *International Critical Commentaries* and the more condensed German series under Professor Marti's direction.

The volume before us follows the usual plan by which the commentary proper is preceded by a short introduction of fifteen pages, in which the prophet's name, person, period and book are discussed. On the very threshold Kraetzschmar provokes dissent by departing from the familiar tradition that Ezekiel was a member of the Jerusalem priesthood. Our English versions, it will be remembered, expressly speak of "Ezekiel the priest, the son of Buzi" (i. 3), but the original may equally bear the rendering, which is Kraetzschmar's, "the son of Buzi the priest". It is after all a small matter, but we mention it for the sake of the principle involved. Here is a passage of which two renderings are possible; one of these renderings, however, has the support of a venerable tradition. Now, even if the case for Ezekiel being himself a priest, which is furnished by the latter portion of his book,

were much less strong than in our opinion it is, we maintain that in a case of ambiguity of rendering, the tradition of the synagogue should be decisive in favour of "Ezekiel the priest, etc." That is to say, where a tradition like this holds the field, it is entitled to be respected by us until evidence of its falsity is forthcoming, and is not to be set aside by the mere *obiter dictum* of the most respected scholar. This we take to be a true canon for our Old Testament work, though it is so frequently disregarded by workers at home and abroad.

In this discussion of the prophet's personality, and more fully in the commentary (see especially, pp. 45 ff.), Kraetzschmar avows himself a disciple of Klostermann in regarding Ezekiel as a study in pathology, an ecstatic epileptic, subject to aphasia and other mental diseases. No purpose would be served by entering on the vexed question of realism *versus* symbolism in our interpretation of Ezekiel. We agree with Kraetzschmar that the case of the realistic interpreters stands or falls with the interpretation of ch. iv. 4 ff.; but despite all that is here said in favour of their view, we are still unconvinced that this way lies the truth. All the more cordially do we endorse the sympathetic estimate (p. 7 ff.) of Ezekiel's unique position in the history of Israel's religious development. That Israel in exile did not lose itself in the surrounding heathenism, but emerged a purified remnant to be the depository of revelation until the fulness of the time—for this, as Kraetzschmar truly says, we are in the main indebted to Ezekiel. One is likewise glad to see our prophet vindicated from the charge of exalting the ceremonial elements of religion at the expense of the ethical.

With regard, further, to the steps by which the book of Ezekiel took shape (pp. 11-14), the most interesting feature of the discussion, one by which this commentary is differentiated from its predecessors, is the attempt to grapple with the fairly numerous parallel texts or doublets to be found throughout the book. Some of the more evident examples of such doublets—*e.g.*, the opening verses of ch. i. and the section ch. vii. 1-9—have indeed been recognised by previous commentators, but Kraetzschmar has greatly extended their number, and sought

to account for them. We think that on the whole he has proved his thesis, with this caveat, however, that in some at least of the passages where he would detect a doublet, it is perhaps sufficient to remember the prolixity of style which, as we see it in the Priestly Code, seems to have been a characteristic of writers of the priestly caste. The thesis in question is this: Just as we have two recensions of the text of Jeremiah represented by the Massoretic text and the Greek text respectively, so there existed two recensions of Ezekiel's writings. But while the two former remained distinct, in the case of Ezekiel a textual harmony was sought to be established by placing the more striking variations side by side. In addition to the examples cited above, we may add the following: iii. 4-9; iv. 9-17; ix. 5-7; xii. 21-27; xvii. 8-10, 16-20, etc.

The commentary, including the translation of the emended text, fills 300 of the large pages of this series. In its arrangement one notes a lack of proportion, common however to most commentaries, between the earlier and the later parts of the book. Thus the last sixteen chapters (chaps. xxxiii.-xlvi.) receive only sixty-five pages, which, remembering the relatively large space occupied by the translation, is very "step-motherly treatment" (to borrow the German phrase) compared to the same number of pages devoted to the first five chapters alone. The purely exegetical work of Dr. Kraetzschmar is worthy of the highest praise. The ampler space and the smaller type give Nowack's collaborateurs a great advantage over Marti's, and Kraetzschmar has used his opportunity to produce the fullest modern commentary on Ezekiel. Here and there, indeed, it is perhaps too full, and the unusual number of contractions will make its study no easy matter for those whose German is somewhat rusty. It is impossible in a short review to enter into matters of detail for the purpose either of giving or of withholding assent. No one, however, can read many pages of the commentary without being struck by the thoroughness of the work. The best and latest results of research have been utilised, such, for example, as Hilprecht's recent excavations in Babylonia, which have settled

the identity of the Chebar. The commentary was no doubt in print before the appearance of Cheyne's study of the Cherubim in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, otherwise it would have been utilised in the proper place. Another praiseworthy feature is the extent to which the vocabulary of Assyrian, and to a less extent of Egyptian, has been drawn upon for the elucidation of rare and difficult terms. In the matter of textual criticism, Kraetzschmar in addition to giving an independent judgment on the emendations of his predecessors, Hitzig, Cornill, Toy and others, is quite competent to strike out a path for himself. Like older critical hands among his compatriots, however, he is now and then too ready simply to delete a difficult word or phrase.

In so difficult a book as Ezekiel, the opportunities for dissent are almost on every page. One only need here be touched upon, namely, the quite untenable view, as we consider it, that in the "Descent of Pharaoh" (xxxii. 17 ff.) we are to distinguish between "Sheol" and "the pit" as separate parts of the underworld, each with its appointed inhabitants (p. 233). That these terms are (as used by Ezekiel) convertible and synonymous it would not be difficult to prove. It is a pity that the editor has not seen fit to include an index of subjects discussed, as is done in Marti's series and in the *International Commentaries*.

The honourable title of "Father of the Higher Criticism" is assigned by writers on Old Testament Introduction, now to one luminary of the past, now to another. May we here ask consideration for the claims of an almost forgotten student, Khananiah ben Hezekiah? This contemporary of the first Gamaliel it was, who, at the cost of 300 measures of oil, succeeded in reconciling the last nine chapters of Ezekiel with the Pentateuch, and by so doing saved for Church and Synagogue the most extensive, and in some respects the most profound of the prophetic writings.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

Un Essai de Religion Scientifique: Introduction à Wronski, Philosophe et Réformateur.

Par Christian Cherfils. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1898.
8vo, pp. 230.

THE fame or notoriety of Wronski (1778-1853) has not echoed much in the English-speaking world. It may not be improper, therefore, to refer the reader for a sketch of his life to an article by Bertrand of the Academy in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1st Feb., 1897). The account is well worth reading as a very curious study in psychology. For in Wronski we have to do with one who makes an array of claims no less than this: "He has discovered 'the supreme law of mathematics,' and resolved equations of all degrees; he has reformed celestial mechanics and substituted for the law of Newton a principle more exact, more general, and derived from reasoning alone; he has made known the law of temperatures and densities at all depths, in the interior of the terrestrial globe; corrected the theory of the tides left imperfect by Laplace; created a new philosophy of physics and chemistry; deduced from the true laws of motion a new and perfect system of steam-engines; indicated the veritable laws of locomotion which, were we not ignorant and barbarians, should long ago, and from the outset, have effected the suppression of railways; reformed, lastly, the calculus of probabilities, and deduced from rigorous formulæ the certain means of mastering chance and of winning at all games. These grand discoveries—it is the glory of Wronski—are derived from one principle which governs them all, and the applications of which to philosophy, to politics and religion, are to solve the social problem and, much more, that of the future life." So far M. Bertrand. Of this man, too, more than one distinguished authority has found himself baffled to pronounce whether he was "a charlatan, a madman, or a genius". That he should have disciples—be, in a small way, the founder of a sect—is less surprising.

With reference to the whole circuit of Wronski's professions the present writer is not qualified to judge. In any case, painful groping through the circuit of his philosophic and religious departments—even under the guidance of a calm and assured initiate—but brings one to the situation in which Lagrange and Lacroix found themselves when charged by the Institute with the examination of one of his algebraic memoirs. They were constrained to report “that they did not understand the demonstrations, and that the results did not possess the importance which the author attributed to them”.

The purpose of the work before us is to clear away some of the “défaillances” and “bizarreries indéniables” of Wronski as a philosopher and philosophico-religious teacher, leaving the acceptable and solid body of his doctrine. All that is attained is to make evident to the reader that in Wronskism we have a peculiarly trying phase of the romantic and New England “Brahmanist” style of philosophising. In other words, there is no lack of striking thoughts by the way; but those hardest transitions which science is able to effect only by proof, or at which it is compelled to call a halt, are here accomplished in happy unconsciousness or by a confident sweep of orphic involution. Add that, in the present case, you have the constant formal show of science along with excess of undeniable analytic acuteness, and the special irritation of the thing is readily understood.

The few central ideas, whether of Wronski or of the book on hand, seem to be no more nor better than about this: To the present time, Being and Knowledge have remained, for philosophy, two primitive and essentially heterogeneous elements. Triumph has been permitted neither to realism nor to idealism. And yet all use of intelligence—ordinary commonsense not excepted—accuses this primitive diversity between Being and Knowledge of illusoriness. How, then, is the opposition to be resolved? According to Wronski, the answer is given in the transcendental method of philosophy, first apprehended in the *Cogito ergo sum* of Descartes, definitively established by Kant, and finally perfected by Wronski

himself. Kant "voulait expliquer la nécessité attachée aux connaissances rationnelles, en attribuant au savoir humain, à l'instar de l'être, une *forme* particulière suivant laquelle ce savoir aurait été forcé d'exercer son action. C'est cette *explication mécanique* de la nécessité impliquée dans les connaissances rationnelles, qui porta une atteinte funeste à la sublime tendance développée par le même génie." Kant, that is, failed, except in the domain of morals, to recognise unqualifiedly the spontaneity of Knowledge. Wronski takes his stand unreservedly on the absolutely spontaneous, creative nature of Knowledge, and, thereby overcoming the dualism of Being and Knowledge, is able to attain to unconditional verity and "the Absolute Philosophy".

With Wronski, Knowledge means several things. It means, first, the whole cognoscible, rational character of things (like the Platonic hierarchy of Ideas), not, however, as an externalised product or dead "Form," but as containing the life itself of Knowledge ("l'essence même du savoir"). Secondly, it signifies a faculty, or (when it suits to speak of it as more than a possession either of God or man) a principle, which, in its unconditioned spontaneity, issuing out of itself, embodies itself in the order of things. This latter process it is that constitutes the "Self-creation of the Absolute". For, Knowledge itself is the Absolute—as bare faculty or principle, merely the "virtual" Absolute; but when it has effected its self-creation, the, so to speak, absolutely Absolute. The question of the connection of Knowledge with a knower or, still more, with multitudinous finite knowers, seems to call for no enlightenment. And as to the opposition of Being and Knowledge? This difficulty is solved by recognising in the distinction simply the first act of self-differentiation on the part of the Absolute or Knowledge, whereby the latter renders itself also a relative and "mere created" Knowledge, dependent on Being; but at the same time makes possible its orderly self-realisation.

Wronski and his interpreter are always working up to and around a "Law of Creation" which, in some sort, is again the heart and chief organ of the Absolute, and, as such, "the

summit of the Wronskist doctrine". Wonderful are the virtues of this law ! Out of its inexhaustible, teeming depths Wronski will evoke, not alone the basic principles of the several sciences, but, seemingly, all the remainder as well. Nay, by possessing man of this law, he will put him not only in the way of mastery of all technic, but of achieving his own immortality and becoming, at the end at least, *as God* ! Unfortunately, the secret of his law Wronski has reserved to himself and carried it with him to the grave ; and his disciple, so far as can be made out, only awaits the resurrection.

Further, we have here not a philosophy only, but likewise a religion. The transition is effected in this wise : Knowledge, Reason, is equal to the Logos, the Word that was with God and was God, the Messiah who is the mediator between Man and God, by whom believing men are regenerated and saved. Likewise, " the absolute Reason, placed above physical conditions and earthly pollution, is the Virgin who is to crush the head of the serpent ". And much more, no worse than most of its kind. Clothed thus, at length, in the vesture of tradition, the Wronskist philosophy acquires what was needed to complete its appeal to sentiment ; and since this appeal touching ultimate things is the essence of religion, the Absolute Philosophy becomes the Absolute Religion also, as well as a Christian orthodoxy and a " Messianism," to whose higher realisation, through the philosophic culture of mankind, is needed the erection of a new order superior to either the existent State or Church. As a matter of fact, this order already does exist in the " Wronskist Union " ; and, as suggested before, it has its members.

The book before us is an introduction to Wronski. The reviewer may have failed vulgarly to comprehend ; but he does not believe that, outside of Theosophist and Christian Science circles, the world will be found ready to be introduced. Nor do the ideas set forth in our philosopher call for special criticism. They are simply Fichte and Schelling carried into the Witches' Kitchen.

GEORGE REBEC.

**The Book of Judges : Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text,
printed in colours, exhibiting the composite structure
of the Book, with Notes.**

*By the Rev. G. F. Moore, D.D., Professor in Andover Theological
Seminary, Andover, Mass. London : David Nutt, Strand,
1900. Pp. 72. 6s. net.*

**Israel's Messianic Hope to the time of Jesus: A Study of
the Historical Development of the Foreshadowings
of the Christ in the Old Testament and Beyond.**

*By George Stephen Goodspeed, Professor in the University of
Chicago. New York : The Macmillan Company ; London :
Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1900. Pp. 315. Price 6s.*

**Handkommentar zum Alten Testament: Allgemeine
Einleitung in den Hexateuch.**

*Von. Lic. Dr. Carl Steuernagel, Privatdocent d. Theol. in Halle
a. S. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900. Pp. 249-
280. Price 1s. net.*

Das Buch des Propheten Habackuk.

*Erklärt von Dr. Otto Happel, Prediger in Kitzingen. Würzburg :
Andreas Göbel, Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1900. Pp. 71. Price
M.2.*

PROFESSOR MOORE'S volume of the Polychrome Bible, the *Book of Judges in Hebrew*, is an admirable sequel to his splendid commentary on the same book in the International series. His second task has been twofold—to analyse the book into its sources, and to reconstruct the Hebrew text. He gives us here the combined results of the higher and the lower

criticism. In both cases the problems for solution are difficult and delicate, and the results are no more than provisional; but, as the author has said, "the uncertainties of criticism are infinitely preferable to the exegetical violence which is the only alternative". In Dr. Moore's opinion the Book of Judges is of great historical value. A glance at the colours shows that the sources of by far the greater part of the book are the ancient prophetic narratives J and E. While the Song of Deborah is stainless white (J, B.C. 850), the corresponding prose narrative of the victory of Barak is dark blue (older stata of E, B.C. 750). The story of Samson is substantially white; so is that of Gideon, with bits of dark blue (E) and light purple (redactor of JE). The story of Jephthah is dark blue and light purple, with patches of dark purple (composite JE) and light blue (later additions to E). Streaks of light green (Deuteronomic expansions) are few and far between. The colour one dislikes is yellow. It means late and pragmatic, after the manner of the Chronicler. It predominates only in the last three chapters, the story of the crime and punishment of the Benjamites. Dr. Moore differs from Wellhausen in regarding the kernel of this narrative as ancient and historical.

In Dr. Moore's reconstruction of the Hebrew text there are many points of interest. He has great faith in the LXX. version of this book, and in some cases has made extensive changes to bring the Hebrew into harmony with it. In xix. 18, there is an evident lacuna, which he fills up by inserting seventeen Hebrew words. In ii. 1, Bethel takes the place of Bochim. In vii. 20, **חֶרֶב** is omitted, so that the war-cry of Israel becomes simply "For Jahweh and Gideon!" In xiv. 15, **הָלֵם** for **הָלַא** is a distinct improvement. In xv. 16, **חֲמוֹר חֲמֹרִים** are treated as verbs instead of nouns, and the boast is translated, "With the jaw-bone of an ass I have heaped them up". In xix. 18, the LXX. reading, "I am going to my house," is clearly better than the Massoretic "to the Lord's house". It is instructive to compare Dr. Moore's Commentary with his Hebrew Text. He does not in every

case adhere to the opinions expressed in the former. In ii. 3, the Commentary rejects לָצַרִים (suggested by LXX. in place of Massoretic לָצַדִּים) as "having the marks of a bad, though old and natural, conjecture". But in the amended Text it is preferred. Chap. iii. 2 is overloaded and clumsy, and while the omission of one Hebrew word relieves the worst of the difficulty, the Commentary wants "a more satisfactory, though bolder" treatment. But the milder measure is preferred in the revised Text. In the Commentary הַפְּרִשְׁדָּנָה "may have arisen from accidental conformation to הַמִּסְדְּרוֹנָה" (iii. 22, 23); in the notes to the Text "it seems to be intentional, artificial assimilation". As one observes these little changes, one sees that the critic's mind is incessantly active, checking and improving its own conclusions. Altogether the work is one of the first importance—an immense boon to students of this book. Is "canceled" (p. 39) a printer's error or an American spelling?

One of the clearest gains of critical science is a truer understanding of the Christ of the Old Testament. Professor G. S. Goodspeed gives us a most suggestive study of this fascinating subject. His material arranges itself under three heads. There is in the Old Testament, Messianic prophecy of the past, of the present, and of the future. (1) "Prophecy of the past" may seem an awkward expression, but the writer's idea is both true and important. He refers to the prophetic idealising of the past. The prophet "looks back on the history of mankind and his people, as it has come down to him in legends, songs and story, in chronicles and annals, in oracles and institutions; he studies it in the light of the Divine inspiration in his own spirit and experience, and combines, organises, interprets it for his generation in its bearing upon the eternal purpose of Jehovah, his blissful designs for his people in the days to come". All these ancient materials "are idealised under the influence of the religious conceptions and aspirations of later ages". The prophet interprets the meagre memorials and reads into them

his own grander ideas; the rude and fragmentary relics of the national past are transfigured. (2) There are prophecies of the present, "expectations of blessing arising out of present conditions and extending on into a far distant day". (3) When the prophet can find nothing of hopefulness in the present situation, he overleaps all temporal bounds and "passes as if by reaction into a future which is as much brighter and more glorious as the present is forbidding". In order of time, the pre-Mosaic and Mosaic ages contribute their ideals; ardent expectations are connected with the monarchy; fervent hopes are born in the time of the earlier prophets, in the epoch of Isaiah, in the age of Jeremiah; lofty ideals spring out of the conditions of the exile, the post-exilic times, and the Maccabean period. Each age has its outlook, each prophet or singer his background. Each ideal is the thought, not of an individual, but of a nation or people which finds in the prophet or poet its mouthpiece. Jehovah as the God of Israel, Israel as the people of Jehovah, is a basis for the loftiest idealism. In order of subjects, *man* is first presented "in his ideal character as created and inspired of God. . . . Then follow all those details which have for their inspiration the *nation* and its career. . . . Then comes the drawing out of the various *institutions* of this national life in their promise and potency. . . . And last of all is disclosed *an individual*, the apotheosis of a lost leader or a present deliverer in an ideal figure, humble and kingly, triumphant in defeat and death." The vindication of the Hebrew ideal is the person and work of Jesus Christ. "As Son of Man, he rounded out the human side of the Messianic hope. . . . As the Saviour of men, he met the Hebrew longing for redemption. . . . As the Son of God, he embodied the Hebrew expectations of the Divine advent and the union of man and God" (284). This summary will indicate the quality of Dr. Goodspeed's book. He splendidly vindicates his assertion that "Messianic prophecy is the very essence and life of the Old Testament book, the vital breath, the ideal inspiration of the Old Testament life". His treatise is written with enthusiasm. The style is fresh and vigorous. One catches a breath of the West in phrases

like "back of this promise," "the main plank of the prophet's platform". Ill-built sentences like "scholarship has sought, and succeeded in part, in disentangling the maze," are rare. The selected bibliography at the end is judicious. As a whole this book, intended chiefly for "the intelligent reader of the English Bible," will serve as an excellent introduction to Riehm's more elaborate and classical work.

Steuernagel of Halle, the author of the volume on Deuteronomy and Joshua in Nowack's *Handkommentar* (CRITICAL REVIEW, July, 1898), has now written a general introduction to the *Hexateuch*, designed to be bound up with that volume. This *Einleitung* "is meant in the first instance for the use of students," and it would be difficult to give them in so brief a compass—thirty-seven pages—a better account of the essential points. The tradition regarding the authors of the *Hexateuch* and its value, the necessity and possibility of separating the various strata, the history of the course of Hexateuch criticism, the combination and redaction of the sources, are clearly represented, and the present *status questionis* indicated. On one point Steuernagel joins issue with Dillmann, Wellhausen and Kittel. What was Ezra's Law-book? The entire Pentateuch, say these writers. Only the Legal parts of it, says Steuernagel. He points out that on the second day on which the people "gave attention to the words of the law" (Neh. viii. 13), the scribe got as far as Lev. xxiii. 33, in his reading and expounding. On the first hypothesis "it would follow that *the whole* of Genesis and part of Exodus was read *and expounded* on the first day!" Besides, "the hearing of the familiar tales would hardly have caused the sensation described in Neh. viii. 9". And nothing could have been farther from Ezra's purpose—the reforming of Jahve's community—than to becloud his legislation with other writings of an entirely different stamp (p. 277).

Dr. Happel's exposition of Habakkuk is rather out of date. He begins in the usual way by expressing dissatisfaction with all the previous critical solutions of the problems connected with the prophecy. Budde's theory is that the oppressor of Israel, whose doom the prophet foretells, is not the Chaldean but the Assyrian. This theory has been accepted by Cornill and G. A. Smith. Happel dismisses it with some points of exclamation. He himself deliberately goes back to the allegorical method of the Church Fathers. The oppressor of Israel is not a real and historical, but an ideal and eschatological enemy. "The immediate subject of the prophecy is the spiritual conflict between the people of God and the great enemy of God." Again, "the time of the *Syrian* oppression is the only suitable background for our book". The prophecy is Messianic. "The coming Deliverer is Christ. . . . The sea, the rivers, hills and mountains are the hostile world-powers. This view is the only one which does justice to the significant language of the prophet." Dr. Happel writes with confidence. He is also a scholar. But he is out of touch with reality. When an interpreter reaches the state of mind in which mountains and rivers are seen as men, he is lost. Henceforth he will wander in a wonderland of his own imagination.

JAS. STRACHAN.

Die Paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre im Zusammenhange ihrer geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen.

Von Hermann Cremer, Doctor der Theologie und der Rechte, ord. Professor der Theologie in Greifswald. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 8vo, pp. 448. Price 7s.

THE work of Dr. Cremer has produced a considerable impression in the theological circles of his own land. It has already, in the course of little more than a twelvemonth reached a second edition, a somewhat remarkable circumstance, considering that it is an elaborate treatment of a doctrinal subject, and is by no means light reading. The author's high reputation as a scholar who has successfully treated New Testament subjects, has no doubt to do with this reception of his book. That so systematic a work on *Justification* should have commanded so ready a sale may also be taken as evidence of the revived interest in evangelical truth in Germany. Apart from its merits as a work of scholarship the book is worthy of notice. Its conclusions on the subject differ widely from those that are accepted where the confessional theology of the Reformation is dominant. Dr. Cremer works out his views without reference to the findings of other authors in the same field; except an occasional fling at Ritschl and his school, notwithstanding the fact that there are striking points of agreement between him and Ritschl on the subject on which they have both written so fully.

Is Paul's doctrine of justification peculiar to the Apostle? Does his view that the Gospel is a revelation of the *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*, in the sense of the justification of the sinner, correspond with the teaching of the Old Testament? If it does (and Paul himself thought it did), how is it that we hear so little of it in the teaching of Christ? If Paul was the first to understand the salvation of God in this way, what are we to

make of the view of it presented in the words of Christ? Are we to regard the latter as a lower stage of doctrine which we may leave behind us, or as a higher than Paul's to which we must return? Is Christ or Paul to rule our thoughts in the great matter of a sinner's acceptance with God? These are some of the questions to which this book is intended as an answer. The position of the author is that the Apostle's doctrine of salvation is not peculiar to him, that it is in reality the doctrine of the entire Bible. "Properly speaking, it is false to speak of a *Pauline* doctrine of justification. Paul set up no new dogmatic; it is indeed a fundamentally different one from that of the Pharisaic school, of which we find no trace in Paul, but it is neither more nor less than the dogmatic of the Old Testament, and of those who remained true to its spirit" (p. 329). This is a very different account of the matter from what we find in the more modern works on Pauline doctrine, where the Apostle's special treatment of the subject is represented as a sort of survival in a Christian dress of a theologoumenon which he had learnt in the schools of the Pharisees. Dr. Cremer's book is an elaborate refutation of that view.

Paul's teaching, he says, cannot be understood except in connexion with its historical presupposition. These are to be found in the Old Testament. We have first, then, an exposition of the Old Testament ideas that bear upon the subject. This is followed by a pretty full section on the modification which the ideas of the Old Testament received in the teaching of the synagogue, and then by an account of the teaching of Christ and of Peter and James. This preliminary matter occupies about 300 pages. The remaining 140 are devoted to the "Pauline Gospel". The book is really a review of the Doctrine of Justification as set forth in the teaching of the Bible, and as finally formulated by the Apostle of the Gentiles.

A very brief outline of his argument may be given; but this will furnish no idea of the rich suggestiveness of the volume.

Our author accepts the view of most critics that the *righteousness* of God in the Old Testament stands in close

connexion with His goodness. It is that form of the Divine activity that is directed, not to the punishment of sinners, but to the protection of the righteous and the maintenance of their rights against their foes. Redemption is in this way regarded as a deed of God's righteousness. Israel, therefore, was taught to rest its hope of salvation on a judicial act of God, resulting in its justification from its sins. And if we ask, how, in spite of its sinfulness, Israel could place its hope of salvation on the Divine righteousness, the answer is, that this arose from God's gracious relation to Israel, as their Father and King. As King He bound Himself to defend His believing people, to manifest Himself in acts of judgment on their behalf, the claim on His judicial righteousness which their faith and obedience gave them being a claim that had been conceded to them, and rested entirely on His grace.

This doctrine underwent a serious change in the teaching of the synagogue. The books of the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha show that the original significance of the Divine righteousness as a ground of hope for Israel was gradually lost sight of. The *justitia Dei* came to be regarded not as *salutifera* but as *punitiva*, and judgment became an object, not of hope but of dread. From a God whose righteousness was displayed in the infliction of judicial penalty, a people conscious of their sinfulness could expect no justification until indeed satisfaction was rendered to His righteousness, and room had been made thereby for the exercise of mercy. This idea, taken up into the legal system of the Pharisees, had disastrous consequences for the religion of Judaism.

The old Jewish type of piety, however, formed on the original ideas of the Old Testament, continued to flourish, Cremer shows, in the land alongside of the more corrupt form that reached its full bloom in Pharisaism. Of this we have interesting evidence in the figures that come before us in the early chapters of Luke's Gospel, of the devout men and women who waited for the manifestation of the saving righteousness of God in acts of judgment that were to result in the redemption of His people.

Christ addressed Himself in the first instance to those "meek ones in the land". In His preaching of the coming of the Kingdom of God, He proclaimed a salvation that was to be ushered in by a judicial act of God, having for its object the justification of those who believed in God and waited for the promised good. He indeed delayed the crisis. Instead of inaugurating this era of judgment, He consented to suffer and die, for Israel needed forgiveness, in order that that era might not issue in destruction to them, and forgiveness implied their acceptance of Him as the Messiah in penitence and faith. Hence He appeared not as a king or a judge but as a Saviour who had to suffer and die, and thus bring near to men the grace of forgiveness.

The peculiarity of Paul's view of salvation is accounted for by the circumstance of his conversion. Unlike the other disciples whose faith in Jesus as the Messiah was reached by their following the instinct of the normal type of Jewish piety, Paul was a Pharisee to begin with, and represented the perverted form of the religious consciousness of Israel. The question that was first with him was how he was to attain to the righteousness that would save him from the judgment of the Messiah. He hoped by good works in obedience to the law to make it possible that he would thus escape judgment. But he had consciously failed to achieve a righteousness that could be valid for that end. When converted, he found the true answer: "The righteousness that would stand him in good stead was the forgiveness of sins which he found by faith in the Crucified One. The forgiveness of sin was the justification he had received, the justification of the *godless*. This was the form in which he had manifestly to give expression to his Christianity and to the grace of God that he had to announce to the world" (p. 312).

In the chapter on *The Faith of the Apostle*, the author enters fully into the nature of the faith that is the equivalent of righteousness in the eye of God, emphasising the union with Christ it implies, and the Divine agency that effects it. In the chapter that follows on *Justification by Faith alone, and of Grace alone*, he examines Paul's use of the term *justify*.

As in the Old Testament, it is with Paul strictly a forensic term. The reckoning of faith as a righteousness that frees the ungodly from the imputation of sin is a judicial act of God. His faith is in the judgment of God reckoned as righteousness, and this faith is accepted as a substitute for the righteousness that is wanting, as giving him who has it a quasi-right to justification. All this is of grace. It is the procedure of One who is Judge because He is in the first instance King and Father, revealing in the act of forgiving His royal prerogative to save the sinner, and graciously giving to him who believes in Christ, a claim to be accounted righteous and to be forgiven.

The difference between the Old Testament and the Pauline view of the matter is thus put: "The righteous in the Old Testament are, although sinners, still righteous ones, and as such become partakers of the salvation which brings to light their righteousness, covers their unrighteousness, and establishes them thereby in righteousness. They are righteous ones, therefore, who are justified by the judgment of God, and receive forgiveness and full salvation. It is otherwise with Paul. "All sin and come short of the glory of God, being justified freely" (Rom. iii. 23). After Israel had crucified the Son of God, what was true of the heathen world became true also of Israel. It became a question not of *being* but of *becoming* righteous. How is a sinner to become a righteous man? In no other way than hitherto, *viz.*, by faith; and so Gen. xv. 6, and Hab. ii. 4, are brought into correspondence, and that not artificially but in accordance with the proper fundamental view of the Old Testament. For even the righteous man, as we have described him, and as Hab. ii. 4 speaks of him, could have had no righteousness, no right to hope in God, if God had not first given it to him. This right flows to him from grace in consequence of God's covenant with him, and he has it because he believes. This was Abraham's righteousness, a righteousness before the law and independent of the law, and this righteousness bestowed by God's grace was the righteousness of the New Testament. God bestows it as the gift of His grace, for He works the

faith that is accounted righteousness. Thus we become righteous, and this is what Paul announces. The sense in which he appeals to Hab. ii. 4 is really the same. There is reference there to the righteous man who manifests his righteousness in his steadfast cleaving to God. But how has he become righteous? He would have no right to trust in God (for before Him no one living is righteous) if God had not given him the right, had not thereby put him, in spite of his sin, in the position of a righteous man. Therefore this righteousness also consists in the forgiveness of sin" (pp. 348-9).

I cannot refer to the interesting chapters that follow on Judgment according to Works, Election and Adoption, The Significance of the Law, Justification and Baptism, The Agency of the Holy Spirit in the Grace of Justification. A word remains to be said on the concluding chapter on the connexion between our justification and the death and resurrection of Christ. The old idea that the suffering and death of Christ availed to the sinner's justification because the righteousness of God required to this end that the punishment of sin should be borne by a substitute, if it was to be remitted to the sinner, is repudiated by the author as an idea alien to Paul's thought, and betraying the influence of Pharisaic teaching on Christian theology. His own view is indicated in these sentences: "It is the crucified Christ in whom Paul recognises the Messiah, in whom he discovers that God's judgment is in man's favour. That supplied the knowledge that Christ suffered death from God for us, in order that death might not inflict on us the judgment we had deserved" (p. 435). But why was this necessary? The answer is that "the suffering and death of Christ is the accomplishment of the world's pardon or redemption. In pure grace God sends His Son. The presence of His Son is the gracious pardon of the world (*die Begnadigung der Welt*). For He suffers all that men in their alienation from God inflict upon Him without uttering a word of complaint. His suffering and death is the exercise of the grace of forgiveness towards the world. The sin of the world against God (in the rejection of His Son), is, on the side

of God, the covering and forgiveness of sin " (p. 435). " His union with us brings death to Christ, but He endures it without separating Himself from us or abandoning us to judgment, and the Father suffers Him to die, or surrenders Him to death, that we might be spared judgment. He raises Him from the dead and gives Him back to us that we might have in Him a Saviour and Helper " (p. 438). The virtue of His death lies in His maintenance and manifestation of the spirit of forgiveness to the end.

It will be seen that the results of this biblical inquiry are at variance in important particulars with traditional orthodoxy. At the same time they approximate very closely to those of inquirers in the same field who are not such pronounced Biblicists as Cremer is. Ritschl and he are substantially at one in their findings on this subject. Cremer's exposition of faith is indeed worked out in a simpler and more evangelical way, and contrasts favourably with the stiff and somewhat scholastic treatment of it by Ritschl. But both agree in refusing to father upon the Apostle that view of the Divine righteousness that lies at the root of the scheme of thought employed in the scholastic theology of Protestantism to formulate the great reformation doctrine of justification. This revolt against the current dictum of the Pharisaic origin of the Pauline type of doctrine is significant.

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

Das gesetzesfreie Evangelium des Paulus nach seinem Werdegang dargestellt.

Von Dr. Paul Feine, ord. prof. der. evangel. Theol. in Wien,
Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs ; London and Edinburgh : Wil-
liams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 232.

THIS is a most elaborate and scientific study of the personal life of Paul before and after his conversion, showing what his spiritual attitude was in the pre-Christian period and what the spiritual processes were by which he advanced to that which is represented in his apostolic teaching. In a short introduction Dr. Feine clearly indicates his position. He objects to the point of view from which the Tübingen school of Baur and Holsten has framed its theory of Paul's doctrine as one sided, inasmuch as it regards the construction of the Pauline system from the purely intellectual side as a pure dialectical process. The other extreme is maintained by a young theologian, J. Müller, in an interesting and suggestive work published a year or two ago, *Das persönliche Christenthum der paulinischen Gemeinden nach seiner Entstehung untersucht*. He finds in the Epistles no theology, but only intuition and loose reflection, and represents Paul as a theosophist rather than a theologian ; not a religious teacher, but a passionate religious agitator. The truth lies between these two extremes. While recognising the enthusiastic, emotional and mystical element in Paul's nature, Dr. Feine sees in him also a thinker of no ordinary measure, who, with a thoroughly logical mind, traces back every phenomenon to its original ground and seeks to reduce all the facts of consciousness to an undisputed unity. As apostle, Paul broke through the limits of contemporary Judaism without ceasing to be a Jew in his thinking and sentiment.

In the first chapter, pp. 12-46, our author discusses the content of Paul's pre-Christian consciousness in his sections on the Pharisaic and the Hellenistic elements. In this latter section we have a careful discussion of 1 Cor. xv. 45 *ff.*, on the first and second Adam, which may be compared with the admirable treatment of the subject by Dr. Somerville in his Cunningham Lecture, pp. 51-53. The conclusion reached by Dr. Feine is that we cannot prove that Philo's theory of the double creation of man and the consequent conception of the Messiah as the pre-existent heavenly man, influenced Paul's pre-Christian thinking, and that the supposition is contradicted by 2 Cor. v. 16, where Paul declares that before his conversion he had held the Pharisaic doctrine of the Messiah. As a Christian, he makes use of Philo's mode of expression, but in an opposite sense. But whatever modes of thought and expression he may have borrowed, his whole circle of thought differed from that of Greek philosophers and Jewish traditionalists in this, that it was created out of his own Christian experience.

Another passage of very special interest is that, pp. 131-168, which treats of Paul's doctrine of the Christian's relation to sin, as set forth in Rom. vii. On the much-debated question of the interpretation of this chapter, Feine concludes that, with certain reservations, we must understand this passage in the sense of Augustine and the Reformers, as giving the experience of a regenerate man—of one, however, who has not made the highest attainments in the spiritual life. The apostle, as a genuine Pharisee, could not, before his conversion, have had a full knowledge of sin, and the attitude of the unconverted Paul to sin and the law is not that of Rom. vii. 7, for such a view of the history of mankind and of the experience of the individual is attainable only by faith in the Christ who is dead to the flesh and the law.

After two very interesting and important chapters on "The Law," and "The Law, Flesh and Sin," both of which are full of instruction and rich in exegetical studies on some of the most characteristic sayings of Paul, our author sums up the results of his investigation. Paul's system is not so

much a speculative outline or a thinking out in a philosophical way, of the problems with which he met, but rather a statement of necessary consequences from the experience of his life. His knowledge follows the objective facts on which he stands, which he allows to unfold themselves. The pre-Christian thinking of Paul has in it Hellenistic elements, only in so far as these were in Pharisaism, and so Paul is to be understood from the point of view of a religious and not a philosophical interest. His whole theology depends upon his doctrine of God—all his Christian thoughts take shape from his doctrine of Christ and the Spirit. Only from this centre, or starting point, can we get a right understanding of the Pauline anthropology and of his theory of the relation of the flesh and sin.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

Glaubensregel, Heilige Schrift und Taufbekenntniss.

Untersuchungen über die dogmatische Autorität, ihr Werden, und ihre Geschichte, vornehmlich in der alten Kirche, von Dr. Johannes Kunze. Leipzig : Dörffling und Franke. 8vo., pp. xii., 560. M.15.

WHAT is the Rule of Faith? This question is still the battleground of Catholic and Protestant, of Episcopalian and Presbyterian, of Ritschlian and Evangelical. Prof. Kunze seeks to solve the problem by a thorough investigation of the historical origins and subsequent development of the conception of a rule of faith. He has already won his spurs in this field of inquiry;¹ the present work shows a still more masterly grasp of the whole field of early Christian literature, and proves Dr. Kunze well qualified to speak even with Zahn and Harnack in the gate. Prof. Zöckler of Greifswald² has referred to Dr. Kunze's work as the first serious attempt to combine in a larger synthesis the valuable researches of Overbeck, Zahn, etc., in the history of the Canon, and of Kattenbusch, Swainson, Burn, etc., in the history of the Creed; and, on this ground alone, his work must be reckoned with by those who would red the marches between the authority of Scripture and that of Christian tradition, or who would restate, in the light of history and of modern criticism, the relation of the Church of Christ to the written Word. The keen conflict which has been waged in the Lutheran Church over the authority of the Apostles' Creed has evoked not a few writings of interest and value, but probably none which excels this work of Dr. Kunze's in width of outlook, in thoroughness of research, in calmness of judgment, and in permanent scientific worth.

¹ Cf. his *Marcus Eremita*, 1895; *Das Nicänisch-Konstantinopolitanische Symbol*, 1898.

² Cf. *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, July, 1899.

The familiar conception of a "rule of faith" (*κανὼν τῆς πίστεως* s. *τῆς ἀληθείας*, *regula fidei*) meets us in Christian theology from about the year 170. According to Zahn, it was simply another name for the creed confessed by the Christian convert at baptism, of which we have a later form in the so-called Apostles' Creed. According to Harnack, the baptismal confession was erected into an infallible rule of faith by the Church at Rome, which thus laid the corner stone of Catholicism, and took a long step in the fatal road that led away from the historical figure of Christ, than which there ought to be no other rule of faith. Prof. Kunze's researches make both the one position and the other untenable. In particular, he shows that the rule of faith embraced, sometimes explicitly, but always implicitly, Holy Scripture; and that both a collection of apostolic Scriptures and a fixed type of baptismal confession, which was regarded as the essence of these Scriptures, already existed, and had supreme and authoritative worth for the whole Church, before the two, in their mutual relation and interdependence, were employed in the conflict with heresy as a *rule of faith*. Dr. Kunze defines the original meaning of the rule of faith in two alternative statements of equal validity, the first of which is more apposite to the Western, the second to the Eastern Church. "The Rule of Faith in the Old Catholic Church is the Baptismal Confession, in so far as it is employed against heresy, and is supplemented and explained from Holy Scripture, Holy Scripture itself being always included." Or, "The Rule of Faith is the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testaments conceived as a unity and employed against heresy, in so far as Scripture has for its content the faith expressed in the primitive Baptismal Confession, this Confession itself being always included". This twofold definition is explained and established by means of an exhaustive inquiry into the writings of the early Fathers, and from the vantage ground thus gained, a flood of light is thrown backward upon the origins of the rule of faith, and forward upon the whole course of its future development.

After a short introduction, setting forth the nature of the

problems which gather round the conception of a rule of faith (chap. i., pp. 1-4), and an inquiry into the origin, meaning and distribution of the various terms in which this conception is expressed (chap. ii., pp. 5-16), there follows a careful investigation of the "Baptismal Confession in the Pre-Nicene Church," and ample proof is given that in the Eastern, as well as in the Western Church, a short Trinitarian confession of the same general type had been in use from the very earliest period in connection with the sacrament of Baptism (chap. iii., pp. 17-71). Under the heading "Rule of Faith and Baptismal Confession" (chap. iv., pp. 72-91), it is shown that these two conceptions were not identical, that the Baptismal Confession even in the Western Church became the rule of faith only when directed against heresy, and that the rule of faith always included something, and often included much, beyond what is contained in the Baptismal Confession. The Confession was the skeleton or framework; the clothing, the flesh and blood, came from Scripture. An elaborate inquiry, entitled "Rule of Faith and Holy Scripture" (chap. v., pp. 92-184), shows in detail how, for the Fathers of the second and third century, not excluding Tertullian, Holy Scripture, and more particularly Apostolic Scripture, was always included in greater or less degree under the conception of the rule of faith. Tertullian's advice to discard Scripture, and employ only the rule of faith for the condemnation of heretics, was the conscious innovation for ecclesiastical purposes of a practical lawyer, and was not always followed by Tertullian the theologian. A "Comprehensive View of the Rule of Faith in the Old Catholic Church" (chap. vi., pp. 185-215) justifies, as against Kattenbusch on the one hand and Harnack on the other, the twofold definition already quoted of the rule of faith. This definition explains what Harnack has failed to explain—the triumph of orthodoxy over Gnosticism. Harnack is historically inaccurate when he says that the Church vanquished Gnosticism at one stroke by transforming a baptismal confession into a statutory and infallible rule of faith. At such full-blown Catholicism the Church arrived by very gradual

steps. The course of this remarkable development, its relation to the canon of faith and the canon of Scripture, its gradual exaltation of the Church above both Scripture and Creed, is traced in a long and interesting chapter, "The Later Historical Development of the Rule of Faith in the East and in the West" (chap. vii., pp. 218-312).

Having endeavoured by a wide induction to reach the true historical conception of the rule of faith, Kunze now returns to the problem of its origin, which he describes as in a sense the main problem of the history of Dogma. This subject is treated at length under the title "The Evolution (Herausbildung) of the Rule of Faith in the Conflict with Gnosticism and Marcionitism" (chap. viii., pp. 313-442). The fundamental conception of Harnack's *History of Dogma*, according to Kunze, is that the New Testament Canon, and the Baptismal Creed were creations of the (Old) Catholic, and especially of the Roman Church, in order to crush out heresy. Against this conception Kunze raises an emphatic protest; and it will be difficult to withhold assent from his carefully won conclusions. By means of a thorough investigation of the characteristic features of Gnosticism and Marcionitism, he proves conclusively that an apostolic canon and an apostolic creed were already the inalienable possession of the Church before they were employed as a rule of faith against heretics. Apostolic origin, not ecclesiastical sanction, had already given both to creed and canon their supreme authority; the conflict with heresy only made the Church conscious of the worth of what she already possessed.

After an interesting discussion of the light thrown upon the history of the *Regula fidei*, or dogmatic authority, by the parallel history of the "Regula disciplinae," or ethical authority, (the vow of renunciation, etc., which preceded the baptismal confession), (chap. ix., pp. 443-464), Prof. Kunze brings his task to a close by a "General Review of the Development of the Rule of Faith and its Issues in the Reformation" (chap. x., pp. 465-548). This is pre-eminently a chapter for the

times. The early Fathers, who had to defend the truth against heresy, rendered this fundamental service to the Church that they made her conscious of the existence of a supreme authority or rule of faith, first—and the order is essential—in the Apostolic writings, then in the Apostolic Confession, and lastly also in an Apostolic Church. The original relation of these three elements in the rule of faith was grievously altered in the course of the succeeding centuries; but the Reformers, and in particular Luther, went behind the first beginnings of Catholicism and revived the primitive rule of faith in its purest form. According to Harnack, Luther “refused to have his mouth stopped even with the authority of an apostle,” and at the same time brought over with him into the Protestant Church such rags of Catholicism as the Apostles’ Creed, and a verbally inspired Canon. Kunze emphatically repudiates both these statements, offers a spirited defence not only of the consistency of Luther but of the soundness of his Christian judgment, and maintains that the Evangelical Church of to-day has no other choice than to find her rule of faith where Luther and the early Fathers found it, *viz.*, in what is Apostolic. Thus in her canon of Scripture she cannot give an equal place to all those books “of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church” (*Art. of Religion*, vi.); that were to set the authority of the Church above the authority of the Apostles; the true canon both of Scripture and of the Faith is *das apostolische*.¹

So bald a survey does great injustice to the contents of a rich and important volume, and space forbids either greater detail or the discussion of individual points. Even those who occupy a different standpoint from Dr. Kunze will be grateful to him for his accurate and wide research, and for his fresh, vigorous and lucid discussion of a great subject; while very many will hail his work as an invaluable contribution to

¹ Cf. Kunze's *Evangelisches und Katholisches Schriftprinzip* (Leipzig, Dörffling und Franke, 1899), an interesting lecture delivered to the *Hohensteiner Pastoral-Konferenz*.

a right understanding of early Christianity, and to the settlement of some very modern and very pressing problems with regard to the authority of Scripture, of the Church, and of tradition. Students of the history of the Creed will find in an appendix a valuable collection of original documents (with notes) entitled, "Materials for the History of the Baptismal Confession in the Eastern Church since the Fourth Century".

ROBERT A. LENDRUM.

Anecdota Oxoniensia.

The Letters of Abu 'l-'Alā of Ma 'Arrat Al-Nu'mān. Edited from the Leyden Manuscript, with the life of the author by Al-Dhahabi, and with translation, notes, indices and biography. By D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 4to, pp. xlv. + 152, 148. Price 15s.

THE contents of this volume of *Anecdota Oxoniensia* are not of wide literary or historical importance, though Abu 'l-'Alā, whose letters are here reproduced, occupied a prominent place among the literary men of his time, and gained considerable distinction as a poet. It is needless to say that the book is excellently printed (the Arabic text is very beautiful); while the translation and the editorial work are such as we expect from the distinguished Oxford Professor of Arabic.

The Arabic text of the forty-two letters here published covers 128 pages. This is followed by Dhahabi's life of Abu 'l-'Alā, in nine pages, and by eleven pages of indices—all in Arabic—the whole amounting to 148 pages, as given in the title above.

It is of some interest to note that an edition of these letters appeared at Beyrout when Professor Margoliouth's work was in the press, and the Oxford editor gives in an appendix "a comparative table of pages of the Beyrout and Oxford editions". The English index, though not so detailed as the Arabic, is sufficiently helpful; and the most important dates are given in years A. D., as well as A. H.—for which a word of thanks is due.

But it is time to turn to the writer of these letters. Ma 'Arrah (Marrah) is a Syrian town lying some distance to the south of Haleb (Aleppo). Here in the year A.D. 973 was

born Abu 'l-'Alā Aḥmad, son of Abdallah. He belonged to a family of some distinction. His father was a poet, not without renown, and appears to have been a man of high character and retiring disposition. He died while his famous son was still young. At an early age—before he was four years old—Abu 'l-'Alā had a severe attack of small-pox which resulted in the loss of his eyesight, and handicapped him for life. As a compensation, he had an extraordinary memory—as may be inferred from the numerous quotations in his letters. His life divides itself into three periods: "(1) that of his youthful studies, which terminated in A. D. 993; (2) his life in Marrah ending with his visit to Baghdad, which lasted from 1008 to 1010; and (3) his seclusion in Marrah, which lasted from his return from Baghdad to his death". In the first of these periods, which extended over twenty years, he received a careful training partly at home and partly in neighbouring cities. Learning and literary distinction were duly appreciated by Abu 'l-'Alā's contemporaries. Study was encouraged. Books were provided. It seems to have been a custom (which might advantageously be followed in our own country more generally than it is) for men of wealth, whose tastes lay in the collection of books, to leave their libraries to the public. In Aleppo a single library is said to have contained 20,000 volumes. Young Abu 'l-'Alā, notwithstanding his blind eyes, took full advantage of the provision thus offered, and, at the age of twenty, returned to his native town with a mind well trained and stored with knowledge. He remained at Marrah for fifteen years, and then left for Baghdad.

The occasion of this journey has been made matter of debate. The loss of a small pension which he had enjoyed in Marrah has been adduced as the chief reason. It may be so. But a visit to the world-renowned capital of Haroun Al-Raschid, on the part of a savant like Abu 'l-'Alā, does not seem to require any such reason. It may not be so easy to explain why he left Baghdad after a stay of only about a year and a half.

It is obvious that he meant to make a prolonged, if not permanent residence in the capital on the Tigris. In a letter

to his maternal uncle, written after his return from Baghdad, he says: "Now I had thought that the days would vouchsafe to me to abide there; but the wild beast sticks tight to his bone . . . ; and I found learning at a greater discount at Baghdad than gravel at the 'Akabah heaps,¹ cheaper than dates at Medinah, more common than palm branches in Yemamah, more copious than water in the ocean. However, there is some obstacle in the way of every blessing, and some storm cloud or roller in the way of every pearl." . . . "Had I known that I should have to come back I should not have gone upon this journey; however, 'misfortune attends the tongue'; and fortune is fickle; and events are like waves of the sea—some of them revealing foul vegetation, others fair rows of pearls. Man knows not to what his mind is attached, nor to what thicket his luck will bring him. Had I known the future, I should have got myself great good fortune, and no harm should have touched me." The truth is that he was too independent. Like Samuel Johnson, he would not bend the knee to the patrons of his time.

This feature of his character was apparent in Marrah before he went to Baghdad. And it was not likely to serve him well among the sycophants and self-seekers of the capital. It is true that his fame preceded him, and he received a warm welcome from many. But others looked askance. And within little more than eighteen months he deemed it expedient to leave the place. He himself gives as reasons for his departure his mother's illness, and his failing resources.

This may be accepted; but it is highly probable—as reported in this volume—that some straightforward criticism gave offence in influential quarters, and Abu 'l-'Alā thought it advisable to return home, when he was only beginning to be familiar with the life of the gay capital. It can scarcely be doubted but that he could easily have earned a comfortable livelihood, if he had fallen in with the customs of the savants of the city. That he left the capital with reluctance and

¹ See Keane, *Six Months in the Hijāz*, where it is stated that after each pilgrimage these heaps are removed.

regret may be inferred from what he says to a friend in letter xxii. : "Damascus is the dearly-loved bride of Syria, and the chief jewel of her necklet ; and I may hope that the Mosque of Damascus has made you forget the Mosque of Al-Medinah, and that its water has consoled you for the water of the Tigris. I have indeed told you ere this, that he who leaves Baghdad finds no place that will do instead, however well watered it be ; for there the old learning is still fresh, whereas sound knowledge is sickly elsewhere. Syria is more friendly and less expensive."

Disappointed by his visit to Baghdad, and stricken with sorrow through the death of his mother, which took place before he returned to Marrah, Abu 'l-'Alā sought a life of seclusion. But it was not to be. The blind poet who had associated with the savants of Baghdad became the hero of Marrah. Travellers visited his humble home. His advice was sought from every side. Students resorted to his lecture room. He was invoked as intercessor with the governor on behalf of his native town when, on account of a riot, it was exposed to severe treatment. Another governor endeavoured to secure his services as court poet. He declined the honour in a letter full of quaint illustrations, the last sentence of which is as follows : "I send his highness, the prince, the greeting of a grateful and loving servant, a greeting which joins sunrise to sunset, and continues the attack with the rise of Hesperus till the time when the garments of night are rent ; a greeting which, passing by the dusty plain, renders it fragrant as Indian perfume" (letter xxiv.).

In short, Abu 'l-'Alā became a great man in Marrah, and appears to have continued so till, in A. D. 1058, he passed from this life after three days' illness, at the ripe age of eighty-five years.

The third period of his life was spent partly in teaching, but chiefly in writing. His most popular work was a collection of his early poems, including a few composed soon after his return from Baghdad, published under the title, *Sakt Al-Zand (Primitiae)*. Of his other works (said to have numbered fifty-five) the best known, according to Professor Margoliouth,

is a collection of poems, "in which every verse of a poem is made to rhyme in two consonants instead of one, whereby the difficulty of manipulation, which in all the Arabic metres is considerable, is very greatly increased". This book is of special interest, because a charge of heretical teaching was founded on it, and Abu 'l-'Alā's orthodoxy was gravely questioned. Certainly some of his opinions were peculiar. But he seems to have belonged to a family that claimed considerable freedom in matters of faith. When he was taken to task "for having neglected the pilgrimage, one of the essential duties of a Moslem," his answer was, "that neither his father, nor his cousin, nor his maternal uncle had performed it. If they were forgiven, he might expect forgiveness too; if they were lost, he would sooner share their fate".

The letters here reproduced belong to a selection from his correspondence made by Abu 'l-'Alā himself. They abound with specimens of oriental imagination and illustration. There is not a page without its hyperbole, or quaint conceit of phrase or figure. Every region—the heavens, the earth, the sea—seems to be at the beck and call of the writer. But it is not possible to convey a conception of these epistles by any words of criticism. We give a quotation or two which may serve the purpose, and, perhaps (?) induce the reader to peruse these wonderful productions for himself. The first letter shows us what we may expect. A public letter had been addressed to Marrah by the famous Al-Maghribi, and Abu 'l-'Alā rises to the occasion. "To us, the inhabitants of this town, a great honour has been given, and 'there has been delivered unto us an honourable missive'; proceeding from the residence of the great Doctor, who holds the reins of prose and verse; a missive which it is an act of piety to read, and whose peroration, or rather whose entirety, is frankincense. 'Imitate it who can!' It is too grand to be kissed, kisses are for its shadow: too precious to be handed about, let that be done with copies. For us it is a sort of Sacred Book! Were we not so chary of its witty contents, and so afraid of its ink running, and the light of its ideas being blurred, every mouth would have hastened to kiss it, and

every nose to inhale its perfume. Its lines would have become the cherry-colour on the lips, the scar produced by prostration on the brow" (and so on).

Here is a sample of the writer's *wisdom*: "The envious man is like a prattler, and 'the prattler is like one who gathers wood at night,' who cannot be sure but that he will lay hold on a viper, and whoso lays hold on that is face to face with death, and whoso is face to face with death is like yesterday when it is gone. This is to show the seeker after truth that replies are of three kinds, indirect, direct, and one of which mankind are incapable; and that interrupters are of three sorts, the correcting, the captious and the vexatious; and that poets are of three sorts, those who write correctly, those who write incorrectly, and those who use licence; and that licences are of three sorts, in accordance with analogy, in accordance with usage, and in accordance with neither" (letter xxvi.).

Satis, autem, satisque.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

Notices.

We are indebted to Dr. Agnes Smith Lewis for the two interesting publications which make No. IX. and No. X. of the series known as *Studia Sinaitica*.¹ They deal with the collection of *Narratives of Holy Women*, the text of which was written over that of the important Syriac version of the Gospels discovered by Mrs. Lewis, in 1892, in the library of the Monastery of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai. Mrs. Lewis has been able to decipher these narratives from her photographs of the famous codex, and now publishes both the Syriac text itself and a careful translation of it by her own hand. She has also used, in some cases, an older text found in manuscripts belonging to the British Museum. The stories themselves are of very limited interest, except that they cast some light on the ascetic ideas of those old days, and show us what sort of reading was considered suitable for the convent refectory. As Mrs. Lewis remarks, they were "so highly valued in the eighth century that a monk named John the Recluse or the Stylite of Beth-Mari-Ḳaddisha, in Qanūn, a monastery near to the town of Kaukab of Antioch, being in want of vellum, sacrificed for their sake that fourth century text of the Holy Gospels which the biblical critics of the present day hold in the highest esteem". That the transcriber was this John the Stylite appears from a colophon recently discovered. It is superfluous to say that

¹No. IX. *Select Narratives of Holy Women from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest. Syriac Text.* London: Cambridge University Press, 1900. 4to. Price 21s. net.

No. X. *Select Narratives of Holy Women*, etc. Translated by Agnes Smith Lewis, M.R.A.S., Hon. Phil. Dr. Halle-Wittenberg. London: Cambridge University Press. 4to, pp. xxxi. + 211. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Mrs. Lewis has done her part with her accustomed carefulness and sagacity.

Dr. Joseph Agar Beet publishes the ninth edition of his *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*.¹ The book has been found useful by many, and has had a very prosperous career. We wish it an equally successful course in this new issue. It lacks some of the larger historical elements which are now recognised as part of the necessary equipment of the exegete. But it is minute and exact on the grammatical and linguistic side. It also gives a more faithful representation of the characteristic Pauline terms and ideas with regard to sacrifice, atonement, justification and cognate subjects than one finds in some commentaries of recent date that are held in great esteem. In this it is of great value.

Those who wish to have at hand a concise, reliable and well-written account of the literary and historical questions connected with the various books of Scripture will find it in the volume on *Biblical Introduction*² which we owe to Professors Bennett and Adeney. The former scholar takes the Old Testament, the latter the New. They know their subjects thoroughly, and have produced a joint work of great value in regard both to the admirable precision of their statements and their careful application of the recognised principles of criticism.

The *Expositor*³ has reached the second volume of its sixth series; it has had a remarkable career, and under Dr. Robertson Nicoll's editorship, it continues to occupy an honoured place among our religious journals. This volume contains papers by men like Professors Bacon, Bennett, Dods, Findlay, Gray, Rendel Harris, Margoliouth and Ramsay, not to mention other scholars of repute. It is full of good and useful matter of many different kinds.

¹ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. + 386. Price 7s. 6d.

² London: Methuen & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 487. Price 7s. 6d.

³ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

The *Heidelberg Catechism*¹ is one of the best of the symbolical books of the Reformation, less logical and complete than the Westminster Confession, but vital and practical in a high degree. Mr. Smellie has acted wisely in adding it to the tasteful series edited by him under the title of *Books of the Heart*. He has given us an admirable edition, in which we have the German text, a revised translation, and a very good Introduction on the Catechisms of the Reformation—Luther's, Calvin's, the Anglican, the Heidelberg, John Craig's, and the Westminster *Shorter Catechism*.

The Messrs. Longmans have laid the public under great obligation by issuing a cheap edition of Dr. Alfred Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*.² Of the importance of the book it is superfluous to speak here. The fact that it is in its tenth impression is witness enough to the place which it occupies in public acceptance. And it deserves the popularity it has won. It is the best book we have in respect of the continuous use of Jewish thought, belief and practice in the exposition of its great subject. It has its shortcomings, it is true, in this particular line as in others. But the fact remains that we have no English life of our Lord that can compete with it in the things which give it its distinctive character. It is a great matter to have it now at the moderate price of 12s., and that not in any abridged form, but complete as originally printed.

The Trustees of the British Museum deserve the best thanks of scholars for two publications which have been prepared with great care and will be most useful for purposes of research. These are the *Descriptive List of Syriac and Karshuni MSS. in the British Museum acquired since 1873*,³ and the *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manu-*

¹ London: Andrew Melrose, 1900. Fcp. 8vo, pp. lxxxviii. + 101. Price 2s. 6d.

² *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*. By Alfred Edersheim, M.A. Oxon., D.D., Ph.D. In two volumes. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. xxxv. + 695 and xii. + 826. Price 12s. net.

³ London: sold at the British Museum, and by Messrs. Longmans; Quaritch; Asher & Co.; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.; and Mr. Henry Frowde, 1899. 8vo, pp. iv. + 64.

*scripts*¹ in the *British Museum, Part I*. We owe them to the able hand of Mr. G. Margoliouth. Both are admirably printed. The latter, indeed, is a superb publication, furnished with splendid plates. It represents an immense amount of work. Mr. Margoliouth has had the help of Messrs. Ginsburg and Posnański in the work of revision.

Dr. Robert Mackintosh of the Lancaster Independent College publishes *A First Primer of Apologetics*.² Its object is to exhibit the Christian argument frankly "as it shapes itself freely in the light of present-day knowledge and criticism". It does this ably and faithfully. It is clear, concise and pointed in its presentation of the various aspects of the case. It gives separate chapters to such topics as the Sinlessness of Christ (which is handled well), the Problems of Natural Theology (one of the best sections of the book), the Gospel Miracles of Healing, the Narratives of the Resurrection, the Argument for Prophecy, the Moral Difficulties of the Old Testament, etc. It supplies a real want, and should be found very useful by teachers and students.

The editor of the *English Theological Library* has done well in including the *Works of Bishop Butler*³ in his series. They make two handsome, beautifully printed, and in every way attractive volumes. The editorial work is ably discharged by Dr. Bernard of Dublin, who also supplies all that is needed in the way of Introduction and Notes. There is an excellent sketch of the Bishop himself, in which Dr. Bernard, starting with Newman's description of Butler as

¹ As above, 1899. 4to, pp. 283.

² London: Elliot Stock, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 92. Price 3s.

³ *The Works of Bishop Butler*. A new edition with Introduction and Notes by T. H. Bernard, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Archbishop King's Lecturer on Divinity in the University of Dublin. Vol. I. Sermons, Charges, Fragments and Correspondence. Vol. II. The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature, to which are added Two Brief Dissertations: 1, Of Personal Identity; 2, Of the Nature of Virtue. London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. xxxiii. + 352 and xii. + 313. Price 7s. 6d. net each volume.

"the greatest name in the Anglican Church," gives a careful estimate of the permanent value of his contributions to ethics and theology, and explains the particular form which they took in face of English Deism in its golden age. The text is not over-burdened with editorial comment. All that is given is to the point. It would be difficult to imagine an edition better entitled to be called the *Student's* edition than these two splendid volumes.

Among other interesting articles in the *Teologisk Tidsskrift* we notice one on the *English Church in the Middle Ages* by J. O. Andersen in the sixth issue.

The last number of the *Homiletic Review* for 1900 should be consulted for Prof. W. M. Ramsay's article on "The Pauline Chronology". The corresponding number of the *Methodist Review* has an interesting "Study of Eminent Divines" by Dr. J. W. Webb. In the December issue of *L'Humanité Nouvelle* we notice an article by R. de la Grasserie on the question "De la classification des phénomènes sociaux". Professor Milton G. Evans of Bucknell University contributes to the closing issue of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1900 a paper on the title "The Son of Man". His conclusion is that our Lord selected the title because it was Messianic, "but obscurely so"; that He put into it the meaning which it has in the Book of Enoch, and also the idea of the suffering servant in Isaiah; that to Him it was a title of dignity, but that to His hearers it conveyed at first no clear meaning, arousing inquiry indeed, but solving nothing.

Among the papers of special interest in the closing number of the *International Journal of Ethics* for 1900, we may refer to one by Gilbert Murray on "National Ideals; Conscious and Unconscious," and another by Alfred W. Benn on "The Relation of Ethics to Evolution". "The doctrine of Evolution," says the latter, "from which so much had been hoped, throws no fresh light on the problems of ethics, although perhaps the study of ethics throws some light on the evolution of that doctrine itself. . . . The lessons on which the world's choicest spirits have lived are not made obsolete by

any modern discoveries; nor is there reason to believe that a reversal of moral values is, any more than a reversal of logical values, among the surprises which the future has in store."

Mind for October 1900 contains a number of articles of which special mention might well be made. Among them is one by R. R. Marett on "The Normal Self; a suggested Formula for Evolutionary Ethics," the object of which is to supplant by a better formula the "specious concept that still figures conspicuously at any rate in the more popular 'evolutionary' text-books, viz., that of the 'Tribal Self,'" as put by W. K. Clifford.

In the last quarter's issue of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, we notice an elaborate article by Dr. J. Oscar Boyd on "The Historicity of Ezra," and another by Professor J. I. Marais which gives an interesting sketch of the "Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa".

The closing number of the *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* for 1900 contains an article by Pfarrer E. Steudel on the "Truth of Christ's Pre-existence in its Importance for Christian Faith and Life," which will repay perusal.

The *American Journal of Theology* for the last quarter of 1900 opens with an important paper by Professor Kaftan on "Authority as a Principle of Theology". Professor W. R. Betteridge writes interestingly on "The Historical and Religious Significance of the Old Testament Prophets". Dr. George B. Gow contributes an elaborate paper on "The Place of Expiation in Human Redemption". His position is that, if we take expiation in the sense of the satisfaction rendered to the "Divine feeling toward the sinner in view of his transgression," i.e., the feeling of the Divine righteousness, "we need not rebel against such expressions as vicarious suffering, expiation in the blood of Jesus, the suffering of the just for the unjust and of the innocent for the guilty, propitiation made once for all, and others of like nature". He adds that, however defective or overcharged the language of some of our hymns and our popular preachers may be, the "religious world will never let go the reality of a

Divine propitiation for sin which underlies this strong language of religious feeling".

We have pleasure in noticing also *The Book of the Future Life*,¹ a valuable anthology of passages from all ages and all kinds of literature, bearing on the great question of Immortality, arranged in chapters according to their several subjects and prepared with great care and admirable discernment by Pauline W. Roose, assisted by David C. Roose, a book which none can read without delight and edification; a new edition, now the fourth, of Mr. E. Griffith-Jones's, *The Ascent through Christ*,² an able and seasonable book which has been already favourably noticed in this *Review*,³ and which deserves all the success it has had; *State Prohibition and Local Option*,⁴ a timely and welcome reprint of two chapters of Messrs. Joseph Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell's book on *The Temperance Question and Social Reform*, the most important contribution which has been made of recent years to the consideration of the questions of which it treats; *The Religious Spirit in the Poets*,⁵ a collection of essays by Bishop Boyd Carpenter, on the relations between religion and poetry, illustrated by special studies of Spenser, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Milton, Coleridge, Tennyson and Browning, popular in style, an appreciative, pleasant and instructive companion for quiet hours; a small volume, *All Change*,⁶ with the sub-title "Jottings at the Junction of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," by Wilfred Woolam, M.A., LL.M. Camb., a collection of reflections, homilies in miniature, and thoughts on such subjects as "The Havoc of Time," "The Age of Wonders,"

¹ London: Elliot Stock, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 275. Price 6s.

² London: James Bowden, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvi. + 409. Price 3s. 6d.

³ Vol. x., p. 43.

⁴ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 115-369, and 695-726. Price 1s. net.

⁵ By the Right Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter, D.D., Lord Bishop of Ripon, Hon. D.C.L. Oxon. London: Isbister & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 247. Price 5s.

⁶ London: Elliot Stock, 1900. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. 76.

etc., often well-expressed and suggestive, but why do they begin with so irritating a grammatical blunder as this: "Neither love nor hate *are* learnt?" ; *From the Scourge of the Tongue*,¹ a tale well told, healthy in tone, and showing considerable inventive talent, by Bessie Marchant (Mrs. J. A. Comfort); a cheap edition of Dr. Carr's biography of the late *Archbishop Benson*,² a book which does not profess to be more than a sketch that might be useful in default of an exhaustive *Life*, but which gives in highly eulogistic terms the main events in the laborious and exceptionally prosperous career of an English prelate who did much for his Church and was greatly trusted and honoured; *The Life of Christian Service*,³ a collection of extracts of a devotional character from the writings of Dean Farrar, judiciously selected and arranged by J. H. Burn, B.D.; the second part of the nineteenth volume of Holtzmann and Krüger's most useful and well-nigh indispensable *Theologischer Jahresbericht*,⁴ giving the literature of *Historical Theology* for 1899; the twenty-first annual volume of *Young England*,⁵ a magazine crammed with good things of all varieties in letterpress and in illustrations, a long-established favourite with boys throughout the English-speaking world; another instalment of the *Biblical Illustrator*,⁶ edited by the Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A., giving a vast mass of comment and illustration bearing on the interpretation and pulpit use of the books of Joshua, Judges and Ruth; a second edition of *An Outline of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*,⁷

¹ London: Andrew Melrose, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 207. Price 3s. 6d.

² *The Life-Work of Edward White Benson, D.D.*, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. By J. A. Carr, LL.D., Vicar of Whitechurch and Canon of Christchurch, Dublin. London: Elliot Stock, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 273.

³ London: Elliot Stock, 1900. Pp. 200. Price 5s., post free.

⁴ Bearbeitet von Lüdemann, Preuschen, Ficker, etc. Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 171-531. Price of the complete vol., £1 10s.

⁵ London: The Sunday School Union. Large 8vo, pp. 492. Price 5s.

⁶ London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 313 + 262 + 73. Price 7s. 6d.

⁷ London: Marlborough & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 204. Price 2s. 6d.

by C. E. Stuart, a thoughtful and useful series of papers, designed to help *English* readers to a better understanding of Paul's great argument, avoiding, therefore, all technicalities which might puzzle such readers, and concentrating attention on the essential ideas; the *Report of the Census of Cuba*, 1899,¹ issued by the War Department of the United States, a volume full of information of great interest for the statesman, the statistician, the merchant, the geographer, the historian, and the ethnologist; a volume of excellent addresses to children by Grace Winter, *Keep to the Right*,² on such topics as "Seed-sowing," "Shadows," "The Sand of the Sea," "Nets and Traps," etc.; a cheap but attractive and carefully-printed edition of Kingsley's *Westward Ho!*³; a story by Alexander Macdougall, entitled *The Autobiography of Allen Lorne, Minister of Religion*,⁴ with some very doubtful utterances on the Puritans and the Bible and such subjects, and too much of a didactic tone, but with some stirring passages and some vivid views of Scotch ways and Highland life; a very tasteful and most welcome edition of John Pulsford's *Quiet Hours*,⁵ second series; *An Essay toward Faith*,⁶ by Wilford L. Robbins, D.D., Dean of the Cathedral of All Saints, Albany, a small book written in an attractive style and a deeply devout spirit, grappling with the problem "how to make life strong and beautiful and free," here and there somewhat wide of the mark, as *e.g.*, when it speaks of the Bible and Protestantism (which latter term is bereft of the dignity of the capital P), but likely to be of use in its general line of statement to those who feel the pressure of a time of doubt; an *Approximate Chronology of the Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ*,⁷

¹ Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900. 8vo, pp. 786.

² London: The Sunday School Union. Small 8vo, pp. 128. Price 1s. 6d.

³ London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 484. Price 2s.

⁴ London: Fisher Unwin, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 312. Price 6s.

⁵ London: Andrew Melrose, 1900. Fcp. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 352. Price 2s. 6d.

⁶ London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Fcp. 8vo, pp. 173. Price 3s. net.

⁷ London: Jarrold & Sons, 1899. Small 4to, pp. 27.

specially adapted to the wants of Sunday School Teachers, Bible Classes, etc., and prepared with care and knowledge by W. H. H. Yarrington, M.A., LL.B.; an edition by H. F. Stewart, M.A., Chaplain of Trinity College, Cambridge, of *Thirteen Homilies of St. Augustine on St. John xiv.*,¹ giving the Latin text according to the Benedictine edition, an excellent English translation, and a considerable body of notes, all done in a scholarly fashion and in a way that will be a real help to candidates for holy orders; an edition of the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, together with the Apocalypses of each one of them*,² by F. Rendel Harris, M.A., giving the Syriac text (which is supposed to be original), with introduction and translation, of a curious series of tracts for which the able editor claims the value both of novelty of matter and of a place of some interest in "the record of the decline of Eastern Christianity"; an important volume of *Palestinian Syriac Texts from Palimpsest Fragments in the Taylor-Schechter Collection*,³ for which we are indebted to the scholarship and enterprise of Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis and Mrs. Margaret Dunlop Gibson; *An Arabic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Seven Catholic Epistles*,⁴ together with a *Treatise on the Triune Nature of God*, by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, M.R.A.S., both taken from a manuscript of the eighth or ninth century in the Convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai, the theological treatise (which appears to be the work of a Christian in defence of his faith against Moslems) being translated, and the Arabic text, which appears to be a translation of the Syriac Peshitta (in the case of Acts and the larger Epistles) and of the Philoxenian (in the case of the others), being carefully edited by Mrs. Gibson with the help of her sister; *Advance Endeavour!*⁵—the Souvenir Report of the World's Conven-

¹ Cambridge University Press, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxv. + 140. Price 4s.

² Cambridge University Press, 1900. 8vo, pp. 39 + 21. Price 5s.

³ London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1900. Small 4to, pp. xxi. + 113. Price 10s. 6d. net.

⁴ London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1899. Small 4to, pp. ix. + 60 + pp. 105 of text. Price 7s. 6d.

⁵ London: Andrew Melrose, 1900. 4to, pp. 264. Price 2s. 6d. net.

tion of Christian Endeavour in London, 1900, a volume well worth careful reading; *The Messages of Paul*,¹ by George Barker Stevens, Ph.D., D.D., Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University, a book on the same plan as the *Messages of the Prophets*, previously noticed in this review,² a successful attempt, by a scholar who has already tried his hand in the matter, to make the Pauline Epistles, by arrangement, analysis and free rendering, speak clearly and distinctly to the modern mind; a small volume by R. S. Kirk, entitled, *Side Lights on Great Problems of Human Interest*,³ containing some suggestive thoughts, expressed in clear and simple terms, on Providence, motive as the variant and developer of life, consciousness, evolution and similar topics, and attempting to make good the eternal principles underlying the Christian Gospel on the supposition that the "Pauline and Miltonic theological system is poetical and not historical".

In view of present discussions, the Hon. Arthur Elliot has republished his volume on *The State and the Church*,⁴ which he contributed so far back as 1882 to *The English Citizen* series. Mr. Elliot's view is that "an Established Church is necessarily subject to the State if differences arise between them"; that "an Act of Assembly is, in law, waste paper, if it is in conflict with an Act of Parliament"; that, while it is conceivable that the royal supremacy might be dropped in the case of the English Church, it is not conceivable that an Established Church should be exempt from the control of Parliament, and that, neither in England nor in Scotland, is it possible for the State Church to "exceed the bounds fixed by Act of Parliament". Both the history and the argument which are given in the book are of interest, and Mr. Elliot has a keen eye, which at the same time is singularly blind to some things. He does not seem to be aware

¹ London: James Clarke & Co. Royal 16mo, pp. 271. Price 3s. 6d.

² Vol. x., p. 564.

³ London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 47. Price 1s.

⁴ London: Macmillan & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 174. Price 2s. 6d.

of the real position of the Free Churches as regards the right of the Civil Courts to deal with contracts in respect of civil effects. He does not appear to see that certain actions on the part of the civil authority which might be matter of right in the case of State Churches, would be persecution in the case of others. Nor does he understand how, apart from the form of an Establishment, there can be any "national religion" in the sense of a recognition of religion by the State itself. He perceives, however, how the case of the Disestablished Church of Ireland tells, and how changed both the situation and the possibilities are in this whole region of things since 1882, and he says much that is pertinent and worth hearing.

We call attention also to *The Use of the Apocrypha in the Christian Church*,¹ by William Heaford Daubney, B.D., Rector of Leasingham, a treatise written with the view of asserting for "the other books" a better place in the regard of the Church and in its services than they have at present—valuable chiefly for what it says of the references to the Apocrypha in the New Testament, the way in which they were dealt with by the early Christian writers and by ancient Councils, the use made of them at the time of the Reformation, the estimates formed of them by leading English divines, etc., on all which points it has useful information to give us; *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern*,² the third part of the first year's issue of the valuable series of studies prepared by the Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft under the title of *Der alte Orient*, in which Dr. Alfred Jeremias, summarising the results of the most recent inquiry, gives a concise and interesting statement of the ideas and usages of the ancient Babylonians in connection with death, burial, the underworld, the islands of the blessed, the bread and water of life in Paradise, etc.; *Der Ordo Salutis in der alt-lutherischen Dogmatik*,³ by Dr. Max Koch, a treatise which takes us back to dogmatic questions

¹ London: C. J. Clay, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 120. Price 3s.

² Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 32. Price M.0.60.

³ Berlin: Duncker, 1899. 8vo, pp. 199.

and theological distinctions and definitions largely discussed of old—ably written and of interest to the practised theologian for the account it gives of Quenstedt's statement of the order of grace or salvation, the spiritual process of the appropriation of grace, the place of faith in it, the difference between the earlier and later Lutherans on these subjects, the influence of metaphysical ideas on the evangelical faith, etc.; *The Church of England: its Catholicity and Continuity*¹—a series of seven lectures by the Rev. Herbert Pole, assistant curate of Bexley Heath, popular in style and having no title to originality, giving a general view of certain great epochs in the history of the English Church with the intention of disproving that it “was made Protestant at the Reformation,” charging those of the present day who advocate disestablishment and disendowment with “a form of persecution, if not something worse,” and dismissing Dissenters as those who “do not acknowledge the Catholicity of the English Church” and “do not seem to grasp the idea that although the Church is a national Church, it is not a national Church alone, but it is the Church of Christ, the Church of all races and all ages” —a mighty claim indeed, built up on a very little knowledge; the eighth part (carrying us to the root ספר) of the important *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*,² based on Robinson's Gesenius and edited by Professor Francis Brown, D.D., with the co-operation of Professors S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs—a work which needs no commendation; the ninth edition, revised and improved, of Weizsäcker's justly-valued and widely-accepted translation of the New Testament;³ a careful and sympathetic appreciation of Professor C. Weizsäcker by Professor Hegler of Tübingen⁴;

¹ London: Skeffington & Son, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. + 214. Price 5s.

² Part viii. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900. 4to, pp. 617-704. Price 2s. 6d.

³ *Das Neue Testament übersetzt.* Von Carl Weizsäcker, D.Th. Tübingen, Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 458. Price 3s. net.

⁴ *Zur Erinnerung Carl Weizsäcker.* Tübingen, Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 69. Price 1s. net.

an instructive and somewhat detailed exposition of Bismarck's relations to Religion and the Church, by Professor Otto Baumgarten of Kiel,¹ given largely in Bismarck's own words, and bringing out among other things his dislike of the English Sunday; a similar estimate of Goethe's relation to Religion and Christianity by Professor Karl Sell of Bonn,² exhibiting in concise and forcible terms the poet's attitude to the great questions of faith at different periods of his career; an edition of the Bible with the special designation of the "Christian Edition,"³ prepared by Mr. T. K. Starley on the plan of taking the New Testament first and the Old Testament second in order, with an "Apology" offering reasons for this reversal of the usual arrangement; an interesting little volume on *Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*,⁴ by Mr. F. Crawford Burkitt, Trinity College, Cambridge, consisting of two lectures delivered at Trinity College, Dublin, which deal in a scholarly and instructive way with the creed of Aphraates, the Sacraments in Aphraates, Bardesanes' *De Fato* and the *Acts of Judas Thomas*.

We have to notice also a very readable and opportune biographical sketch of *Field-Marshal Lord Roberts*,⁵ by Horace G. Groser; *The Rights of War and Peace*,⁶ by Hugo Grotius, being the Prolegomena to Grotius's *De Jure belli et pacis*, a statement of great historical interest and great intrinsic value, now republished as No. 101 of the *Old South Leaflets*; a suggestive and well-written volume, by John M. McCandlish, W.S., on *Personal Character and Business Life*,⁷ full of ad-

¹ *Bismarck's Stellung zu Religion und Kirche*. Tübingen, Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 127. Price 1s. 9d. net.

² *Goethe's Stellung zu Religion und Christentum*. Vortrag mit Erläuterungen. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig und Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 104.

³ London: The Sabbath School Supply Co.

⁴ Cambridge: University Press, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 89. Price 2s. 6d.

⁵ London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 144. Price 1s. net.

⁶ Old South Meeting House, Boston, Mass.

⁷ Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 95. Price 1s. net.

mirable counsel for young men ; a collection of *Sermons for Children*,¹ by the late Thomas Sadler, Ph.D., delivered originally at Rosslyn Hill Chapel, Hampstead, on familiar themes such as "Christ and the Little Children," "The Young Samuel," "The Captive Hebrew Maid," etc., but fresh and interesting ; a second and thoroughly revised edition of the Commentary on *Psalms and Proverbs*,² in Strack and Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*, a very useful and scholarly book, which we are glad to see making its way among students ; *The Bramble King*,³ a contribution to the tasteful *Helps Heavenward* series, consisting of a series of brief, telling, suggestive expositions of certain Old Testament parables, by Mark Guy Pearse ; a clear, concise, and instructive analysis and appreciation of Martineau's *Study of Religion*,⁴ by Richard A. Armstrong, forming volume xviith of the series of *Small Books on Great Subjects* ; a third edition of *Thoughts Through the Year*,⁵ by J. E. A. Brown, a series of sonnets of considerable merit, suggested by the collects ; *The Class and the Desk*,⁶ a manual of preparation for Sunday School teaching, full of matter which should help those engaged in such work ; a pamphlet on *Hymns and Hymn Writers*,⁷ by B. S. Olding, in which some good remarks will be found both on the general question of the place of hymnody in worship, and on some particular classes of hymns ; *The Biblical Museum*, vol. x.,⁸ by James

¹ London : James Clarke & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 214. Price 3s. 6d.

² *Die Psalmen und die Sprüche Salomos übersetzt und ausgelegt.* Von Lic. Hans Kessler und Dr. Hermann L. Strack. München : Beck, 1899, pp. xx. + 302, and vii. + 104. Price M.6.

³ London : C. H. Kelly, 1900. Demy 16mo, pp. 147. Price 1s. 6d.

⁴ London : James Clarke & Co., 1900. Pott 8vo, pp. 115. Price 1s. 6d.

⁵ London : Elliot Stock, 1899. Pp 86.

⁶ New Testament Series : Gospels and Acts. By the Revs. James Comper Gray and Charles Stokes Carey. London : Elliot Stock, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 293. Price 1s. net.

⁷ London : Elliot Stock, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 32. Price 4d.

⁸ London : Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 384. Price 1s. net. The whole series of 15 vols. is now to be had for 15s.

Comper Gray, giving a running commentary on Daniel and the minor prophets, with an abundance of homiletic and illustrative matter carefully selected with a view to the needs of ministers, Bible students, and Sunday School teachers; a second and thoroughly revised edition of Dr. Colin Campbell's *The First Three Gospels in Greek arranged in Parallel Columns*,¹ a useful book, following the text of Tischendorf's eighth edition; *The Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria*,² collected and edited with scholarly carefulness and skill by P. Mor-dant, M.A., Christ's College, Cambridge, and enriched by a valuable Introduction by F. C. Burkitt, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, being vol. v., No. 5, of the excellent series of Texts and Studies, edited by Dr. J. Armitage Robinson.

An excellent biography of the late Prof. Calderwood comes to us from the hands of his son and the Rev. David Woodside.³ It will be received with satisfaction by a wide circle of personal friends, by many good men in the Scottish Churches, his own and others, by the numerous body of students who were trained under him, and by all interested in the history of philosophy in Scotland. Henry Calderwood is one whose career deserves to be remembered. At an unusually early age he achieved distinction. When only twenty-four years old he wrote his *Philosophy of the Infinite*, in which he subjected the ideas of his master, Sir William Hamilton, and Dean Mansel to a searching criticism, asserting that we can have a real, though partial knowledge of an infinite object, and vehemently assailing the position that God is unknown and unknowable. For many years he occupied a prominent position as an advocate of a philosophy which aimed at maintaining the rights of reason in the things of religious faith

¹ London, Edinburgh and Oxford: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. xv. + 223. Price 5s. net.

² Cambridge University Press, 1899. 8vo, pp. xix. + 64. Price 4s. net.

³ *The Life of Henry Calderwood, LL.D., F.R.S.E.*, by his son and the Rev. David Woodside, B.D. With a special chapter on his philosophical works by A. Seth Pringle-Pattison, LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. 8vo, pp. viii. + 447. Price 7s. 6d.

and life, and by his writings as well as his professional teaching he won a good name and great influence in America as well as at home.

The *Life* is the composition of two different hands, those of his son and his son-in-law. But it is a unity, nevertheless, and it is well done. Each of the two writers does his part with sound judgment and in an interesting way. The result is a telling picture of one who held for many years a distinguished place in the academic, ecclesiastical, and public life of Scotland. We have a vivid account of Dr. Calderwood's early career, his labours in his Glasgow pastorate, his long and useful occupancy of the chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, the part which he took in the counsels of the Church of which he was a devoted member, his activity in the charitable and political movements of the time. We get also a just and discriminating estimate of his contributions to literature. The value of the book is made the greater by the important chapter on his philosophical works which comes from the pen of his colleague, Professor Pringle-Pattison.

*Chalmers on Charity*¹ is the title given to a selection of passages and scenes to illustrate the social teaching and practical work of Thomas Chalmers, D.D. The idea is a happy one, and it has been carried out in a very effective way by one who has had large experience of charity work, Mr. N. Masterman, M.A., for eighteen years a member of the London Charity Organisation Society, and sometime guardian in the parish of Kensington. The book will be of much use. Few men of our century have had the claim to be heard that Thomas Chalmers has in the matters in question. By some of the most eminent authorities on social and economic questions, he is accorded the first place in the line of the great thinkers and workers in those fields in the nineteenth century. The advice given to aspiring students by some of the most recognised teachers is this—begin with

¹ Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. xxii. + 414. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Chalmers. The book is a real boon. If a still cheaper issue of it could be prepared, the service would be all the greater. It is a book that all should read who have their eye on the problems of the new century.

In his *Outlines of Christian Dogma*,¹ Mr. Darwell Stone, M.A., Principal of Dorchester Missionary College, aims at giving, with as little of the controversial as possible, a "clear and systematic idea of the chief tenets of the faith," and he seeks to do this in a way to meet the needs of those who are not students of technical theology. He begins with a chapter on the "Approach to Dogma," and proceeds thereafter to deal in succession with the doctrines of the nature and attributes of God, the Trinity, Creation, the Fall, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection and Ascension, the Nature of the Church, the Teaching Office and the Sanctifying Office of the Church, the operation of Grace and the Last Things. The standpoint is that of High Anglicanism. The influence of that is felt, as might be expected, in what is said of the Church. The construction of Christian doctrine is generally conservative. In some things it reminds one of Canon Liddon's ways. The book gives evidence of wide and careful reading. It is sober in spirit and presents a good view of the type of theology which it represents.

The "Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges" is enriched by a commentary on *The Book of Daniel*² by Professor S. R. Driver. It is superfluous to say that it is a valuable addition to the series. Characterised throughout by exact scholarship and careful criticism, it provides the student precisely with what he needs, both in Introduction and in Notes. In the work of the Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, we see the principles of the higher criticism applied faithfully and soberly, free from the fanciful subjectivity which goes with it in so many scholars in England as well as in Germany. The questions of authorship and

¹ London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. + 351. Price 7s. 6d.

² Cambridge: University Press, 1900. Extra fcp. 8vo, pp. cvi. + 215. Price 2s. 6d. net.

date receive full and judicious treatment. It is shown that a number of distinct and independent considerations taken from history, language and the ideas of Daniel, point to the conclusion that the book cannot have been written before B.C. 300, and that there are "grounds which, though they may not be regarded as *demonstrative* except on the part of those who deny all predictive prophecy, nevertheless make the opinion a highly *probable* one that the book is a work of the age of Antiochus Epiphanes".

The series known as the "Kerr Lectures," founded in connexion with the United Presbyterian Church, has obtained an honourable name. Previous volumes by Professor Orr, Dr. Kidd and Dr. Forrest, have been recognised as important contributions to their subjects. The Lectures for 1900 are now published, and they too will take a good place in the theological literature of Scotland. They are by the Rev. Robert J. Drummond, B.D., and have for their subject *The Relation of the Apostolic Teaching to the Teaching of Christ*.¹ Mr. Drummond has been happy in the selection of his topic. It is one that has been attracting attention for some time, and one on which there is something to say. In the engrossments of a heavy city charge Mr. Drummond has snatched time to read carefully and discerningly. He is master of a good style. Now and then it tends to drop into the free and easy, but it is often artistic, and always clear, direct and agreeable.

Mr. Drummond has a good grasp of the method and bearings of his inquiry, and writes in the manner of one who understands what Biblical theology is. He handles his subject in the historical spirit, and makes little of the dogmatic and less of the controversial aspects of the questions with which he deals. He places the teaching of the Apostles in its proper relations to that of our Lord, and helps us to see for ourselves the justice of his exposition of these relations by setting the two sets of ideas side by side. There is a very good statement of the general features of our Lord's teach-

¹ Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1900. 8vo, pp. viii. + 432. Price 10s. 6d

ing, its main points, its historical connections, its purpose and circumstances, etc. Among the best chapters is one on the great terms "Son of Man" and "Son of God". That on "The Activities of the Exalted Christ" has some points of fresh interest, and contains much that is suggestive. Mr. Drummond's general conclusions are expressed in these terms—fundamental and widespread agreement, no fixity of terminology, special emphasis on one side of truth not implying divergence from those left unnoticed, and development a feature in the presentation of Christian teaching. He claims for the Apostles perfect loyalty to Christ's teaching and absolute subordination to Himself. But he holds it legitimate also to recognise the authority of the Apostles and their teaching—a derived, not an original authority, but ranking close "behind His own, just because of their nearness to the primal source, of the vividness which still remained of the impression of Himself as He was known on earth, and of the immediate quickening of their spiritual understanding by the entrance of the Divine Enlightener, the Holy Spirit, whom Christ had promised for the very purpose of leading them into all truth". These are just conclusions, and the book as a whole does much credit to the author.

The reports of two important conferences recently held on doctrinal questions are given to the public. They form instructive records of two interesting occasions on which representative theologians, belonging to different Churches or parties, met together with the view of endeavouring to understand each other's positions and discovering how far agreement existed or might be effected. One of these has the title, *Different Conceptions of Sacrifice and Priesthood*,¹ and is edited by Professor Sanday of Oxford. It gives the record of a conference held at Oxford, 13th and 14th December, 1899, in which the High Church section of the English Church was represented by Father Puller, Canon Gore,

¹ London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. xix. + 173. Price 7s. 6d.

Canon Scott Holland, Professor Moberly and the Rev. C. G. Lang; the other sections of the same Church by Dr. Sanday (the chairman), Archdeacon Wilson, President H. E. Ryle (now Bishop designate of Exeter), Canon Bernard of Salisbury and the Rev. A. C. Headlam; while English Nonconformity was represented by Dr. Fairbairn of Mansfield College, Mr. Arnold Thomas of Bristol and the Rev. Dr. Peter Forsyth of Cambridge; Wesleyanism by Professor W. T. Davison of Handsworth; and Presbyterianism by Dr. Salmond of Aberdeen. The discussions were frank and friendly. They were undoubtedly of service in many ways, especially in removing misconceptions due to the use of inexact theological terms. The other volume gives the report of a *Conference held at Fulham Palace in October, 1900*,¹ and is edited by Dr. Henry Wace. This Round-Table Conference, as it was called, was limited to those belonging to the Church of England. In addition to the chairman, Dr. Wace, the following clergymen and laymen, representing different parties in the Church, were members of it, *viz.*: Dr. W. H. Barlow, Professor H. E. I. Bevan, Dr. C. Bigg, Mr. W. J. Birkbeck, the Rev. N. Dimock, Canon Gore, Viscount Halifax, Professor Moule, Canon Newbolt, Principal A. Robertson, Canon Armitage Robinson, Canon Sanday, Dr. P. V. Smith and the Earl of Stamford. No definite resolution was agreed to, but the contending views on the mystery of Christ's presence in the Eucharist were fully explained and discussed. Some approach at least was made to the removal of ambiguities and to a better understanding of the precise points of agreement and difference. Both books will repay careful study.

We are indebted to the author of the *Life of Cardinal Manning*, which caused such stir some time ago, for another book which sheds some light on the history of recent ecclesiastical movements in the Church of England—the *Life and*

¹ *The Doctrine of Holy Communion and its Expression in Ritual.* London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. 96. Price 2s. 6d. net.

*Letters of Ambrose Phillips de Lisle.*¹ The fault of the book is its great size. But it contains much that is of interest and some things that are not altogether pleasant surprises, with regard to the methods and inner history of the extreme Anglican party. De Lisle himself is regarded by some as the real author of the Ritualistic development of Anglicanism, and his career was a singular one. Brought up under evangelical influences and looking on the Pope as Antichrist, he nevertheless underwent so great a change in his religious dispositions and views that he was baptised into the Roman Catholic Church at the early age of fifteen, and he continued a devoted, not to say enthusiastic, member of that communion. He was the head and untiring promoter of the enterprise known as the "Corporate Re-union Movement between the Churches of England and Rome," and was a munificent friend of Roman Catholic causes. His diary and the correspondence which passed between him and men like John Henry Newman, Montalembert, Lacordaire and others are of great interest. The volumes deserve the attention of all students of the Tractarian movement and Roman Catholic policy in England.

Professor Burnet of St. Andrews provides us with an edition of the *Ethics of Aristotle*.² which will take a high place among books of its kind. The introduction contains valuable dissertations on the Nicomachean and Eudemian Ethics, the composition and style of the Ethics, and the various commentaries, as also on Practical and Theoretical Science, Ethics and Politics, the Method of Science, First Principles, Dialectics, the Final Cause, and the Platonic and Aristotelian Teleology. The statements on Final Cause and the forms of Teleology, are of very special interest. The great ethical

¹ By Edmund Sheridan Purcell. Edited and finished by Edwin de Lisle. In two volumes. London: Macmillan, 1900. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 422 and 382. Price 25s. net.

² *The Ethics of Aristotle*, edited with an introduction and notes, by John Burnet, M.A., Professor of Greek in the United College of St. Salvador and St. Leonard, St. Andrews. London: Methuen & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. lii. + 502. Price 15s. net.



discussions are then given in the Greek Text, with numerous explanatory notes which go into all necessary questions of text, grammar, interpretation and history. There is also a full and most useful index, for which students will be grateful.

Professor Burnet has applied to his task the resources of a wide and penetrating scholarship, especially in the Platonic literature and in the products of the Middle and New Comedy. He has his own views on the questions which are most controverted. These are set forth with great ability and deserve careful consideration. He uses the Eudemian Ethics as the best commentary on the Nicomachean. The idea of λόγος as "rule," not as "reason," he carries rigorously out, as if it admitted of no exception. He holds that Aristotle's own psychology and moral philosophy are to be found not in these treatises but in the *De Anima* and the *Physics*. It is here that the most distinctive note of Professor Burnet's book appears. The view that considerable portions of the Ethics are of a purely dialectical character receives at his hands the widest possible extension. He regards the discussions as giving all through, not Aristotle's own ideas or arguments but the opinions and contentions of others, especially those of Plato and his followers in the Academy. It is in this general theory and in some of the applications made of it that Professor Burnet's stimulating volume will most provoke criticism.

Record of Select Literature.

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The Present Position of Critical Opinion on the Book of Daniel.

THE present time seems opportune for a statement on this subject. Nowhere in the realm of Old Testament study has the science of historical criticism reached conclusions which are more generally accepted by scholars of all shades of opinion ; and, on the other hand, there is perhaps no book in the Bible which affords a better opportunity of testing the possibility of adjusting the old faith to the new situation. Daniel in the lion's den, the three children in the fiery furnace, the impious king trembling before the mysterious handwriting on the wall, have been familiar to us from our childhood. It is easy to understand the feelings of those who are jealous of even the appearance of an attempt to take away the value of narratives which have appealed so powerfully to the imagination of many generations. But it is well to remember that it is neither safe nor honest to hold opinions simply because we should like them to be true, or to assume, without examination, that the cable of tradition will hold fast under any strain that may be put upon it. In studying Scripture in general, and the book of Daniel in particular, we are in a world so different from that around us every day that it is imperatively necessary for us to keep a perfectly open mind, and, however strange some of the literary devices we encounter may appear to our Western habits of thought, to learn not to turn away in impatience as if the product of such processes must be worthless, and the men who employed them dishonest or dupes. Above all, we must be on our guard against seeking to save the reputation of Scripture, where we imagine that to be necessary, by methods we should hesitate to adopt elsewhere. A mistaken zeal for what they supposed to be the honour of God led Job's three friends far astray, and brought upon these apologists for the Almighty the scathing rebuke of the sufferer : " Will ye speak what is wrong and

talk deceit out of partiality for God? Will ye respect His person, will ye stand up for God? . . . He will surely reprove you if ye do secretly show partiality" (Job xiii. 7 ff.). These words have often recurred to the mind of the present writer in treading the difficult path of Old Testament study. They call us imperatively to pause whenever we are tempted to resort to special pleading or to strain the evidence in order to evade conclusions that are unwelcome.

It is undeniable that the *prima facie* impression produced by reading the book of Daniel is that its first six chapters are meant in the most literal sense to be a narrative of actual occurrences, and its last six to be no less a record of actual visions beheld and predictions uttered. Nay, the book is evidently put forward as the work of Daniel himself. Of some of the visions we are expressly told that the account was written down by him, and as, in spite of a few attempts that have been made to prove the contrary, it may be regarded as certain that the book is a unity, the same conclusion holds implicitly of the narrative portions as well, *i.e.*, they too are ascribed to the hand of one Daniel, a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar. It is well known, of course, that our book is written partly (i.-ii. 4a, viii.-xii.) in Hebrew and partly (ii. 4b-vii.) in Aramaic, but this difference of language (of which no perfectly satisfactory explanation has yet been offered) does not appear to have anything to do with difference of authorship. Again, the variety of dates to which the visions in chapters vii.-xii. are assigned, may possibly indicate that the author composed the book in instalments, separated by varying periods of time, but does not militate in the least against a single authorship.

The literary critic has learned, however, that it is not always safe to trust appearances, and the opinion may be said to be now practically universal among scholars that the book of Daniel belongs not to the age of the close of the Babylonian empire, but to the beginning of the Maccabæan period. There must be strong reasons in favour of a conclusion which has commended itself to such a variety of minds. It is easy enough to understand how an older

generation of Biblical scholars, including such honoured names as that of Dr. Pusey, should have considered it their duty to resist to the utmost any such conclusion, as militating against the religious value of the book. It is with a little sadness, but with no surprise, considering the time when he lived, that we read these sentences in Dr. Pusey's *Daniel*: "The book of Daniel is especially fitted to be a battle-field between faith and unbelief. It admits of no half-measures. It is either Divine or an imposture. To write any book under the name of another, and to give it out to be his, is, in any case, a forgery, dishonest in itself, and destructive of all trustworthiness. But the case as to the book of Daniel, if it were not his, would go far beyond even this. The writer, were he not Daniel, must have lied on a most frightful scale, ascribing to God prophecies which were never uttered, and miracles which are assumed never to have been wrought. In a word, the whole book would be one lie in the name of God." It is a simple matter to disparage Dr. Pusey for giving utterance to such sentiments, but it would have been a marvel if he had thought differently. And if we consider his position untenable, and believe that we have learned a more excellent way than Dr. Pusey, it is only reasonable to ask that we should deal patiently with those who still cling to ancient tradition, and that we should exhibit the same reverence for Scripture as was shown by that great scholar. It is worthy of note in this connexion that Dr. Driver, the present occupant of Dr. Pusey's chair, has recently published in the Cambridge Bible Series a work on *Daniel*, which all competent judges who have read it will admit to be the equal of his predecessor's work in learning, painstaking research and reverence, while most will feel that it brings a sense of reality and appeals to them with a force to which the older work is a stranger. No better model, indeed, for the tone of religious controversy could be desired than is found in Dr. Driver's book.

Increasing study of the Old Testament itself, and especially of the extra-canonical literature of the Jews, has done away with Dr. Pusey's short and sharp way of settling the question,

and has placed us in a position to form a juster judgment. We have learned, in short, to see in the book of Daniel a Jewish Apocalypse; and the study of Apocalyptic Literature, it is not too much to say, has done more within the last few years to clear up the meaning of Daniel in the Old Testament and of the book of Revelation in the New Testament than was accomplished for those books in the course of all the preceding centuries. From being the despair of serious students, from being the happy hunting-ground of fanciful exegesis, from being the armoury whence rival Churches have in turn drawn weapons wherewith to assail one another, these books have come to be amongst the simplest in the Bible, and have proved once more to be what they were at first, but afterwards ceased to be, profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.

As in the case of every ancient literary work that has come down to us, there is both external and internal evidence to be taken into account in fixing the date of Daniel.

A. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

(1) *The Place of the Book in the Canon.*—The second of the divisions of the Hebrew Canon, the Prophets, was probably not closed till near B.C. 200. In any case it was certainly open long after 536, the third year of Cyrus. How then comes it that the book of Daniel is placed not amongst the Prophets but in the third category, amongst the Writings, the list of which was not fixed till about the Christian era, or, at earliest, say about B.C. 100? The explanation is simple enough if the book dates from the Maccabæan period. It could not be included in the Canon of the Prophets because it was not in existence when that Canon was closed.

(2) *Allusions in other Literature.*—Nothing can be built upon Ezek. xiv. 14, 20, xxviii. 3. The first two of these passages read: "Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God"; the third, "Behold thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no secret hid from thee". It is impossible, upon any view, that Ezekiel can refer in the

first two passages to Daniel's fidelity which led to his being cast into the den of lions, for that event, according to the book of Daniel itself, happened after the conquest of Babylon, *i.e.*, about B.C. 538, nearly sixty years after the date of Ezekiel's prophecy (594). Again, the expression "thou art wiser than Daniel" (penned B.C. 588) suggests that the prophet has in view an ancient patriarch and sage rather than a younger contemporary of his own. We may compare Jer. xv. 1, "though *Moses* and *Samuel* stood before me". But not to press this argument, it is clear in any case that the language of Ezekiel proves nothing as to the existence of a *book* of Daniel. Again, it is surely strange that this book, if it was in existence as early as about B.C. 536, should have left no trace of its influence upon the post-exilic prophetic literature. How differently the case stands with books like Jeremiah, whose influence is so marked upon his successors. Neither is there any allusion to Daniel in Ben Sira's "praise of famous men" (written *circa* B.C. 200), which names Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets. Though this is an argument *e silentio*, its force is very great, seeing how full is the catalogue given of Israel's worthies. It is hardly conceivable that Ben Sira, had he known the book of Daniel, could have written: "Neither was there a man born like unto Joseph" (Sir. xlix. 15), especially in view of the close parallels between the story of Joseph and that of Daniel.

The first clear reference to Daniel is in the Sibylline Oracles (iii. 388 ff.), dating *circa* B.C. 140. The next is in 1 Mac. ii. 59-60 (*circa* B.C. 100), where Mattathias alludes to the deliverance of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, as well as to that of Daniel. Josephus, of course, refers to the book, although his knowledge of its contents appears to be rather vague; and his story about its having been shown to Alexander the Great by the high priest Jaddua, is now universally recognised to be a fiction. In the New Testament the only allusion to Daniel is in Matt. xxiv. 15, Mark xiii. 14 ("the abomination of desolation"), but the influence of the book is very marked, especially in the Apocalypse.

So much for the *external* evidence. We find no clear reference to the book prior to *circa* B.C. 140.

B. INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

(1) It has been pointed out that the book contains **no** allusion to certain events which we should have expected to interest deeply *a Jewish contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus*; e.g., the captivity of King Jehoiakim, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans, the Edict of Cyrus and the Return. The force of this argument will be best appreciated if we contrast the interest evinced by Jeremiah and Ezekiel in the history of their time. But, more important,

(2) Such allusions as do occur are frequently incorrect.

(a) There was no siege and capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in the third year of Jehoiakim (B.C. 605). The testimony of Jeremiah and of the Books of Kings is decisive on this point. Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Judah was subsequent to, and could only have been subsequent to, the battle of Carchemish the following year (604).

(b) Belshazzar is called the son of Nebuchadnezzar, and King of the Chaldæans. Both these statements are wrong. Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by his son Evil-Merodach, and he by the short-reigned Neriglissar and Laborosoarchod, after which Nābūnāid (Nabonidos), a usurper, seized the throne. Nābūnāid was the last king of the Chaldæans; his son Belsarutzur, probably the same as the Belshazzar of Daniel, is named on numerous contract-tablets, but always by the semi-technical title "the king's son," the equivalent of the modern "crown prince". However important a personage Belshazzar was, then, and he does seem from all accounts to have been more energetic than his father Nābūnāid, *he was never king, and neither he nor his father had any blood relationship to Nebuchadnezzar.*

(c) "Darius the Mede" is a personage for whom there is no room in history. We have an account of the conquest of Babylon in contemporary records drawn up *by both the contending parties*, Nābūnāid and Cyrus, and we learn that this conquest was the work of Cyrus. Darius the Mede cannot be identified with Xenophon's Cyaxares II., who is himself merely a figure of romance, nor, as Mr. Pinches proposes,

with such a subordinate of Cyrus as Gubaru (Gobryas) who played a prominent part in the capture of Babylon. To the writer of Daniel, Darius the Mede is not only the conqueror of Babylon but "king" in the most absolute sense. Nothing could show this more clearly than his words: "This Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian" (Dan. vi. 28). In all probability the writer of Daniel had a confused recollection of the fact that Darius Hystaspis in B.C. 521 re-conquered Babylon after it had revolted from his sway. This suggestion is supported by the circumstance that it was Darius Hystaspis who first divided the empire into a number of satrapies, just as Darius the Mede is said to have done in Daniel.

(d) The use of the word "Chaldæans" as the name of a *learned caste* and not of a *nation* is a decided indication of lateness. Professor Schrader, one of the very highest authorities, writes: "(This sense) is unknown to the Assyrian-Babylonian language; has, wherever it occurs, formed itself after the end of the Babylonian Empire, and is thus an indication of the post-exilic composition of the book". In like manner Professor Sayce, a witness who is certainly not prejudiced *against* traditional opinions, declares: "It is a sense which was unknown in the age of Nebuchadnezzar or Cyrus, and its employment implies not only that the period was long past when Babylonia enjoyed a political life of its own, but also that the period had come when a Jewish writer could assign to a Hebrew word a signification derived from its Greek equivalent. This last fact is of considerable importance if we would determine the age of the book of Daniel. . . . In the eyes of the Assyriologist this use of the word Kasdim would alone be sufficient to indicate the date of the work with unerring certainty" (*Monuments*, p. 535).

(3) The *language* of the book tells the same tale.

(a) It contains at least fifteen *Persian* words, and these occur not only in dealing with events or institutions subsequent to Cyrus' conquest of Babylon, but come in in the most matter of course fashion in connexion with purely Babylonian history. Now it has been pointed out by Dr. Driver that

the language of the contract-tablets, etc., which have come down to us from the age of Nebuchadnezzar, shows *no trace of Persian admixture*, and he argues forcibly that the language of Israel was still less likely to have been so influenced.

(b) But, even more extraordinary upon the traditional view of its authorship, the book contains at least three *Greek* words: *κίθαρς* (in the form *kitharos*), *ψαλτήριον* (in the form *psanterin*), and *συμφωνία* (in the form *šūmpōnyah*). While the first of these is an ancient Greek word, found in Homer, and might conceivably have found its way to Babylonia by B.C. 536, the second occurs first in Aristotle, and the third in Plato. Even so brilliant a theorist as Professor Margoliouth has not succeeded in offering any plausible explanation of their occurrence in the Daniel of tradition.

(c) The Aramaic (often misnamed Chaldee) of the book belongs to the *Western* dialect, and, like the Aramaic of Ezra, is of the type spoken in and about *Palestine*. Now, at what period would a Jewish writer have been likely to write in Aramaic, and to assume that this language would be generally understood by his countrymen? Certainly not during the Exile or shortly after it. It used to be supposed that the Jews during the Captivity forgot their native Hebrew and adopted the Babylonian Aramaic of their conquerors. So far from this being the case, we know that, in the time of Nehemiah more than a century after the Return, Hebrew was still normally the language both of writing and of daily life. The Aramaic which Israel gradually adopted was not of the Babylonian form at all, but that spoken by their immediately surrounding neighbours, when they were once more settled in their own land. On the other hand, the language spoken at the court of Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar was certainly not Aramaic, although the author of Daniel appears to assume that it was in that language that the magicians and astrologers addressed the king. On this point, again, Professor Sayce has a claim to be heard, for it concerns a field of research that is quite his own. What then does he tell us? "Aramaic indeed had been spoken in Babylonia long before the time of Nebuchadnezzar, but it was spoken

by the Aramaic tribes who had settled there. It had also become to a certain extent the language of international trade, and it is very probable that it was commonly used as a means of intercourse with foreign populations. But *it would have been the last language to be spoken* at the court of a great Babylonian monarch by his native subjects, more especially by those who belonged to the learned class. The wisdom of Babylonia, including its astrology, its pseudo-science of omens, and its interpretation of dreams, was stored up in a literature which was written in the two old languages of the country—Semitic Babylonian and agglutinative Sumerian—and to have discarded them for the language of the trader and the conquered Aramaean would have been an act of sacrilege. Nor would Nebuchadnezzar and his courtiers have been likely to understand what was said. The statement, therefore, that the king of Babylonia was addressed by his native subjects in Aramaic proves that its author was unacquainted with the real language of the Chaldæans" (*ibid.*, p. 536).

As we hinted a moment ago, it must have been centuries after the Return before Aramaic became as familiar to the Jews as their native Hebrew. If then we assume, as we appear to be entitled to do, that the Aramaic of Daniel is from the author's own pen, and not a translation by some one else, we have once more a strong argument in favour of a late date for the book.

As to the *Hebrew* of Daniel, it is of the distinctly late type that followed the age of Nehemiah, being most nearly akin to that found in the books of Chronicles, Esther and Ecclesiastes. Such a competent authority as Dr. Driver declares: "The verdict of the language of Daniel is thus clear. The *Persian* words presuppose a period after the Persian Empire had been well established; the Greek words *demand*, the Hebrew *supports*, and the Aramaic *permits* a date *after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander*" (B.C. 332).

(4) The argument from the *theology* of the book is one that must not be pressed unduly; but, on the other hand, nothing is clearer than that there is a development of doctrine in the Old Testament and that some of the dogmas which approach

most nearly to the Christian standpoint arose late in the history of the Jewish Church. Now, it is undeniable, as Dr. Driver has pointed out, that the doctrines of the Messiah, of angels, of the resurrection, and of a judgment on the world, are taught with greater distinctness and in a more developed form in the book of Daniel than anywhere else in the Old Testament, and in a way that reminds us of the book of Enoch (*circa* B.C. 160-100).

(5) The *interest* of the book, which, explain it as one pleases, culminates in the relations subsisting between the Jews and Antiochus, makes it probable, in accordance with the whole analogy of Scripture, that the book belongs to this period. There is no known exception in the Old Testament to the rule that the prophets, even when their message deals with far distant days, have in view the needs of the people of their own day. They rebuke *their* sins, they comfort *their* sorrows, they strengthen *their* hopes, they banish *their* fears. But of all this there is not a trace in the book of Daniel, *if it was written under Cyrus*. Its message is avowedly for the time of the end, it is a sealed book till then. Our impression as to the Maccabæan date of the book is strengthened when we observe how it is only in dealing with this period that the author is either accurate or detailed; for the period that precedes we have seen that he is often misinformed; and for the period that follows the year 165, with almost the single exception of his prediction of the death of Antiochus, his language is vague and general.

Combining all these considerations, we do not hesitate to conclude not only that the book was written to strengthen and encourage the Jews in the dark troubled period of Antiochus' reign, but that it was *written by one who himself lived in that period*. Everything it contains, without exception, agrees with this supposition. The very first chapter of Daniel with its description of the abstinence practised by the Hebrew youths, must have appealed to men who were tortured for declining to eat swine's flesh. The refusal of the three children to worship the golden image in the plains of Dura, and the story of their marvellous deliverance, could

not fail to strengthen the resolution of those Jews who refused homage to the Abomination of Desolation (שְׁקוֹץ מְשֻׁמֵּם), a characteristic transformation of שְׁמִיךְ (בַּעַל שְׁמִיךְ), or altar to Zeus Olympius, which Antiochus had erected to his favourite deity on the altar of burnt-offering. Similar would be the lesson taught by the story of Daniel's persistence in prayer and of the reward of his fidelity. And how welcome also to down-trodden Jews to hear of how the mightiest monarchs and the greatest world-empires had perished before the breath of the Almighty, of how Nebuchadnezzar's pride had been humbled by his strange insanity; of how Belshazzar's impiety was punished by his defeat and death.

Now, it so happened that by the Maccabæan age a school of thought and a species of literature had been introduced by the scribes, which could be turned to excellent account by one who had the parenetic aims we have described. *Midrash* and *Haggādā*, which we already encounter in the books of Chronicles (*circa* B.C. 300), were in full bloom. These were edifying tales regarding ancient worthies, some of them being simply expansions of Old Testament narratives, some of them having a traditional basis, some of them simply creations of the imagination. Such tales, coupled with predictions put in the mouth of an ancient sage or saint, meet us at every turn in the Jewish Apocalypses, which began to be composed about this time, and of which Daniel is the earliest and one of the most notable illustrations. Such works are always pseudonymous. No longer was there any living prophet; a want that was deeply felt; but there was abundance of religious fervour, and a burning zeal for ancestral law and customs. The men who were possessed of literary gifts, despairing of a hearing if they wrote in their own name, addressed the people in the name of some authoritative messenger of God of a former age. The method is unquestionably a strange one, viewed from a Western standpoint, and raises a somewhat difficult psychological question. But, account for it as we may, it is a fact that a whole series of Jewish writers, of good character, with praiseworthy aims,

and evidently without the smallest consciousness of ill faith, put forward compositions of their own under an ancient name. We do not regard as a parallel to this the use of Moses' name in the Pentateuch; that belongs to a different category, the name of the traditional lawgiver being quite appropriately employed to sanction what were simply developments of his system. But we may find an analogue in a cognate field, that of the Hókhma literature. It is difficult to read the book of Ecclesiastes without receiving the impression that its author, one of the latest in the Old Testament, intends to be taken for Solomon. Outside Scripture we have such well-known illustrations as the book of Enoch, the Apocalypses of Elijah and Zephaniah, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and many others. Long after the Old Testament and the inter-testamental periods the same practice continued to prevail. It is possibly illustrated within the New Testament itself (? the Second Epistle of Peter), and after the close of the New Testament Canon, Christian Apocalypses under ancient pseudonyms continued to be composed without scruple, down to the Middle Ages.

What, now, are we to hold as to the character of the narratives and the predictions contained in the book of Daniel? As to the latter, the answer, in view of the considerations we have adduced, must be that these are *for the most part* simply history written in the form of prediction. It may be regarded as certain that no other view than this will ever be established. There are, indeed, real predictions in the book, such as that about the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. But all these predictions concern the *proximate* future; there is no such thing as predictions four centuries beforehand about the battles and even skirmishes of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, or the jealousies of Greek kings and Roman consuls and ambassadors. It is surely no loss but in every way a gain to be relieved of the dead weight of having to support the predictive character of this part of the book. The Christian apologist should be deeply grateful to the historical critic for having set in its proper light what, upon the traditional theory, was more allied to heathen mantic than to Divine

prophecy. Such predictions are simply the unfailing stock-in-trade of all Apocalyptic writings, and once we have recognised this, we take no more offence at this literary device than we do at the predictions about the Augustan age which Vergil puts in the mouth of a sibyl or a sage of remote antiquity. No doubt, this literary form is capable of being misunderstood, especially by prosaic minds; we know that both Daniel and the Sibyl have been misunderstood. It is intelligible enough, too, that such pseudepigraphic pseudo-predictions should be felt to be somewhat repellent in the domain of Scripture, but *it is a fact* that they have found a place there, and we have to make the best of it unless we take the strong step of excluding such books from the Canon.

Regarding the narrative portions of the book it is more difficult to speak with certainty. Even if we should have to adopt the conclusion that there is no firm historical basis for the incidents recorded in the first six chapters, the book would not be thereby robbed of its value for edification. But, on the other hand, we have no reason to conclude that the *whole* story of Daniel was invented by the writer. There appears to us to be a close analogy here between the book of Daniel and the book of Job. Recent investigations have rendered it extremely probable that a popular book of Job preceded the present highly dramatical work. The folk-lore of Israel told of a Job whose trials were as severe as his patience was unique. In like manner the author of the book of Daniel was probably acquainted with oral traditions regarding an ancient sage and hero of the name of Daniel; nay, he may possibly even have had at his command a written source which told of this Daniel's wisdom and of his fidelity to God under very trying circumstances. In short, to put it plainly, if any one feels that as yet his faith would be seriously shaken if the story of the lions' den and the fiery furnace had to be given up, he is perfectly entitled, for aught that criticism can prove to the contrary, to hold to these narratives as *essentially true*, although there is no doubt, as we have seen, that the historical setting of them is incorrect.

That is a safe halting-place meanwhile, but it is safer still to aim at a faith which shall be independent of such support, and to discover a permanent value in the book, even if its historical basis should prove to be extremely slender. If the personages who figure in the pages of Shakespeare or Goethe exercise an influence as great as if they had been flesh and blood realities instead of being merely the creations of a poet's genius; if Dives and Lazarus and the Good Samaritan appeal to us as powerfully as if the incidents recorded of them had actually occurred, why should Daniel lose his moral influence if the narratives concerning him should have to be relegated to the realm of edifying *haggādā*? Or, to put it still more plainly, if fiction is a legitimate vehicle for conveying a moral lesson outside Scripture, is its use to be forbidden within it? Or may we conclude that God who of old time spoke by divers portions and in divers manners, who found a place in His Word for allegory and parable, and fable and drama, did not disdain to employ this literary device as well? Shall we presume to exclude a book from the Canon, if its contents should prove to be fiction instead of history? Are we to ignore a writer's purpose and miss the lessons he teaches, because the literary form he employs, and which is now found to have been common when he lived, is not what tradition had taught us to expect?

It will not be denied that the beauty and literary power of the book of Daniel remain unimpaired upon any theory of its origin. Why should it be otherwise with its moral influence? For ourselves, we have no difficulty in assenting to the view expressed in varying language by such scholars as Bevan and Driver, and Prince and Marti that the author's confidence that God can deliver His people in the darkest hour, his sublime hope in a Messianic age, his anticipation of some of the most important doctrines of the New Testament, are the essential elements in the book, and these are independent of its date or its literary form.

J. A. SELBIE.

**The Ancient Catholic Church from the Accession of Trajan
to the Fourth General Council (A.D. 98-451).**

By Robert Rainy, D.D., Principal of the New College. (International Theological Library.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. 8vo, pp. xii. + 539. Price 12s.

PRINCIPAL RAINY has hitherto been more widely known as a maker than as a writer of Church History: but his *Three Lectures on the Church of Scotland*, in reply to Dean Stanley, thirty years ago, and his *Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine* gave ample evidence to the world of his gifts as an ecclesiastical historian. The volume before us will be welcomed not only on account of its high intrinsic value, but as an instalment substantially, we may assume, of what ministers of the Free Church have received from the author during his long and honourable tenure of the Chair of Church History in the New College. Not that the work is in any way less than up to date. On the contrary there is hardly a chapter which does not supply tokens of careful revision and supplementary labour, in the light of fresh research, recent criticism, or lately recovered "sources". But the book bears evidence, through an agreeable liveliness of style and occasional unconventionality in diction, of having been spoken, at least in part, to an audience.

The History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age having been overtaken by Prof. McGiffert of New York in an earlier volume of the International Theological Library, Principal Rainy's task begins with the close of the first Christian century, when the last surviving apostle had passed away. He divides his history into three main sections: (1) from the accession of Trajan in A.D. 98 to the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180; (2) from A.D. 180 to the Edict of Toleration in 313; (3) from A.D. 313 to the memorable Council of Chalcedon in

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451. No subdivision of the period between A.D. 98 and 313 is quite satisfactory; any division sunders artificially materials which are naturally connected: but the author's arrangement, amid some obvious drawbacks, has the advantage of indicating the diverse character (speaking generally) of the intellectual controversies which engaged the Church before and after A.D. 180. Prior to that date the Church struggled with a philosophy which endeavoured to absorb Christianity; subsequently to A.D. 180 the Church, at least in her leading intellectual centres, evolved a philosophy of her own, and doctrinal disputation was thenceforth carried on within a more distinctly Christian sphere.

It is impracticable, within the limit of little more than 500 pages, to treat every event and question of the Ancient Church with fulness of detail. In the first section most attention is given to Organisation, Sacraments, the Apologists, Gnosticism and Montanism; in the second, to Theological Schools, and to Christian Life, Worship and Discipline; while in the third division, Doctrinal Controversies, Ecclesiastical Personages, and Monasticism occupy most space. No topic, however, is omitted, although the Persecutions are dealt with more succinctly than some readers would have desired; and, in the brief but comprehensive sketch of Missionary Extension, no room is found for any account of Gregory Illuminator, the founder of the Armenian Church, or of our own Ninian of Galloway.

Principal Rainy's work is far from being a mere chronicle of events, description of usages, and account of Church controversies. Its signal excellence lies in the fact that it is largely a philosophy of history. It aims at indicating and tracing the various tendencies and forces which successively manifested themselves during the period, and moulded the course of Church history. An interesting chapter at the close, entitled "Processes of Change," is specially characteristic; for the volume, as a whole, is a history of gradual movements, trends, and developments. In the department of ecclesiastical organisation, for example, the process is graphically described through which, in the second century,

the outstanding Presbyter, who preached or presided, arranged divine service, distributed charity, or "carried on communications with other churches or the civil authorities," gradually and naturally developed into a bishop in the post-New Testament sense (pp. 34-38). One realises, under the author's guidance, how needless is the assumption of any special apostolic institution of the mono-episcopate: *it grew*.

As regards worship, the stages are indicated through which, in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the presentation of gifts developed into the offering of sacrifices; and then "the thought of offering or sacrifice was extended to the whole eucharistic service," until eventually "the Passion of Our Lord is the sacrifice which we offer," and the elements become, with increasing approach to literalness, "the body and blood of Christ" (pp. 77-79, 231-232, 442, 516). There is also an effective exhibition of the process through which, in the fourth century, after the entrance of a multitude of merely nominal Christians into the Church, "the tendency to popularise Christianity" led to a church service "more full and imposing"; to the adoption of "objects and modes of worship hitherto regarded as characteristic of paganism"; and to the "heroes venerated by pagan countries or cities" being "replaced (for Christians) by the martyrs who had overcome in the name of Christ," and to whom now "direct appeals to intercede for us" were made (pp. 441, 452-454).

In the intellectual sphere, the author shows how the tendency to seek salvation "through a deeper and truer view of Christianity," and the aspiration after "a purer and more spiritual example of Christ" developed, under the misguidance of a philosophy which identified evil with matter, into Docetism and Gnosticism (pp. 95-96). We have a lucid account, also, of the gradual entrance of Christianity, under better auspices, into relation with that intellectual culture from which at first it was estranged; and of the special manifestation of such Christianised culture, first in some of the earlier Apologies, whose aim is "to insist on the affinities between Christianity and Greek thought" (p. 91), and afterwards in the Alexandrian School, through which a Christian philosophy was developed,

a "true Gnosis" presented, and a "genuine Christianity set forth on grand lines of thought, few, sufficient, self-evidencing" (pp. 163-164). In the two consecutive chapters on "Christian Thought and Literature," and "Christ and God," there is an excellent presentation of those divergent tendencies of theological thought in the ante-Nicene Church (particularly the various phases of Logos doctrine, of Modalistic and of Dynamical Monarchianism) which led up inevitably to the great Arian controversy. Once more, to take examples of this exhibition of "processes" from the sphere of Church life, our modern experience of any new sect which has "broken in on a conventional or slumbering Christianity," when it reaches afterwards the stage at which "the bulk of its accessions are from the children of the members," is very aptly used by Dr. Rainy to illustrate the manner in which the *personnel* of the primitive Church gradually changed from being a body of members "who, as the result of inward conflict," had "broken with their old ways," into a mixed multitude containing "many who were in the Church, because they had been brought up to it," and were inclined to "worldly ease" and "relaxation of discipline". The inevitable issue, on the part of those who are "intensely loyal to all the old traditions," is such a Puritan movement as Montanism (pp. 132-136). There is an equally interesting description of the development of the ascetic life (which from an early period was "commended as eminent Christian virtue for its own sake") into "monastic holiness"; and the author enumerates and analyses with fine insight the "various motives which led men to monasteries," including the felt need of "self-punishment" and "ascetic pain to operate as expiating sin"; "emancipation from the world of sense," and the "supremacy of spiritual affections"; "the desire to test one's own sincerity," since "religion that goes too easy may be suspected"; the attraction of "methodism—a ruled-off way of being good, so plain and distinctive that one might rest in it"; and finally, in some cases, the lower inducement of a refuge for "those who could have found shelter nowhere else" (pp. 302-304).

To not a few readers, the most attractive portions of

Principal Rainy's work will be his sketches of "ecclesiastical personages". Origen, with his heroic youth, "adamantine" literary labours, and theological system, "the first scheme of ordered Christian thought which aims at method and completeness"; Tertullian, "combining in himself the Puritan and High Churchman, with even a touch of the Fifth Monarchy man thrown in"; Cyprian, in whom "the turbid fervour of Tertullian (his *Magister*) is replaced by dignity, sagacity and leadership,"—"trenchant and peremptory" in his assertion of the unity of the Church as embodied in an orthodox and authentic episcopate, "to break loose" from which "is to cut oneself off from Christianity and from salvation"; the "commanding personality" of Athanasius, whose "statesmanship sustained by faith" was even more conspicuous than his abundant "intellectual resource and skill" in the great controversy which occupied his life; Jerome, full of the "genuine enthusiasms of a scholar," but "with no claim to theological power," sincerely devout, yet with "a Christianity that leant to the shallow, the legal, and the external type"; Augustine, that "epoch-making religious genius," who, mainly through his full "realisation of Sin and Grace," "gave a new significance to Christian dogmas, and struck a deeper and truer note of Christian experience"; Chrysostom, whose "fine Greek culture and natural gift of oratory were inspired by Christian devotedness and sincerity," whose reforming zeal was united with a "certain irritability," but whom unmerited persecution, bravely borne, disciplined into "Christian humility and submission"—these and other notable portraits in the historical gallery of the Ancient Church are drawn with graphic touch and with discriminating sympathy.

A further leading feature of Principal Rainy's work is its liberal tone and judicial fairness in dealing with the heretics of the period. Thus while he points out the "fantastic" features and more serious errors of Gnosticism, he recognises "on closer consideration" that the Gnostic systems "embody ideas which cannot be lightly set aside" (p. 96). "Let it be emphasised that the Gnostics with whom we have

to do were Christians," inspired with the conviction that "in the Gospel they have found the centre of truth and life" (p. 98). "It may be true that the Gnostics had a livelier sense of a great deliverance than was cherished by a good many of the so-called orthodox" (p. 105). Regarding Marcion, in particular, whom Polycarp designated as "the first-born of Satan," Dr. Rainy agrees substantially with the estimate of Harnack, and finds "much reason to believe that his impressions were fundamentally Christian" (p. 121). Similarly Arianism is expounded and criticised with fair recognition of Arius's ascetic virtue and enthusiasm (p. 326), and of his belief in the Son as the source of existence to all beings lower than Himself (p. 323), and as the "only begotten God," "the object of faith and worship" (p. 338). The author does full justice, also, to those among the "Semi-Arians" so called, whom Gwatkin more fairly designates as theological "conservatives," and who opposed the Nicene Creed, not from any doubt as to the true Divinity of the Son, but because they preferred to maintain his Divinity "in language more safe and more approved than that of Nicæa; for they thought the latter to be capable of a Sabellian sense, and in any case too new" (p. 339). Again, while no sympathy is indicated with the Pelagian doctrine of human ability (apart from inwardly operating grace), full credit is given to Pelagius for the conviction that the assertion of such ability was "the obvious way to sweep aside the pretexts on which men excuse themselves, and to force them to face their obligations" (p. 470). Regarding Nestorius, Dr. Rainy emphasises the now generally admitted fact that this alleged heretic "had no fair trial on the merits" (p. 387); and he maintains that there is "no evidence that Nestorius held a doctrine of two persons after the Incarnation"; while, even if he did, "personality is an idea full of mystery," and the "heresiarch" may have meant no more than that each of the two natures of Christ must have "a certain *shadow* of personality, a spiritual identity of its own" (p. 385). The author sums up his criticism of the Christological controversy with the sound and charitable remark, which applies to many other doctrinal

disputations, "It may well be believed that many on both sides received all that Scripture clearly teaches, though with diverging emphasis on different elements". "Nor does it seem possible to do more," he continues, "since the very words which we must use—as Person and Nature—prove to be at best approximate, and refuse to be restrained by invariable definitions when we carry them from man to God, and from God to man" (p. 404). We rise from the perusal of these portions of the volume with the assurance that if we had the misfortune to undergo a trial for alleged heresy, we should meet with fair consideration if Principal Rainy were one of our leading judges!

The editors of the International Theological Library are to be congratulated on a volume which fully maintains the high reputation of their admirable series of manuals.¹

HENRY COWAN.

¹ A somewhat more careful revision of the Greek words used in the work is desirable, so as to remove such minor *errata* as *κοινῶβιον* (p. 294), *ἀναχωρητοί* (p. 299), *όμούσια* (p. 337), *όμοιούσια* (p. 348).

Christianity in the Apostolic Age.

By G. T. Purves, D.D., *Recently Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in Princeton Theological Seminary.*
London : Smith, Elder & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. + 343, and Maps. Price 6s.

THIS is a book to which it is hard to be perfectly just. Its general acquiescence in traditional results, touching both literature and historical facts (such as the survival of the year 64 by Peter and Paul), is apt to blind the critic to the amount of fresh thinking and historical insight which it contains. The latter features are most apparent in his treatment of Judæo-Christianity, its various phases and the successive stages of its development in Judæa itself. Thus the picture drawn from the Epistle of James, viewed as prior to the conference at Jerusalem, and from Hebrews—reflecting the perplexities of the days shortly before the revolt from Rome for those whose conception of Christianity in relation to Judaism had not matured in the meanwhile—is most natural and convincing. Similarly, the *data* of a like order afforded by Acts, especially in its earlier chapters, are used with much sympathy and success, the controlling aim of its author being justly conceived and used in the reading of his narrative. The one notable exception here is the handling of the “Tongues” at Pentecost, though, even so, the phenomena of *glossolalia* are well stated. Favourable instances are afforded by the pages on the primitive Apostolic preaching (pp. 44 ff.); the *gradual* development of conflict with the authorities in Jerusalem (pp. 48 ff.); Stephen and his crucial significance for the deeper interpretation of Old Testament religion as fulfilled in Christ; ¹ Paul’s conversion and its results. On the

¹ With Stephen “the first period of Apostolic Christianity had closed. The hope of the speedy conversion of the nation was extinguished. The consciousness of independence had been awakened in the disciples” (p. 55).

other hand, Dr. Purves holds fast to the old "North Galatian" theory in a way which shows little appreciation of the relative difficulties of the two views; and he quite fails to grasp the eschatological outlook of 2 Thess. ii., holding that the "falling away" is from within the Church, and not rather from Judaism, and in general not recognising the conventional lines of the Apocalyptic in both the Thessalonian epistles.

Perhaps the weakest part of the book is its treatment of the problem of Acts xv. and Gal. ii. 1-10. It makes the paradoxical statement that "the visit of Galatians was certainly a public and representative one," in face of the fact (1) that Paul speaks of no human initiative in the visit save his own, and (2) that he describes himself as expounding his gospel in Jerusalem "privately before them who were of repute," and the "false brethren," who opposed him, as "privily brought in" (*sc.* to his conference with the leaders), and as coming in "privily to spy out our liberty". Yet our author states that Gal. ii. 2-5, which contains these references (and none other) to persons present at the conference, "represents the Church as a whole as supporting his position"; while on the other hand he questions whether the whole Church is represented in Acts xv. as present at the deliberations ending in the decision of the Apostles and the Elders (in the teeth of the reference to the "multitude" as present, *ver.* 12). It is not as though it had been to the interest of Paul's argument to obscure the public character of what he regarded as the vindication at headquarters of the independence of his Gentile Gospel. Quite the contrary; and Dr. Purves does not even attempt to explain why, on his theory, Paul notices the understanding that he should remember the poor, but omits all reference to the four Abstinences of Acts xv. 20, a point which his critics would be quick to lay hold of. Surely, too, it is most unlikely that Paul would be "still unknown by face to the Churches of Judæa" (Gal. i. 22) up to the time of his visit in Acts, after he had ministered the relief of the Antiochian Church to the Judæan Churches. For (1) it is an assumption un-

warranted by the text of Acts xi. 29 f., that it was only to the elders *in Jerusalem* that he conveyed alms (even though the reference to Jerusalem in xii. 25 should not be an interpolation, as the textual difficulty suggests). And (2) the nature of the context requires that the words of Gal. i. 22 mean virtually that Paul had not given any Judæan church the chance of knowing him, much less been instructed, in Judæa. He had not "shown his face" there at all. Similarly as regards Peter's visit to Antioch, he overlooks (1) that Peter, in eating with Gentiles, was only doing what he had done long *before*, Acts xv., in the case of Cornelius (action which he had justified when challenged, xi. 3, 17); and (2) that what Paul implies as the explanation of Peter's inconsistency, is not a recurrence of conscientious scruple but a temporary change of policy ("dissimulation"), to avoid criticism from stricter Jews than himself.¹

As samples, on the other hand, of just and thoughtful observations which often surprise one amid a good deal that is rather lacking in distinction, take the following: "The prophets were the living evidence of the continuance of the prophetic office of Messiah by whose Spirit they spake". Their "existence in the Apostolic Church testifies to the belief that it was an age of revelation": "so that 'on the foundation of the apostles and prophets' was the Church held to be established" (Eph. ii. 20). The mission of Barnabas and Saul (Acts xiii. 1 ff.) "was both a divine vocation and an enterprise of the Antiochian Church," "acting in the persons of the three *remaining* prophets and teachers who laid their hands upon the brethren". How much confusing talk about "orders" in this connexion is refuted in the single word we have placed in italics. "The most natural explanation" of the authoritative language of the letter in Acts xv. 24-29, "is that the eldership of Jerusalem [with the apostles at its head] was considered, by the Judaic Christians and by the mixed Churches of Syria which had

¹ Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 81) suggests that they had been sent by James to warn Peter to be discreet.

originated from Jewish missions, in much the same light in which the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem was by the Jews." "The directions about church officials," in the Pastorals, "are given not in the least for the purpose of advancing the power of any office . . . but to secure high character and faithful teaching in the officials already established." Our author's defence of the Pastorals as genuinely Pauline is distinctly good; yet he will not hear of their falling within the known life of Paul, and fails to see the serious objections to a date after the Neronian persecution, and to the occurrence of the reference to Trophimus (as left at Miletus) in a letter written from Rome to Timothy in the vicinity of Miletus. Other doubtful judgments are, the dating of 1 Peter from Babylon, after 64, and during Paul's lifetime; the acceptance of both the integrity and authenticity of 2 Peter (dependent on Jude); and the placing of all three Synoptics (the first by Matthew, perhaps both in Aramaic and Greek) in the seventh decade A.D.

Such things certainly tend to shake the reader's trust in his author's competence, and they have led some critics to overlook the real contributions to our knowledge of the Apostolic Age provided by this unpretentious yet well informed volume. It is simply and flowingly written; and but for its unusual inequality of value in different parts, is admirably adapted for the general reader. As it is, it would make a good textbook for a class of thoughtful lay students of the New Testament, under the guidance of a leader familiar with historical criticism. Dr. Purves was already known favourably to students of early Christianity by his conscientious and sober, rather than brilliant, book on *The Testimony of Justin Martyr to Early Christianity*, 1888. But the present book, written after eight years in the Chair of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in Princeton Theological Seminary, makes one regret still more his comparatively early death, which occurred in the summer of last year.

VERNON BARTLET.

Kant's gesammelte Schriften.

*Herausgegeben von der Königlich. Akademie der Wissenschaften,
Band X., Zweite Abtheilung: Briefwechsel. Erster Band,
1747-1788. Berlin: George Reimer, 1900. 8vo, pp. xix.
+ 532. Price 10s.*

THE complete works of Kant edited and published by the Royal Academy of Sciences of Berlin are now in an advanced state, and one is glad to know that the works of that illustrious thinker are accessible in a shape worthy of his great historic significance. The volume before us contains the correspondence of Kant and his friends from the year 1747 to the year 1788. It adds greatly to the interest as well as to the intelligibility of the letters of Kant, that we have also the letters of his correspondents, which supply the occasion of his letters. It is not possible to give a detailed account of all the topics discussed in these letters, nor to stay to identify his correspondents, nor to measure and weigh their historic importance. Perhaps the most important thing about them now is that they did correspond with Kant, and that he wrote letters to them. For as the years pass on Kant bulks larger and larger before the eyes of those who know. Almost every philosophical inquiry and almost every problem of philosophy dates from Kant, and no student of philosophy can afford to be ignorant of him and his work.

It is of the highest interest to read the words of the man, not merely in the pages of his books, but also in the less formal letters which he sent to his friends and acquaintances. They range in contents from the brief business epistle to the long letters in which he discusses and defends his views on cosmogony, or defends and illustrates his thesis that all arithmetical judgments are synthetic. There is a singular lack of what men may call the distinctively human interest

in these letters. No love, no courtship, no marriage, no trace of the great emotions, or the strong passions which so often dominate men, and lead so often to the tragedies of life. But there is emotion, and there is passion of a kind, but these are directed towards interests which lie far from the path which ordinary men tread. There is deep emotion in the letters which tell of the moment when the outline of the critical method of philosophy came into clear consciousness, and there is something sublime in the intensity of his feeling in the presence of the might and majesty of moral law. Kant had many interests, though these were not of the ordinary kind, and these interests appear in this correspondence.

We turn with special interest to the letters of Lambert and to the replies of Kant, partly because of their fine tone and spirit, and partly because they deal with a period of Kant's literary activity, and with a topic which has been thrust into the background by the epoch-making significance of the critical philosophy. L. Lambert was a distinguished mathematician and astronomer, and had published a work entitled *Cosmological Letters on the Arrangement of the Structure of the World*, and he writes to Kant on the similarity of their views. Lambert explains that he had not seen Kant's book, and expresses his gladness in finding his own views set forth with such power in the works of Kant. The correspondence is pleasant to read, and is highly creditable to both parties.

Coincidences of this kind have been the occasion of lasting and bitter controversy, and in some cases have become international. But Kant acknowledged that Lambert had worked independently, and both were gratified that their views had support each from the other. In the letters of Lambert we have a pretty full outline of a metaphysic which he was about to elaborate, and an offer to Kant to work together and to collaborate in the writing of a philosophy Kant politely declined.

There are interesting letters to and from Moses Mendelssohn, and to and from Herder, in which many topics are discussed in a somewhat cursory manner, but in which we

can trace some of the great thoughts of Kant in crude outline. But we cannot dwell on these. Nor can we dwell on the letters which refer to the *Critique of Pure Reason*, full of interest though these are. These letters find their proper place in an account of the life of Kant, and afford to the student of his philosophy something which helps to elucidate the genesis and evolution of the thought of Kant. It is well to have in this superb edition all the written words of the Master.

JAMES IVERACH.

Ethics, Descriptive and Explanatory.

By S. E. Mezes, Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy, University of Texas. New York: The Macmillan Company. 8vo, pp. xix. + 435. Price 10s. 6d. net.

As stated in the preface the aim of this treatise is "to construct a positive or purely scientific theory of ethics, and to give a naturalistic account of all the aspects of morality and immorality, in so far, of course, as space limitations permit" (p. viii.). The author is so far aware that such an investigation will not exhaust the field of ethical study, nor deal with all the contents of ethics. He protests that he does not undervalue, or fail to recognise the need for a metaphysic of ethic. But he thinks that the phenomena of ethics may be studied apart from all metaphysical implications. "If science showed that morality is merely a human characteristic that enables the fittest to survive, just as protective blotches and animal appetites similarly aid their possessors, and if it showed that man himself is merely an ephemeral incident in the everlasting impact of atoms and eddying approach and crash of molar masses, then would man and morality with him be shown to be insignificant indeed from the cosmic point of view. From this point of view morality and man can be shown to be significant only if spiritual as well as physical facts can be brought to knowledge, indeed, only if the universe can be shown to be essentially spiritual, and so friendly to and appreciative of human morality" (pp. viii.-ix.). Professor Mezes thinks it is natural and proper to study morality in its setting as one of the comparatively familiar and accessible facts of human experience, before embarking upon the precarious enterprise of discovering its cosmical bearings. We are careful to use his own language in the statement of the problem he has in hand. We may



say that the reference to the cosmos is his, not ours. We would state it differently, and would express the infinite character of morality in another way.

Using his own language and phraseology we would raise the question, Can one study the phenomena of morality scientifically if the reference to the cosmic element is left out of account? Is he right in the assumption that metaphysics alone can give knowledge of spiritual facts? If the spiritual is an invariable element in all human experience, then no science which deals with the mental life of man can afford to neglect that element. And ethics can least of all afford to neglect spiritual facts, for these are the very breath of its life.

We should be glad to have an ethic descriptive and explanatory, but can an ethic be so which relegates all spiritual facts to the domain and the dominion of metaphysics? One of the presuppositions of a possible ethic is that we have to deal with the life and conduct of a being who is, in a measure at least, self-conscious, self-determined, capable of forming for himself an ideal of life, and so far able to carry it into effect. It does not help the matter to protest, as our author does, that he is not unfriendly to metaphysics, that he is prepared to welcome any rational attempt to indicate the cosmic worth of morality, for while he says this, he proceeds on the assumption that a sufficient scientific account of ethical phenomena can be given even after the cosmic reference is altogether ignored. Our contention is that a scientific description of morality must include all the facts with which morality is conversant whatever these facts may be.

The book is not what, from a careful perusal of the preface, we expected it to be. The author has not respected the limitations he laid down in the preface. He has included the spiritual facts; indeed, he could not leave them out. He seems ever and anon to remind himself of the limitations under which he set to work, but immediately the spiritual returns and he finds that he cannot dispense with it. The reader will readily notice this significant fact.

The main part of the book begins with an Introduction, consisting of two chapters, one dealing with Definition, Scope and Methods, and the other with Moral and Non-Moral Phenomena. Of the first chapter it is not necessary to say much. It is quite a competent statement of the problem, scope and methods of ethics. It might be possible to make some qualification of some of the positions, but on the whole the statement is adequate. We would most decidedly insist on qualifying some of the statements of the second chapter, which deal with moral and non-moral phenomena. As to what are moral phenomena, we may rest content with the author's statement. "All phenomena which arouse moral emotions or on which moral judgment may be passed, or which are either rewarded or punished with a sense that that is their desert, are moral phenomena. In a word, anything for which a man is held responsible by himself or by others, is thereby regarded as a moral phenomenon" (p. 18). This is good as far as it goes, but there are moral phenomena which cannot be brought under this rubric. There is a tacit reference to law or to a standard of action in our author's description of moral phenomena. Right, obligation, duty, responsibility, accountableness, are aspects of moral phenomena which have a reference to law or a standard. But a different category is required if one is to describe character as moral, and another category still is needed if we are to bring in the notion of the good. The description of moral phenomena leaves out of account that moral judgment which estimates by reference to an end, which is the category of the good, and that other, which estimates what we call virtue, which is the quality of character which corresponds to the performance of good conduct, the fitness of a man to attain the end.

The limitation of moral phenomena to that which can be expressed in terms of law has some curious consequences. Before we point these out, we shall describe briefly the results to which our author comes. He rightly points out that inorganic matter is non-moral, that the vegetable kingdom is also excluded from moral phenomena, and that all the

lower animals are not looked at as responsible. Man alone is moral, but not all human characteristics are moral according to our author. It may be well to let the writer speak for himself. "The facts so far examined support the conclusion that only voluntary actions are moral phenomena, and that may turn out to be the correct view. There are apparent exceptions, however, and these must be examined before the conclusion can be accepted with full confidence. All are familiar with the convenient division of psychic states into the volitional, the intellectual, and the emotional. Now, it is commonly supposed that men are responsible not only for volitional, but also for emotional and intellectual states, and moreover it seems often to be assumed that men are responsible for their habits, even when these have become so fixed as to lie beyond the control of the will. Vindictive feelings, suspicious thoughts, intemperate habits, will serve as examples of non-volitional states for which men are apparently held responsible. If the appearance is founded on fact, it cannot be maintained that only volitional states are moral phenomena" (p. 25). Our author comes to the conclusion that neither emotional states, intellectual states, nor fixed habits are moral phenomena. It would seem that if a man should lose control of himself he should cease to be responsible. Instead of arguing the question we shall allow the author to answer himself. "No voluntary action performs itself. In every case the agent in entirety is present, or at least is prevented by no external hindrance from being present. If in acting he fails to consider any interest involved, this—aside from his being unduly hurried, or otherwise disturbed or interfered with, a case of coercion impairing the full voluntariness of the action—is determined by his own character and by nothing else. . . . Properly speaking, then, the action is approved or disapproved not in itself, but as representing and indicating the agent and his character. And the agent is as responsible for his voluntary actions as he is for his own character or inmost self" (pp. 35-36).

Are we to conclude that emotional states, intellectual states, and fixed habits form no part of a man's character?

It would seem so, for they are said not to be moral phenomena, and a man's character is a moral phenomenon. This is not the only instance in which the author disregards his professed conclusion regarding the non-moral character of emotional and intellectual states. He broadly states that "complete morality is inspired by the emotions, in addition to being guided by the intellect, and held strong by the will" (p. 53). Surely these things which inspire and guide morality are themselves moral.

The truth is that our author in his zeal for the morality of voluntary action has forgotten for the moment that the voluntary cannot be isolated from the other aspects of man, except by an abstraction. He has forgotten that thought has also a volitional side. Is not attention both an act of thought and an act of will? And emotion is needed to kindle thought as well as to inspire action. But on this we do not dwell. Passing to the treatise itself the first part deals with subjective morality, and the second part with objective morality. The successive chapters of the first part deal with the topics Subjective Morality, Voluntary Action, The Adult Conscience, The Psychic Cause of Conscience, Birth and Growth of Conscience in the Child, and Birth and Growth of Conscience in the Race. We give an extract from the summary of results, as waning space prevents a fuller treatment. "Looking for the origin of conscience, and having reason to think that it grew out of some of the qualities characteristic of man as distinguished from other animals, an investigation was set on foot with a view to discovering those qualities. The result of this investigation was the discovery that Will-power differences man from other animals. Looking then for the results of the appearance of volition, it was seen that it gave rise to thinking, tool-making, and religion, all in the main helpful activities, it also gave birth to intelligent egoism, which tended to destroy man's chief resources for survival, *viz.*, the associated state. But here it appeared that conscience, public and private, developed out of social instincts and volition, and that putting an intelligent check on intelli-

gent but egoistic volition, it preserved the human race from extinction" (pp. 183-184).

There are many elements of interest in the process of investigation which led the author to the conclusion summarised above. Perhaps the chief among them is the attempt to make the volitional the dominating element in the life of man. Many other eminent authorities are with Professor Mezes in this contention, the chief of whom is, perhaps, Professor James of Harvard. But it is too large a question to be dealt with here.

The second part of the treatise is occupied with a discussion and description of objective morality. This really becomes a description of the virtues: courage, temperance, benevolence, justice, and the others. For this part of the work we feel great admiration. It is well done. The discussion is full, clear, learned, and altogether competent. He strives to go down to the foundation and origin of these virtues, to trace their growth and development, and to set them forth in their highest worth, as they have been realised in the best races of men, and further, to set them forth in their ideal perfection as they have not yet been realised anywhere. We are the more satisfied with the discussion inasmuch as the author has disregarded the limitations he had ostensibly set to moral phenomena, in the first part of his work. In proof of this we quote only one passage out of many that might be quoted. "All authorities insist on the morality of beneficence. But benevolence also received early mention. To be sure, among ethical writers it was first prominently mentioned, as far as I am aware, by Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century, there taking the form of love, and being placed with the other two of the Pauline triad, faith and hope, above Plato's list, and regarded as supervisory of it. But as the mention of Paul suggests, benevolence was recognised long before Aquinas. Indeed, in addition to being recognised by Paul, it was recognised by Christ, by Buddha, and by Confucius, as well as by Mohammed, and may accordingly be described as the distinctive contribution of monotheism to the solution of the

moral problem. More primitive opinion was well aware that in the moral man the will is strong for courage and temperance, and the insight of intellect just and wise. But monotheistic religions first taught, both in impressive examples, and in the lives and precepts of devoted followers, that true morality is also, and it may be principally, a matter of the heart and feelings" (p. 203). How can this be, if emotional and intellectual states are not moral phenomena, as the author has expressly stated?

JAMES IVERACH.

The Principles of Morality and the Departments of the Moral Life.

By Wilhelm Wundt, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Leipzig. Translated by Margaret Hay Washburn, Ph.D., Warden of Sage College in Cornell University. London: Sonnenschein; New York: Macmillans, 1901. 8vo, pp. xii. + 308. Price 7s. 6d.

Das Sittliche Leben. Eine Ethik auf Psychologischer Grundlage. Mit einem Anhang; Nietzsche's Zarathustra-Lehre.

Von Hermann Schwarz. Privatdozent an der Universität Halle. Berlin: Reuther u. Reichard; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. xi. + 417. Price 7s. net.

A GENERATION ago Ethics were treated on familiar lines by sharply opposed schools. On the side of naturalism, psychological and ethical hedonism held the field; on the other side, intuitionism made its protest, or idealism put forward its strong claims in the name of thought. Both of the volumes before us are significant of the newer work in ethics. We observe in them the modern appeal to the facts of experience, or to phenomenal science. In other words, these books illustrate the recoil from metaphysics. Wundt tells us that he declines to base ethics on metaphysics, holding rather that metaphysics should be based upon ethics. Waiving the question of the justification of the ethical judgment, he will accept it as a great fact of human history, and study it by the methods of scientific or historical research. His clearest result is anti-individualism. He tells us himself that he coincides a good deal with Hegel's results, while he claims, perhaps with truth, to do more justice than Hegel to the distinction between ethical facts and juristic. **Man**

as a natural being is part of a wider social whole; the expression of his partial but growing sense of this fact is found in morality. Every one will be anxious to go into the discussion of ethics upon this broad common territory of fact, but one doubts whether any basis of mere facts will carry the necessary ethical superstructure. In regard to the relation between ethics and metaphysics, there may be room for a *tertium quid*. Without treating ethics as a simple branch or corollary of the theory of the Absolute, we may hold that some metaphysical issues must be faced—if only provisionally—before we can deal profitably with the problems of ethics (or religion, or æsthetics, or possibly psychology). A final restatement of the doctrine of the Absolute may come later, gathering up all that we have learned in the special branches of philosophy. For lack of metaphysical preliminaries, Wundt seems, at times pre-critical and uncritical. Only one example can be given. If Kant is charged with “wholly untenable views” and “a union of contradictions” (p. 54) in teaching that human conduct may be viewed *either* as determined *or* as free, it seems hard to understand why Wundt is allowed to teach, on a parallel though not identical problem, that (p. 51) “where psychical processes may be regarded from an external as well as an internal point of view, these processes may either be assigned to the complex of psychical events by virtue of their immediate characteristics, or may be ranked within the casual nexus of mechanical processes by virtue of their external sensible aspect,” and that “convenience” will decide between the two modes of treatment. “Convenience,” indeed! Where opportunism begins, science ends. That is not fact, but shifting subjectivity.

More particularly, the new ethic rests upon psychology. This is stated on the title-page of Schwarz's book, and he frequently refers to his own published works on psychology. Wundt again is one of the most distinguished living psychologists; and his methods and basis are explained in the two previous volumes of translation noticed in this Review some years ago. As a sample of the help which recent advances

in psychology offer to ethics, we may mention a point dwelt upon by Schwarz—the uprooting of belief in the psychological universality and necessity of egoism, and the admission of altruistic promptings as genuine and original parts of the mind's equipment. Even Wundt offers new contributions which, perhaps, we ought to regard as an eirenicon on the vexed question of free will. There are two kinds of causation—psychical, and mechanical or material, the latter being absolutely inapplicable to mind. But, when we go further, the two writers differ widely. Wundt dismisses along with the hard soul-substance of the old “rational psychology” all belief in a solid kernel of human personality. Consequently (p. 29) personal immortality is also dismissed. For “the soul doubtless is immortal *where a soul can be discerned*,” and not otherwise. Here the appeal to psychology seems to be allowed to carry us very far indeed towards metaphysical and ethical (or non-ethical) results. The old purely introspective psychology believed that it laid its finger on “the very pulse of the machine”; by what right does modern psychology advance such exorbitant claims? If it can perform its limited task of description without using the conception of a self, by all means let it do so. But it does not follow that what psychology—or one writer's psychology—has not required to postulate is a thing non-existent. In Schwarz there is nothing analogous to these positions.

Again, the writers differ on Free Will. Schwarz defends the belief strongly, and makes two interesting points. First, he asserts that in ancient times no one thought of denying the *psychological* freedom of will, although the Stoic doctrine of cycles led to a denial of the power of the will always to embody its choice in external action. Again, he urges that, if we deny liberty of action, we ought by analogy to deny that the laws of thought can control the stream of associated ideas. Wundt, on the contrary, denies any freedom in the libertarian sense. His final argument against it is that its admission would make a science of psychology impossible. No doubt it was a mistake of former idealist philosophers to

pooh-pooh the collecting of psychological facts ; and yet we are paying rather dear for our psychology if we purchase it by sacrificing the moral nature of man. But Wundt is inexorable. There must be no such thing as a suspense of causation or even of determination. Prediction, according to "Laplace's World-formula," is indeed impossible in the region of mind, not merely because of the complexity of motive—that was granted long ago by the "hardest" determinism—but also (it seems) because causation in the world of mind need not work to uniform results—there is no solid mind-substance to steady it. Here again one is tempted to call for metaphysical scrutiny. Is a universal law which does not work uniformly any law at all ? Or is it an idle figment ? Or, taking lower ground, we might ask whether causal determination of the will is a finding of psychology or a prejudice introduced from other sciences. It is indeed a consequence of psychology-without-a-psyche that volitions also should melt into the psychical stream and lose their independence ; but was that a proved fact ? Was it not a mere working hypothesis ?

It appears to the present writer that Wundt, like most determinists, ignores his position when he goes on to the detail of ethical statement. What is the use of saying (p. 57) that "the most important factor" in the development of character is "the exercise of will" ? If Wundt is right, will is merely a middleman, and we must push back to find the ultimate sources of causation outside us, in the materialistic pair, Heredity and Environment. Wundt is like a critic of expenditure who should say that, while too much had gone under this and that heading, the most important factor in your outlay was the very big totals you carried forward from the bottom of one page to the top of another.

Having got his basis *tant bien que mal*, Wundt deals with the ordinary questions of ethics in an interesting and readable fashion, sensible rather than profound, but with good literary touch. He recognises three distinct moral ends—individual, social and humanitarian ; the lower of these is always to give place to the higher. Schwarz also has a plurality of

ends, but he is satisfied with two—a personal end (self-respect) and what he calls “Foreign Values” or “Worths,” the latter being subdivided, however, into “altruistic” (mainly social) and “inaltruistic” (which we must claim leave to translate “ideal”). And Schwarz concurs in holding that the higher value always takes precedence of the lower. Once again we crave metaphysical criticism. Can the sense of duty possibly end in a plurality? The unification in each treatise—in neither of them is it a unity—takes the form of a basis for systematic casuistry. But such a casuistry is hard to believe in when we consider the complexity of life; to say nothing of other arguments.

Finally, Wundt teaches that the contents of the moral ideal are liable to endless evolutionary change, without prospect that the human race can ever realise the ideal that floats before it. Only one thing, we are told, may be postulated, that we are to strive after the ideal, and that (somehow) the ethical gains of humanity must endure (p. 107), though personal immortality be dismissed as a foolish dream. This is Professor Wundt's religious creed; and it seems to constitute the promised metaphysical result of ethics. Its positive elements, so far as they go, are unobjectionable. But they suggest another criticism. Under the vague heading of “humanitarian” ends or norms, Wundt finds room for ideal morality. That is a great point gained; but is it quite fairly gained? Is our supreme reason for the toil of duty and self-sacrifice the future existence, during a few millenniums, of a community of dying men, continuing the tradition of civilisation on this doomed planet? In the last resort Wundt suggests something deeper; ought he not to have recast his phenomenal ethics from the higher point of view? But within its limits, and upon its assumptions, the work is well done; while, “aside from” some Americanisms and one or two slips, the translation also seems good. There is a fair index.

Schwarz's views have confessed affinities with Martineau's. He treats each moral judgment as a preference—persons better than conditions; others better than self. Still, he

points out that he differs in formulating the moral ends under two great heads rather than trusting the moral sense to produce a serial scale of values. From Kant again he differs in basing morality not on practical reason but, characteristically, on the distinct psychological facts of will. Within each particular end, conscience prefers one act and postpones another by means of "analytic" judgments; but the great fundamental preferences are "synthetic" or creative, *i.e.*, their worth is revealed to us when we exercise such preference. The rigorism to which this rule—"always do the highest possible"—seems to point is evaded by the doctrine that we can only do right when a natural feeling lends its help to the law. (In its absence the duty in question, though abstractly good, is not *our* duty.) Schwarz also has a religion of his own. He co-ordinates and adds together the theism of Feeling (dependence), of Thought (belief in the Great First Cause), and of Will (ethical faith). Also, under appeal to the "teaching" of the "Redeemer" he pleads for a worship of God which consists in the service of man, *solely*. This may be better than the author's earlier statement, according to which God is one out of several "foreign values". Are we to take in an absolutely literal sense the restriction of worship to work?

In spite of a curiously declamatory if serviceably clear style, Schwarz's book has a solid kernel of thought, sometimes original. Whether it really furnishes "the Alpha and Omega of ethics" (p. viii.) is another question. There is an excellent summary printed in lieu of running title at the top of the pages, and the index is satisfactorily full.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

The World and the Individual.

(*Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Aberdeen.
Second Series.*)

By Josiah Royce, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of the History of
Philosophy in Harvard University. New York: The
Macmillan Company, 1901. Pp. xx. + 480. Price
12s. 6d. net.

IN this volume Professor Royce completes the Gifford Lecture that he delivered at the University of Aberdeen in the Winter Sessions of 1898-99 and 1899-1900. The previous series had traversed a wide speculative field, dealing with the conception of Being, partly in the form of trenchant criticism of typical ontological theories, and partly in the formulating and enunciating of the author's own view—all pointing forward, however, to a fuller development of his system. This fuller development is now before us; and it certainly does not lack in brilliancy and suggestiveness. The comprehensive sweep, the lucid style, the felicitous diction, the apt illustrations, and the keen dialectic carry the reader along as few metaphysical writings do; while the intensity of conviction that permeates the whole produces on one an impression second only to that which was made upon the Aberdeen audience that listened to the lectures, enforced by the striking personality of the author as he delivered them.

As an idealist, Professor Royce naturally starts in his philosophy, not from the world as a given something, but from Being; and, having determined the meaning of Being, proceeds to evolve his system. *To be* or *to be real* he defines as *to fulfil a purpose*; and the purpose that the individual fulfils is found, in the ultimate analysis, to be that of the Absolute.

For the Absolute purpose is fulfilled in the world by a countless number of individual wills, expressed in individual lives, and each unique. So that the problem comes to be the nature of the Individual and of the Absolute, and their relation each to each. This necessitates, therefore, in the first place, a Theory of human Knowledge, which is carefully worked out in the first two lectures of the treatise, and which revolves around the contrast between the two types of knowledge—the “descriptive” and the “appreciative”—which, in turn, depends upon the contrast between the “social” and the “individual” points of view, but which also has its logical notes in the consciousness of the Individual. Next comes an outline of a Philosophy of Nature, discussing, on the one hand, the distinction between the Temporal and the Eternal World-order (Lecture III.), and showing how Time and Eternity are not disparate but of a piece; and, on the other hand, presenting (in Lectures IV. and V.) such a view and interpretation of the cosmic processes, especially Evolution, as shall mediate between Idealism and our experience of Nature, and shall show “that an idealist is not obliged either to ignore or to make light of physical facts in order to maintain his theory of the Absolute”. Then follows consideration of the human Self—in its origin and nature and in its place in Being (Lectures VI. and VII.). Great stress is here laid on the *social* origin of the self, and views are enunciated that are by no means conventional. The self is not a substance (there is no such thing as a substantial soul); nor is it to be taken from the abstract and impersonal view of being, which gives us self as a law rather than a life, and as a type of existence rather than an individual. The self is essentially “a life with a meaning”; it is ethically free and gains its individuality through its relation to God, being “a unique expression of the Divine purpose”. Consequently, it is not a datum but an *ideal*—it is never fully realised here; and so we cannot define it. But the Absolute also is a self and a life (as is shown specifically in Lecture VIII., “The Moral Order”)—only it is a whole life, final and perfect.

But what, now, of Evil in the world? This is the question that is specially taken up in Lecture IX.; and the handling shows the author at his best. In the Temporal Order, it is urged, there is, at every point and in every act, relative freedom. Hence the possibility of the individual will consciously resisting the Will of the world. "The consequences of such resistance are real evils—evils that all finite beings and the whole world suffer. Such evils are justified only by the eternal worth of the life that endures and overcomes them. And they are temporally overcome through other finite wills and not without moral conflict." The solution must also, in great measure, be sought in the solidarity of the race. Moral agents in the universe must not be sundered—each individual helps or retards the other, and each suffers from the other's ill-doing, and yet is privileged to make *atonement* for it, and, therefore, to aid in overcoming or transcending it. Thus the Divine will is ever winning its way in the world, and we are the means of realising it, and so shall share in the triumphs of the eternal order. This, therefore, is our comfort, *viz.*, "in the consciousness, first, that the ideal sorrows of our finitude are identically God's own sorrows, and have their purpose and meaning in the Divine life as such significant sorrows; and in the assurance, secondly, that God's fulfilment in the eternal world—a fulfilment in which we too, as finally and eternally fulfilled individuals, share, is to be won, not as the mystic supposed, without finitude and sorrow, but through the very bitterness of tribulation, and through overcoming the world. In being faithful to our task we too are temporally expressing the triumph whereby God overcomes in eternity the temporal world and its tribulations."

But now (Lecture X.) the individual is immortal. This he is because of his union with God. He is, also, immortal because of death; for "the death of an individual is a possible fact, in an idealistic world, only in case such death occurs as an incident in the life of a larger individual, whose existence as this Self and no other, in its individual contrast with the rest of the world, is continuous in meaning with the

individuality that death cuts short. No Self, then, can end until itself consciously declares, My work is done, here I cease." Hence, thirdly, he is immortal as an ethical self in union with God; for the task of an ethical self—that of serving—is never finished.

Such, in brief, is the teaching of this important treatise. One strong point about it is, its persistent refusal to sunder the individual from other individuals, from the rest of the world, and from God; and another is its equally persistent refusal to sever the Temporal from the Eternal Order in the universe. It is peculiar among Idealisms, also, in maintaining the Personality of the Absolute, and in fully recognising the nature and reality of Evil. It is far removed from Mysticism, and keeps in touch with common-sense.

In this way a great many objections that are usually urged against Idealistic theory are met by anticipation. Yet difficulties remain with regard both to the Individual and to the Absolute.

For instance, it is a prominent position of Professor Royce that "what the Self in its wholeness wills is just, in so far, God's will, and is identical with one of the many expressions implied by a Divine purpose". But, clearly, some one definite sense must be attached to "self in its wholeness," and some test must be supplied to determine when the Self does will in its wholeness and when not; otherwise we shall run the risk of reasoning in a circle, maintaining that self wills in its wholeness when it consciously and intentionally fulfils the divine purpose, and that it consciously and intentionally fulfils the divine purpose when it wills in its wholeness. Nor is the matter made easier by the consideration that individuality, as set forth by Dr. Royce, is still very much a name to us—is still in great measure an unknown quantity: it is never fully known by us here, because it is not yet realised by us, and so defined only in terms of an ideal.

Again, the social origin of the human self presents difficulties. That consciousness of self grows and develops through social intercourse and in a social atmosphere is unquestioned. It may freely be granted that it is through

communication with other selves that the individual comes to regard himself as a self. But there are other necessary factors in the genesis of self—especially the individual's own body, with its organic sensations, and his activities brought into exercise in relation to external objects. Consideration of these and of other processes implicated in the development of self casts doubt on the position that "various Selves can possess, in the whole or in a part of their lives, identically the *same* experiences, so that one Self can originate, or can develop *within* another self".

In like manner, there is difficulty in the notion of the Absolute as an individual—"the Individual of individuals"; and there is difficulty in conceiving the kind of future existence of the finite individual, when his purpose is realised, and when the present type of consciousness gives place to another.

But, difficulties apart, the work is a very remarkable one, stimulating and suggestive at every point; and all who are interested in the higher problems of thought will welcome it as a real contribution (the greatest of recent years) to the philosophy of the subject.

WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

An Outline of the Relations between England and Scotland (500-1707).

By R. S. Rait, Fellow of New College, Oxford. London : Blackie & Son, 1901. 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 225. Price 7s. 6d. net.

MR. RAIT has produced an extremely useful and readable account of the relations of Scotland and England till the Union. The work is very useful for the student, for it collects a great number of facts, many of which, indeed, may be found scattered through other histories, but which are difficult to grasp because they have not hitherto been collected, and it will be useful and interesting to the general reader, for the subject with which it deals is both difficult and interesting; and Mr. Rait presents the facts in a very luminous and readable fashion; the learning behind the work is solid and careful, but there is nothing pedantic in the way it is used.

To the technical student, no doubt, the most important discussion in the book is that contained in the introductory chapter on the question whether the Scottish nationality should be looked upon as predominantly Celtic or as, properly speaking, an independent section of the English race. Mr. Rait traverses the judgment which has been commonly received that the Scottish Lowlander was, not only in language and manners, but also predominantly in blood, of the English race, and that the Highlander was, properly speaking, much further from the Lowlander than the Lowland Scotch were from the English. It would be entirely unbecoming in one like myself who has no complete acquaintance with the subject, either from the point of view of Celtic institutions or of early Scottish manners and institutions, to express a judgment upon the controversy, but I may say that Mr. Rait has stated his case with precision and force, so well, indeed, that

I can only hope that he will have occasion and opportunity to deal with the matter more completely.

Mr. Rait introduces his discussion of the relations between England and Scotland by a short chapter on the relations of the two countries before the Norman Conquest, very terse and clear, and which says as much perhaps as there is to be said on the subject. In the next chapter he deals also very tersely and clearly with the relations of the countries from the Conquest till the death of Alexander III., giving an excellent summary view of the feudalisation of the Lowlands, and the settling of the Norman nobles in the country, and brings out in sharp and clear relief the first definite and tangible point in the relations of the two countries, the recognition of Henry II. as overlord of Scotland in the treaty of Falaise in 1174, when William the Lion had been made prisoner. But as Mr. Rait points out, the relations within a few years fall back into the former uncertainty, when in 1189, by the agreement between Richard I. and William the Lion, the terms of the treaty of Falaise were annulled.

But we do not propose to summarise Mr. Rait's work, and we need only say that the care and precision which marks the early chapters of the book are carried out to the end. It does not fall within the scope of the work to deal much with one aspect of Scottish institutions which Mr. Rait has already handled very effectively, I mean the history of Parliamentary institutions in Scotland, but such references as there are in the work are interesting and illuminating. Many who are interested in the scientific treatment of Scottish history will look forward especially to a more complete treatment of the history of the political institutions, and no one will be more competent to undertake this than Mr. Rait. When that work is accomplished there will, I venture to think, be a great deal more of interest to say on the comparison of English and Scottish history.

A. J. CARLYLE.

Étude sur les origines et la nature du Zohar.

*Par S. Karppe. Paris : Félix Alcan, 1901. 8vo, pp. x. + 599.
Price F.7.50.*

THE work before us may be considered as consisting of two almost equal parts. Pages 1-306 give a sketch of the history of Jewish mysticism from the earliest times to about the close of the thirteenth century; pages 307-581 contain a discussion of Zohar and of its contents. Probably the second part will not interest a non-Jewish reader much. Zohar would be a work of great importance to the student of the history of Christianity, if it were indeed, as it claims to be, a faithful transcript of the teaching of Rabbi Simon ben Jochai (fl. *circ.* A.D. 150), who is one of the authorities quoted in the Mishnah. If we could indeed ascribe to a Jewish doctor of the second century the hints of the doctrine of a Divine Trinity and of a Suffering Messiah which are found in Zohar, we should have to confess that the influence of Christianity on the thought of the leaders of Judaism was much greater than can at present be allowed. But Dr. Karppe, in agreement with earlier scholars, Jacob ben Zebi Emden (1763) and Jellinek (1851), shows on both external and internal evidence that the book is not earlier than *circ.* A.D. 1300. Indeed it may hardly be called a "book," but rather "une juxtaposition, un agrégat d'éléments hétérogènes". Dr. Karppe declines to accept the suggestion that certain parts of this aggregation are early; all claim to go back to ben Jochai, and all are spurious when judged by this claim.

The sketch of Jewish mysticism which occupies the first half of Dr. Karppe's book, is both useful and interesting. A great deal of matter is presented in very few pages. The

author defines Jewish mysticism as the product of Jewish thought "evoluant sous l'action de la pensée non-juive" (p. 20). He gives a chapter on Mysticism "jusqu'à la clôture du Talmud," abounding with interesting quotations from early Midrash. "Chaque jour Dieu crée une classe d'anges qui récitent devant lui un cantique et disparaissent" (Breshith R. 78). "Les méchants s'appuient sur Dieu, mais les justes, Dieu s'appuie sur eux" (*ibid.*, 69). "L'effet de la faute (of the sin of Adam) disparaît avec la révélation sinaitique."

It is to be hoped that the text of Dr. Karppe's book will be very carefully revised in a second edition. There are many misprints in the Hebrew, some in the French, and the Greek accents are "anyhow". Page 24, line 5, read "Maaseh," p. 45, note 3, *הדין*, p. 49, note 4, *הסתכל*, p. 52, lines 31, 32 (accents!), p. 53, line 3 (accents!), p. 55, line 5, read *νομοθέτης*, p. 70, line 2, read *Vajikra*, p. 71, note 1, read *beth* for *caph* twice.

W. EMERY BARNES.

Leben Jesu.

Von D. Oscar Holtzmann, a. o. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Giessen. Tübingen und Leipzig : J. C. B. Mohr, 1901. Pp. xvi. + 428. Price 7s. 9d. net.

As might be expected, the attempt is being made from time to time to rewrite the life of Jesus in view of the most recent critical study of the Gospels, and this work, issued a few months ago by Professor O. Holtzmann, is beyond all question one of the most competent and readable of German delineations of the subject. A minor merit of the volume is that we are spared all controversial discussion of points in scholarship or doctrine; as in the case of Weizsäcker's *Apostolic Age*, the reader is presented with conclusions rather than processes. At the same time the expert will find the book quite as interesting as the general reader. The author's tone is that of the severely self-restrained historian, perfectly candid and notably dispassionate, but somewhat prosaic, and manifestly in bondage to a less ample spirit of grace and liberty than breathes through the pages of the New Testament.

Holtzmann's initial discussion of the sources has an interest of its own aside from the main purpose of his book. With the vast majority of recent critics he takes Mark to have been in the hands of the authors of our first and third Gospels; Matthew's collection of the Logia, however, is earlier still. Previous histories of Christ's ministry exhibit signs of hesitation and uncertainty, mainly because they neglect to follow Mark strictly in matters of chronology. The historical value of the Fourth Gospel is altogether secondary, for no scientific writer can consent to use, as material of first-class importance, data which throughout show signs of having been handled with the most sovereign freedom. A feature of Holtzmann's work for which the reader will scarcely be prepared, is the high authority assigned to the *Gospel of the Hebrews*. This comes out especially in connexion with the

question of Christ's sinlessness, His relations to His family, and the order of the three temptations. "The Gospel of the Hebrews seems to be, on the whole, similar in type to our Synoptics, but also quite independent and of equal value" (p. 39).

Mark is regarded as having, with historical insight and truth, divided the life of Jesus into five sections sharply distinguished from one another. These sections are as follows: (1) from Jesus' birth to His self-discovery as Messiah at His baptism; (2) from the beginning of His ministry to the controversy with the Pharisees about ceremonial purity; (3) from His flight thereafter to Peter's confession; (4) from Peter's confession to the entry into Jerusalem; (5) from the entry into Jerusalem onwards. The *principium divisionis* which we must employ in making this partition is Jesus' attitude to His own Messiahship. All that can be done with His sayings is to fit them into that section of the life where they seem most in place. There is a brief but interesting passage which discusses the point whether we can possibly expect to write a biography of Christ at all. The claims urged by Holtzmann in this respect are modest.

On many phases of our Lord's life and action we have found this book eminently instructive and full of suggestion. Taken as a whole, nothing could be better than what the author has to say, for instance, about Christ's use of the Old Testament, His knowledge of human life, His temptations, the masculine strength of His character, many of the more prominent parables, the Lord's Prayer, the significance of Peter's confession, the order of events during the last week of Christ's life. This last section of the work is especially good. There is much sagacious Christian *Lebensweisheit* scattered up and down its pages. In short, as regards all the less central and interior aspects of the subject, we are furnished with the most valuable information, delighted with sympathetic exposition, and filled with a sense of historic reality and substance.

But in many other respects, and these quite as momentous

from the standpoint of history as from the standpoint of faith, Holtzmann's judgment does not appear to us to be free to accept facts as they are. A devotee of the *Aufklärung* would not feel himself entirely out of his own atmosphere in these pages. The elements in the Gospels which we are accustomed to call supernatural are uniformly reduced to the limits of every-day events. Holtzmann, in fact, is working with a set of principles which forbid conclusions of any but a certain kind. For example, while the eschatological character of Christ's preaching is rightly emphasised (pp. 124, 128), the Preacher is represented far too much as literally tied to the notions of His time. No doubt Christ accepted and used the ideas current in His day, as He accepted, in becoming man, a particular language and grammar, and as any one was bound to do who desired to make himself intelligible to his contemporaries; but in His hands they came to have an ideal and religious content which was destined ultimately to burst the bonds of Jewish thought. To this consideration Holtzmann seems blind, and any one who compares the relevant passages in this book with the valuable treatise on the same subject by Professor Erich Haupt of Halle, will become keenly aware of the radical deficiencies of his treatment.

Nor can the view of the Gospel miracles offered us in this book be said to satisfy even moderate demands. The wonders wrought by the Holy Coat of Trèves are adduced as casting a much-needed light upon Christ's miracles of healing. Is there anything in the Gospel story, one may ask at this point, which suggests that Christ *failed* in some of the cases of disease brought to Him, and if not, is it not—even from the point of view of inductive logic—to put a fool's cap upon the discussion to introduce such a parallel? The calming of the sea is dismissed as a coincidence; the narratives of the widow's son and of Lazarus are denied all authenticity because they are not to be found in the oldest Gospel. The explanation given of such things as the feeding of the five thousand and the walking on the sea compares badly in force and verisimilitude with older rationalising theories of the same kind. The Transfiguration is an allegory. Holtzmann's

view of the Resurrection has many features of resemblance to Keim's, though there is a curious audacity in his quoting 1 Corinthians xv. 6, to prove that such subjective visions as he believes in could quite well appear to a multitude at once. The Apostle, we may be sure, hardly contemplated such a use of his words. The strange theory meets us here again that the Resurrection was "certainly expected" (p. 391). None of the appearances took place in Jerusalem. Joseph of Arimathea, objecting to have a criminal buried in his grave, probably bestowed the body of Jesus elsewhere as soon as the Sabbath was past. With this goes an ill-judged attempt to make Paul a witness to the theory that the body was *not* reanimated.

Though we have called attention to certain elements in this *Leben* which fail to satisfy the canons of history, we have every desire to recognise its many and conspicuous merits. For though Holtzmann is a writer rather of knowledge than of power, he holds the mind of the reader by the solid and substantial impressiveness of the narrative as it unfolds in his hands. Those who share his standpoint will, without question and not unjustly, regard his work as one of enduring value. Such representations of Christ's life set the mind a-working round the deepest problems of our religion. It is an intellectual exercise of the most engrossing kind, indeed, to inquire how much we can say about Jesus of Nazareth apart altogether from religious faith in Him. But have we any right to separate history and faith in the matter? Is not the faith itself based upon a view of the history as a whole, and if so, how can it remain without objective influence and value for our conclusions upon details of the Gospel narrative? The Jesus Christ presented to us in the New Testament would become a different person if His miracles, and, above all, His resurrection were removed. Both faith and history seem to unite in *this* judgment, and in that case books of the kind Professor Holtzmann has written are bound partially to fail in their appeal to the Christian consciousness.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

Der Menschensohn, Jesu Selbstbezeichnung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des aramäischen Sprachgebrauches für "Mensch" untersucht.

*Von Paul Fiebig, Licentiat der Theologie. Tübingen und
Leipzig: Paul Siebeck, 1901. M.3.*

THIS is the up-to-date book on the philological controversy which Lietzmann's *Menschensohn* opened with such startling force in 1896. It goes on the same lines of research into dialects of Aramaic in which Lietzmann and Dalman (*Worte Jesu*, 1898) have led the way, but it goes further and it brings back results more edifying than Lietzmann's and more tenable than Dalman's. Part I. (pp. 8-60) treats exhaustively of the Aramaic usage in vocables for *man*. The particular object is to discover the words or expressions available in the dialect Jesus probably used. Lietzmann maintained (1) that *barnasha'* was the only word available in that dialect, although, curiously enough, he admits eleven instances in his chief authority (the Christian-Palestinian document known as *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum*) of the use of the alternative *gebhara'*. (2) That the proper translation of *barnasha'* in Greek is *ἄνθρωπος* or *ὁ ἄν.*, in no case *υἱὸς* or *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. (3) That the indeterminate form *barnash* can mean only *some* or *any one* = Greek *τις*. (4) That there is no evidence apart from the Gospels of the use of *Barnasha'* in the time of Jesus in a distinctive sense (as = the Messiah), and that the ascription of the self-designation (*ὁ υἱ. τ. ἀνθ.*) in the Greek Gospels to Jesus is due partly to misunderstanding of Aramaic originals, and partly to the fondness of subapostolic Hellenists for the apocalyptic title suggested by Daniel. As to (4) Dalman agreed with the first part, misled (I venture to think) by his sense of what was due to the impressive fact that in the New Testament

Jesus only applied the Danielic title to himself. But as to the theory which ascribes the alleged mistake to subapostolic Hellenists, Dalman justly remarks that the silence of the New Testament in regard to the title except as a *self-designation* of Jesus might have kept Lietzmann from entertaining a view so wildly improbable. According to Lietzmann himself, Hellenism is already rampant in our Greek Gospels in this prominent "Son of Man". How is it that the title appears only on the lips of Jesus and is not even once applied to him by reporters who love it so well as to ascribe it, without any foundation in fact, to the Master? Fiebig differs from Dalman mainly in two particulars: (1) He holds, and so far as possible proves, that the Danielic title was in currency in at least some Jewish circles in the time of our Lord. The proof from the usage in the *Similitudes of Enoch* and in *Fourth Ezra* is of course precarious in so far as neither of these apocalypses can be proved to be pre-Christian.¹ Fiebig does not discuss the question of the dates of these books. It is enough to be able to treat them as evidence of first century usage. It is not seriously contended that either of them is later, and the supposition of the interpolation of Christian *words* into documents so absolutely free of distinctively Christian *ideas* has nothing to support it. But in regard to this matter also, the most convincing proof lies in the New Testament itself. The Gospels are full of the proof that *Jesus* was a mystery both to disciples, the rulers and the crowd. But no one feels a difficulty about the mere *phrase* "Son of Man". It may be misunderstood, but, as we shall see, the most indifferent hearers of Jesus must at least *think* that they understand it. Fiebig thinks it reasonable to believe that it is "Son of Man" in Psalms viii. 4 that has led to the Messianic use of the psalm which we find both in Paul and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (1 Cor. xv. 27, Heb. ii. 6 ff.). (2) Fiebig differs from Dalman in his

¹ It is significant, however, that the pre-Christian date, not only of the *Similitudes* but of *Fourth Ezra*, is maintained in Kautzsch's recently published editions in *Die Apocryphen u. Pseudepigraphen des A. T.* Freiburg i. B., 1899.

view of the meaning of *barnasha*'. He agrees with Lietzmann and Wellhausen in thinking that even in the time of our Lord it was the exact and not as in Hebrew the mere poetic equivalent of '*enasha*' (Heb. *Haadham*). He holds that even in the biblical Aramaic of Daniel '*enash* and *bar'enash* are precisely on the same footing, as is proved by a comparison of vv. 4 and 13 in Dan. vii. There is no less reason to be poetical at v. 4 than at v. 13, yet in the former case '*enash* and in the latter *bar'enash* is used. Why then do the Greek evangelists render the self-designation of Jesus $\delta \nu\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon$, and not simply $\delta \alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$? *Because*—the title is fundamentally a quotation. *Bar* is translated, not because it has any force, but because it occurs in the model passage in Daniel, *i.e.*, vii. 13. If the patronymic prefix has lost force in the time of *Daniel*, how much more in the time of our Lord? This may be so, but even a layman on the linguistic question may hazard the opinion that Dalman will feel the evidence to be somewhat slender. Not even the magnificent research of a scholar, who, like Fiebig, has searched through not only the Jerusalem Talmud, but the Babylonian (which is four times larger), can produce—apart from the biblical books of Daniel and Ezra—instances of the Aramaic usages earlier than the second century A.D. The usage of the second century A.D. is good evidence for the *likely* usage of the first century A.D., but it is weak evidence for the usage of the second century B.C. Can Fiebig give us an instance in biblical Aramaic where the patronymic prefix is used in a purely *prosaic* passage and with no heightening of the sense or dignity of the expression? To point to a poetic-apocalyptic passage (Dan. ii. 4) where the patronymic is *not* used proves no more in regard to the usage of biblical Aramaic than, say, the similar absence of the patronymic in Micah vi. 8 proves in regard to the usage of biblical Hebrew. While, therefore, we may believe, on the basis of the evidence marshalled with such immense learning and skill by Fiebig, that Jesus spoke an Aramaic in which, in ordinary usage, the patronymic prefix has lost its significance, we may still feel that the fact of the self-designation of Jesus being of the nature of a quota-

tion from a canonical apocalypse carries with it the necessity to preserve the phrase in all the fulness of heightened sense and dignity which it has not in Daniel only but throughout the Old Testament. Is it not this feeling in the Greek evangelists which accounts for the invariable *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* (and not merely *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*) wherever they understood Jesus to be speaking of himself?

In view of the confidence with which Lietzmann had declared it to be incredible on linguistic grounds alone that Jesus could have called himself *Barnasha'* in the distinctive sense implied in our Gospels, the linguistic results of Fiebig are startling indeed. But they have the advantage of being proved in black and white, and on the basis of a review of existing Aramaic documents that is exhaustive to a degree hitherto unparalleled.

Besides the enormous labour of searching through the two Talmuds, Fiebig has culled examples from about a dozen other documents, which need not here be even named. We are concerned with the result. It may be stated as follows:—

(1) There are in the various dialects of Aramaic not one word only but (irrespective of differences in literation) four that may be used to express the determinate singular = *the man*, viz., 'enash, 'enasha', barnash', barnasha'.

(2) All the four may mean (according to the connection) one or other of the four: *a man, the man, man* (collectively), *some or any one*.

Time has thus, so to speak, blunted the point of the Aramaic vocables for *man* at both ends. It has tended to make meaningless both the patronymic prefix and the determinate affix.

In Part II. (pp. 61-127) Fiebig deals with "Son of Man" in the New Testament, and his application of the result of Part I. is both deeply interesting in itself and deeply satisfactory to those who wish to maintain (in this connection) the most literal view possible of the historicity of the Gospels. Where so much was, *ex hypothesi*, left to the discretion of the hearers and interpreters of Jesus' words the possibility of

occasional mistake on the part of the Greek evangelists looks on the first blush very like a probability. Fiebig hastens to show that in not one of the five cases,¹ in regard to which mistakes have been most confidently asserted, is the probability a fact. The most interesting, perhaps, are Mark ii. 10, 27 f. In the former, the rendering "that a man on earth has power," etc., seems borne out by Matt. ix. 8, where the multitude glorify God who has given "such power to *men*". But the point of our Lord's argument is not that a man has, or that men in general have power to forgive sins, but that one who can heal a paralytic with a word can also forgive sins. The translator is therefore right in treating *Barnasha'* as a self-designation of Jesus. On the other hand, *barnasha'* might mean simply *men in general*. Hence there is room for the popular misunderstanding noted in Matt. ix. 8. In Mark ii. 27 f., the view of Lietzmann and Wellhausen, that Jesus meant to say "*man* is lord of the Sabbath," has a certain reasonableness. The proposition seems the legitimate conclusion from the premiss: "The Sabbath was made for man".

Fiebig thinks it incredible, nevertheless, that Jesus should have said anything so loose. His view is that the two sayings have been brought mechanically together by Mark. "The Sabbath was made for man" suits the incident of the disciples plucking the ears of corn. "The Son of Man is lord even of the Sabbath" must belong rather to some occasion in which Jesus was Himself the offender. Luke, *e.g.*, attaches the saying to the incident of the cornfield with the loose link, *καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς* (Luke vi. 5).

Fiebig's verdict is that in all the passages (he goes over them all) in which "Son of Man" appears in the Gospels, the evangelist is not wrong in supposing that Jesus meant to speak of Himself. It does not follow, however, that in every instance Jesus *said* "Son of Man". The fact that several times the simple "I" in one Gospel takes the place of "Son of Man" in another makes it *possible* that in *many* and highly

¹ Matt. xii. 32; viii. 20; xi. 19; Mark ii. 27 f.; ii. 10; and parallels.

probable that in some cases where a Gospel says "Son of Man" Jesus may have said simply "I".¹

Fiebig does not dwell on so obvious a point, but a main source of interest in his reading of the facts is that it makes for the *possibility*, and, in most cases, for the *right* of retaining "Son of Man" wherever it is found. Thus though, *ex hypothesi*, *Barnasha'* is a current Messianic title, it does not follow that every time Jesus used the expression either the multitude or the disciples understood Him to refer to the Messiah. Conversely, there may be instances in which *Barnasha'* is clearly understood to be the Messiah, but a doubt (whole or half) remains whether the speaker means Himself. An important instance of the latter class might be the passages—recurrent after the solemn catechising at Cæsarea Philippi—in which Jesus speaks of the sufferings of the "Son of Man". If He had said simply "*I* must suffer in this way," the recurring remark of the evangelists that the disciples did not *understand* would be an impertinence. The incomprehensible thing was that the *Man* of Dan. vii. 13, the *Man of the Clouds of Heaven* should suffer and die. Of the passages in which *Jesus* Himself but not the *Messiah* was probably evident, the most important are those in which in any Gospel "Son of Man" occurs before the account of the scene at Cæsarea Philippi. It has seemed plausible to argue that if *Barnasha'* was a current designation of the Messiah, Jesus could not have said *Barnasha'*, meaning Himself, previous to the scene at Cæsarea Philippi. But on Fiebig's view of the linguistic facts, the conclusion is quite invalid. *E.g.*, in the dialogue with the Scribe (Matt. viii. 19 f.) it was quite plain to the Scribe that when Jesus said "*Barnasha'* hath not where to lay His head," He could mean only Himself and not men in general. The plain and so far correct meaning was: Beasts have their houses, but in Me you see a *man* (*barnasha'*) without a home. What was by no means necessarily clear to the Scribe was that the wandering Teacher was claiming to be the Messiah.

¹ The most interesting instance is notoriously Matt. xvi. 13 (omitting the gloss με.) as compared with Mark viii. 27.

Enough has perhaps been said (though the book deserves much more) to show that Fiebig's work is of great interest and a real contribution on the basis of sound knowledge to an important discussion in which very few even in Germany are qualified to take a leading part. The more constructive part of the book dealing with Jesus' reasons for choosing the Danielic title and the meaning He put into it—whether in addition to or subtraction from the model of the canonical Apocalypse—is very suggestive.

But we could take much more. Let us hope that Fiebig will soon have recovered sufficiently from his labours in the Babylonian Talmud to give us a sequel on the "Son of Man," not in *Daniel* but in Jesus, where the results of these labours are simply assumed.

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

**Geschichte des Protestantismus in Oesterreich. In
Umrissen. Im Auftrage der "Gesellschaft für die
Geschichte des Protestantismus in Oesterreich".**

*Von Georg Loesche. Tübingen und Leipzig : J. C. B. Mohr,
1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 251. Price M.2.*

DR. LOESCHE, Professor of Theology, particularly of Church History in the Protestant Faculty associated with, though, because Protestant, not organically a part of, the Roman Catholic University of Vienna, is a recognised authority on the subject to which this little book is devoted. He has made it peculiarly his own. Various articles, and especially a work on Johannes Mathesius, an eminent cleric and schoolmaster of the period of the Reformation, which is as full of life as it is of learning, have led to a sort of silent assumption that he is, as it were, called to be the historian of Protestantism in Austria. If a Carlylean eye for characteristic points, and the gift of picturesque phrase, a never-failing, though possibly here and there a too marked antipathy to the dry-as-dust method, and an infinite capacity for ransacking original sources and gathering up details, conjoined with scrupulous exactness in references to authorities, whether original or second-hand, are qualifications of the historian, there can be no doubt about Dr. Loesche's vocation. I may say, by the way, that a history of Protestantism in Great Britain by a German of his careful scholarship, broad sympathies, lively style and religious insight is a decided desideratum. A work of the kind such a writer might produce would contribute greatly to the dissipation of a number of prejudices, half-truths and whole mistakes that are at the bottom of not a little of the alienation between Germany and ourselves which many of us sincerely deplore.

The task of carving a cameo of the course run by Pro-

testantism in Austria is one of special difficulty owing to the number of nationalities which make up the Empire, and the great diversities by which their life and character have been marked.

The tragic element in the history of Austrian Protestantism is thrust on the reader's notice in the table of contents by the heading of the two main divisions of Dr. Loesche's little book.

I. "Reformation and *Counter Reformation*." II. "From the Patent (or Act) of Toleration" (issued by the Emperor Joseph II., in October 1783) "to the present day, that is, from the epoch of toleration to that of equal rights."

The story of the so-called "*Counter Reformation*," that is, of the re-establishment of the absolute supremacy of Romanism, for cruelties and horrors of every kind, is scarcely equalled by any other. One may doubt whether the Turks behaved with greater savagery in Armenia than the Roman Catholic bishops and priests, with their obedient tools the political and other powers, behaved towards their own fellow-subjects—with of course exceptions—through a good part of two centuries. That Protestantism is not marked at the present day by much strength, enterprise or courage is not to be wondered at—the wonder is that it exists at all.

After an introduction dealing in general with the relation of Austria's rulers to Protestantism, the history is sketched according to the leading political divisions of the Empire—Lower Austria, Upper Austria, Central Austria (that is, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Graz, Istria and Trieste), Salzburg, Tyrol, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Galicia, Bukowina. One has only to have a slight acquaintance with the enormous differences between the provinces or nations just enumerated in order to recognise that Dr. Loesche has undertaken a task requiring not only most varied learning, but the skill of a master historical artist. I can testify that what he has done is very interesting to read; whether he has succeeded in adequately working up characteristic features into an artistic whole that leaves the general impression of truth, only another master of the subject can judge.

D. W. SIMON.

Culture and Restraint.

By Hugh Black. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. + 383. Price 6s.

MR. BLACK has written an interesting, and useful, and, in many ways, a fine book, but one's first impression is that it is of quite unnecessary length. He could have said what is here said in half the space; and the argument, or rather the statement, would have been much more effective. Here and there it is so interesting that one feels what a condensing process could have done for it. It is not altogether easy to come to a proper estimate of the book. It is not sermon work, though the opening chapter suggests to one that the idea of the book may have grown out of a sermon on a felicitous text, Zechariah ix. 13: "Thy sons, O Sion, against thy sons, O Greece". And the preacher declares himself all through, especially in such fine chapters—probably the most effective of all—as "The Failure of the Ascetic Ideal" and "The Teaching of Jesus on Asceticism". It is really an "Essay," and the style and plan of the essayist suggest comparisons which are inevitable and exacting. It possesses beauty, and fine literary allusiveness, but it lacks grip. This lack is possibly due in some measure to the obvious and incontestable position adopted by the writer—the only one possible, and which is admirably stated in the last chapter on "The Christian Solution". It is impossible to decide between Culture and Restraint till the facts on which each of them rests have been recognised. "This is the Christian position, the simple acceptance of both sides, looking with clear eyes on the whole situation." The chapters which state the claims of Culture, as it is represented by its modern apostles, are good, though laboured, and exhibit the writer as he moves with singular freedom, and enviable intimacy among the Seeleys and Arnolds and

Paterson of the day. The best of these is that on "Culture as Religion," in which, with a fine sense of justice, he shows "that to take culture out of its legitimate place and elevate it to a religion, is to produce only a sham religion: yet those who have made the attempt have been moved by a sense of the necessity of religion". Of course in this chapter it is Professor Seeley's *Natural Religion* which is chiefly laid under criticism: and the treatment of Seeley's conception of religion as, in its root idea, admiration—so that a Culture rising into a Religion demands a devotion of science, humanity, and nature—is very thorough. It is condemned for many reasons, but mainly because it ignores the question of sin. "There is no mention of sin." A religion of science and art raised to the religious pitch, even if it were possible, would fail to do justice to the moral meaning of human life. "It is not and cannot be a universal ideal; it does not give an adequate moral motive; it does not satisfy the facts of our nature, nor make provision for either sin or sorrow." In other words, it is an attempt to have "a religion without God". This may be taken as the strongest chapter in the book, both critically and constructively. The chapter on St. Paul's magnificent ideal of "The Perfect Man" also contains some strong ethical thinking, and enables Mr. Black to show very clearly that, "if we carry culture as a theory of life far enough up, and if in accordance with the facts of human nature we accept the duty implied in the possession of spiritual capacity, we are led to the religious position". Loyalty to the facts of moral life forces one to admit the regal claims of religion. This point is well stated, if, like most points in the book, it is also over-elaborated. It is religion which gives culture its true sanction. Mr. Black has some fine things here as to the place of the religious faculty, the recognition of which, as he says, puts "criticism in its right place at once: it must stand at the Temple gate or the outer court, it has no entry to the Holy of Holies".

The chapters in which there is discussed "the rival method which opposes self-culture by self-restraint" are good, especially that on "The Failure of the Ascetic Ideal," which

is illustrated largely from Augustine, and in which its failure is shown to consist "in raising into an end what can only be justified as a means—in leaving out happiness as an essential element in the moral ideal, and in making abstinence a higher virtue than temperance". The chapter on "The Physical Treatment of the Soul" is marked by much sobriety of judgment, and is, in a marked sense, modern. The chapters on "Mediæval Sainthood" and "The Origin of Asceticism" inevitably challenge competition with much that has been written on the subject, notably Harnack's recent monograph on Augustine and Monasticism; and one feels that they were not quite necessary to the idea of the book, particularly that on Mediæval Sainthood. But let Mr. Black give us more work which shows the fine ethical insight of the chapter on "The Teaching of Jesus on Asceticism". Throughout the volume there is a marked sense of fairness in the treatment of those who represent the various ideals dealt with—a calm and sober judgment inspired by a judicial historic sense—and the style, though it admittedly tends to slight weariness, is clear and pure. Occasionally an affectation jars on one—as when a word like "logicated" is coined unnecessarily, and made to do duty for "reasoned". But there is no pedantry or ostentation of reading, though one is perhaps most of all impressed by the assimilative faculty which Mr. Black has, so that modern literature of all kinds, and the kinds are strikingly various, percolates into his pages in numerous quotations. In a word, *Culture and Restraint* is a thoughtful contribution of a popular and readable nature to the literature of Christian Ethics.

DAVID PURVES.

1. Romans: Introduction, Authorised Version, Revised Version, with Notes, Index and Map.

*Edited by Alfred E. Garvie, M.A. (Oxon.), B.D. (Glasgow).
Edinburgh: T. C. and E. C. Jack. Pp. 322. Price 2s.
net cloth; 3s. net leather.*

2. The General Epistles: James, Peter, John and Jude.

Edited by W. H. Bennett, M.A. (London and Cambridge), Professor, New College and Hackney College, London; sometime Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Edinburgh: T. C. and E. C. Jack. Pp. 350. Price 2s. net cloth; 3s. net leather.

3. The Pastoral Epistles: Timothy and Titus.

Edited by R. F. Horton, M.A., D.D. Pp. 196. Edinburgh: T. C. and E. C. Jack, 1901. Price 2s. net cloth; 3s. net leather.

1. These are further instalments of the *Century Bible* which is under the competent editorship of Professor Adeney. The volumes deserve all praise for the beauty of their form, the handiness of their size, and the clear and tasteful print that delights the eye. In contents, too, they answer the requirements which the series has in view. The expositor's work is done, as a general rule, with care and thoroughness. Few things are overlooked which demand attention. The explanations are given without any parade of learning, in terms which any one can understand. Mr. Garvie's treatment of *Romans* is distinguished by the attention given to the great doctrinal terms. Occasionally he may come somewhat short of doing complete justice to Paul's ideas, as in the case of the Divine "election". But in general, the exposition of the great doctrinal terms follows faithfully and discerningly the lines of their history. They are carefully traced back to their roots in the Old Testament and the Jewish literature, and exhibited in the modifications and enrichments which they received in the new world of thought opened up by the Gospel. Excellent examples of this will be found in the case

of such terms as "reconciliation," "faith," "sin," etc. Still better, if possible, are the discussions of the terms "justify," "ransom," "propitiation". That the "justify" of the New Testament does not mean to "make righteous" in the sense of a *moral* change is very clearly shown. Mr. Garvie is equally satisfactory in what he says of the ideas of "redemption," "ransom," etc. Of the last he says with justice that it is "simply impossible to get rid of the conception of a ransom from the New Testament. Christian piety should surely be as willing to consider gratefully 'all our redemption cost' as to recognise confidently 'all our redemption won'."

2. Professor Bennett's expositions have the same good qualities of careful exegesis of the text, clause by clause and word by word, and scientific study of the ideas. It is impossible, of course, within the limits of a commentary of this bulk to deal with every question that arises. There are things which we should gladly have seen handled. In the case of the profound and far-reaching ideas of 1 John a fuller treatment would have been desirable. But it is remarkable how little we miss, and how continuous is the help that is provided for the reader. The introductions to the books are of much value, and there are some interesting points in them. The Epistle of James is judged to be such a letter as "the brother of the Lord" might have been expected to write, and to have no conclusive evidence negating that authorship. Those are held, too, on the whole, to be right who refer it to a very early date. The evidence is judged to be on the whole against the traditional authorship of 2 Peter. And as to 1 Peter, its literary relations to the rest of the New Testament are very carefully examined, and taken to be quite consistent with the view that it was written in "the late Pauline or immediate post-Pauline period". The conclusion reached is that there is no decisive objection to the traditional account that it was composed by the Apostle in Rome about A.D. 60-65. The exegesis of the Epistle is very well done. See, *e.g.*, what is said of the "foreknowledge of God" in i. 2 (as referring not to the characters of men but to God's own plan and working), of Christ *bearing* our sins (ii. 24), of the preaching to the spirits in prison (iii. 19, 20), etc.

3. Dr. Horton's contribution also is one of great value, and possesses a character of its own. It contains many acute and suggestive remarks, and always reads pleasantly. Where we feel something lacking at times is in its treatment of the doctrinal terms. The word "redeem" or "ransom" is a case in point. Dr. Horton accepts too easily the statement that the idea of a ransom paid by Christ to the devil prevailed from Irenæus to Anselm. That is a statement often repeated, but one which ought to be taken with large abatement. He goes on to say that the obedience of Christ unto death is "not a commercial or even a legal transaction," but one that "belongs rather to the circle of ideas covered by 'the grace of Christ'". But this is to offer an explanation which is no explanation. Every one admits that it is not a "commercial transaction". Every one will say with Dr. Horton that it belongs to the circle of ideas covered by the grace of Christ. But a legal transaction is something essentially different from a commercial, and Christ's work may be only more within "the circle of the ideas covered by the grace of Christ" if it has a relation to law and an objective side Godward as well as a subjective side manward. Mr. Garvie's handling of these great terms is better. We find, however, many examples of penetrating interpretation in Dr. Horton's volume. We may refer to his comments on the "mystery of godliness" (1 Tim. iii. 16), the "laver of regeneration" (Titus iii. 5), the bringing of "life and immortality to light" (2 Tim. i. 11-12), the case of Onesiphorus (2 Tim. i. 10) in relation to the question of prayers for the dead. The Introduction, too, is a very able piece of work. The discussion of the authorship of the Pastorals is judicious and well-balanced. Dr. Horton feels the attractions of the hypothesis ably advocated by such scholars as Harnack and M'Giffert, that in these Epistles we have authentic letters of the Apostle worked over and enlarged by a later hand. But he deems it too ingenious. He attaches more value to the painstaking investigations of Zahn, and comes to the conclusion that, on the whole, the balance of evidence is on the side of the traditional view.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

William Garden Blaikie : An Autobiography. "Recollections of a Busy Life." Edited with an Introduction by NORMAN L. WALKER, D.D. Second Edition. London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 343.

This volume has grown out of notes of his life which Dr. Blaikie had prepared, and which by and by assumed the form and the dimensions of an autobiography. His friends have been well advised in giving these interesting chapters to the public. The editor has done his part well, providing an introductory sketch and estimate of the man, and the "Recollections" themselves are full of interest. Dr. Blaikie's life was indeed a busy one, and his sympathies were wide and varied. His work as a preacher, a Professor of Theology, and a Christian philanthropist won him deserved distinction. His contributions to literature were many; and his associations with men and women of eminence in different walks of life were such as a Scotch minister rarely enjoys. In these chapters he tells in his own way the story of his education in Aberdeen, his early ministry first in a quiet rural parish and then in Edinburgh, the public movements which he studied or took part in, his early literary and social ventures, his labours and fortunes as an editor, his Professorship in the New College, Edinburgh, his frequent visits to the Continent and to America. On all these subjects he has something to say that is worth saying. He has some good stories to tell, and he has experiences to chronicle which are of value.

From the first he took a keen interest in the condition of the industrial classes. He wrote nothing better indeed than his early series of papers on *Better Days for Working People*. He had the gift of organisation and did memorable service in connection with the organisation and management of the

Pan-Presbyterian Alliance. He did much excellent work as the editor of several journals, especially the *Sunday Magazine* and the *North British Review*. Among his numerous writings the one that will take highest rank probably is his *Personal Life of David Livingstone*. But others of them have made their mark and continue to enjoy a wide circulation. One cannot read this volume without feeling that he is brought into contact with a man of sterling work, varied gifts, and exemplary life. Even those who knew him intimately will rise from the perusal of these sketches with a heightened sense of what he was.

Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament. By FREDERICK G. KENYON, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, British Museum. With Sixteen Facsimiles. London: Macmillan & Co., 1901. 8vo, pp. x. + 321. Price 10s. net.

From Mr. Kenyon it is natural to expect the best style of work in his own special department. We get that in this handbook, which is not less handsome in form than rich and reliable in its matter. It makes an important and seasonable addition to the number of books to which the English student of the textual criticism of the New Testament can turn with confidence. It strikes the happy mean between the meagre and the exhaustive in the treatment of its subject. Without attempting to embrace all that Dr. Gregory includes in the programme which he has been working out with patient labour for years, it gives all that the student requires, and does that in an admirably clear and telling way. All that is of real value in the description, valuation and history of the manuscripts and versions is placed at our disposal. The function of the science is carefully explained. The questions relating to the use of Patristic quotations as a branch of evidence are dealt with concisely and effectively. An excellent history of the science is given, bringing the exposition of principles down to Westcott and Hort's epoch-making contribution, and to the more recent developments of inquiry. A special chapter is devoted to the "Textual Problem," in

which, among other things, the question of the Western type of text receives careful and judicious consideration. Mr. Kenyon has his own views on many points, and they are always worth attention. He gives his adhesion on the whole to Westcott and Hort, but in an independent way and with reserves as to certain possibilities. His book will be greatly valued by all interested in this fundamental department of New Testament study.

A Historic View of the New Testament. (The Jowett Lectures delivered at the Passmore Edwards Settlement in London in 1901.) By PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 274. Price 6s.

To a large extent this book is a popular statement of the positions argued out in the writer's earlier work, *Exploratio Evangelica*. It is animated by a devout spirit which almost disarms the critic. It is written not for destructive ends, but with a sincere desire to accomplish an effective reconstruction of Christianity on the basis of a new reading of the forms in which it appears in the New Testament. It is an honest attempt to give such an interpretation of Christian history and Christian faith as may commend itself to "educated men," who are supposed to be growing more and more incredulous and estranged. And in the course of its general argument it says things now and again that are both true and suggestive. But allowing all this, we are still unable to regard it as successful either in its conclusions or in its methods. It aims at giving a purely "historic" view and at employing only the historic method of investigation. But it carries out that method very imperfectly. It is dominated throughout by a view of the world that at once rules out much that is contained in the primary sources of Christianity. It has an easy way of reaching its conclusions. In many cases it gives no indication of any ground for them except what is found in the writer's own preconception of what is historically credible. It accepts certain words as consistent with what Jesus might be expected to utter and rejects others as inconsistent and

impossible, for the simple reason that it seems so to the author as he cuts and carves on the historic documents to which we owe our knowledge of Christianity according to the subjective standard of his spiritual feeling or his own judgment of what is congruous. It discounts the whole series of the miraculous deeds and experiences of Christ with the exception of the healing miracles, which are co-ordinated with the modern phenomena of faith-healing. This elimination of the element of miracle is effected without regard to the object of the works, their connection with the words, or their relation to the Worker Himself. What is left us is a Christianity which has lost its living centre and author, and is reduced to a religion of ideas and in the main to one consisting of a lofty ethic. But this is not the faith that regenerated the world, neither is it the Christianity which is yielded by any investigation of its sources, the New Testament records, that deserves to be called scientific.

The Early Church, Its History and Literature. By JAMES ORR, M.A., D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901. Pp. 243. Price 1s. net.

This volume, which belongs to the series of "Christian Study Manuals," gives an excellent outline of the history of the Church on to the victory of Christianity under Constantine. The opening chapter describes the Jewish and Gentile preparation, concluding with a concise statement of the relation of Christianity to the Roman Law. The Apostolic Age, the period from Nero to Domitian, the Age of the Apostolic Fathers, that of the Apologists, that of the Old Catholic Fathers, and that of the Great Persecutions are then dealt with in succession. All is given in distinct and telling summary, and with the excellent feature of leaving points for further inquiry for the reader to follow up. Adequate attention is given to the literature of the Church, its organisation, the growth of offices, the rise and meaning of the early heresies, etc. The book is one that admirably answers the purpose of the series, and puts the results of extensive study in an attractive form at the service of the reader.

The Book of the Dead, an English Translation of the Chapters, Hymns, etc., of the Theban Recension, with Introduction, Notes, etc. By E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., Litt.D., D.Lit., Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1901. 3 vols. Cr. 8vo, pp. xcvi. + 222; viii. + 225-526; iii. + 529-702. Price 3s. 6d. each net.

These make the sixth, seventh and eighth volumes of the series of "Books on Chaldæa and Egypt" edited by Messrs. Budge and King of the British Museum. They contain the translation given in the larger edition which appeared under the title of *Chapter of Coming Forth by Day* in 1897. That edition was the most complete that had been published, and in every respect an important undertaking. It is a great boon which the publishers have conferred upon us in issuing it now in this handy, tasteful, and extremely cheap form. The volumes are splendidly illustrated by a series of four hundred and twenty vignettes. The translation has been carefully revised, explanatory notes have been added, and other things done which make this edition more than a reprint of the other. Dr. Budge, while he admits of course the existence of corruptions in the text which in some passages amount to hopeless confusion, protests against the tendency on the part of certain writers on Egyptology to decry the *Book of the Dead*, and reminds us that the more it is studied the likelier is it that its difficulties and its dark passages will be explained. It is not easy indeed to exaggerate the interest of this strange religious book of ancient Egypt. Its chapters, as Dr. Budge says, "are a mirror in which are reflected most of the beliefs of the various races that went to build up the Egyptian of history, and to this fact is due the difficulty of framing a connected and logical account of what the Egyptians believed at any given period of their history". He has laboured hard at the task of making the religious literature and ideas of the Egyptians intelligible to us and accessible, and all students of the religions of the world owe him much. In these volumes we

see something, too, of his own views on important questions in Egyptology. He recognises the existence of an aboriginal North African race and the immigration of an Asiatic race of a higher order. He is of opinion that the latter race never succeeded in entirely remoulding and elevating the former. And in this ancient book, a book so ancient that even before the Theban Recension parts of it had become utterly obscure, he sees the ideas of the semi-barbarous African element contending for recognition with the superior and highly moral and spiritual beliefs which it owed to the presence of the Asiatic element in Egypt.

The Old Testament and the New Scholarship. By JOHN P. PETERS, Ph.D., Sc.D., D.D., Rector of Saint Michael's Church, New York. London: Methuen & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 328. Price 6s.

This is another contribution to the *Churchman's Library*. It is one that answers well the purpose of the series of which it forms part. It is meant specially for "Churchmen," in other words for members of the Episcopal Church of England and its allies. But it will be of use to others besides these, and to the educated laity in particular. It attempts a good deal too much in truth for its limits. It falls into four main divisions. In the first part it deals with such fundamental questions as these—how the Bible has been and should be treated, what is to be understood by its inspiration, what is the teaching of the Church on the subject of Scripture, and what is the application of the doctrine of the Incarnation to the study of the written Word. This is an immense programme, and Dr. Peters gets through it in less than fifty-five pages! His capacity may well be the envy of his brethren. In the second part he takes up the question of Evolution and the Bible, giving a good statement of the development of opinion resulting in the higher criticism of the present day, and an estimate of the effect produced upon the general view of the history of the religion of Israel. The third part is devoted wholly to the Book of Psalms. Here we get a very fair account of the growth of the Psalter. In the fourth part

Dr. Peters gives a review of the results of archæology in relation to the Bible. Here he gives a special chapter to the book of Daniel, showing how archæological discoveries have confirmed the literary and historical evidence pointing to the late date.

There is a good deal in the volume that might well have been omitted. The chapter given to the story of the Prayer Book Psalter has little relevancy to the rest of the matter. The same must be said of the appendix on "The Virgin Birth". There is a great want of proportion in the selection and distribution of the matter. But the book will be useful to a large class, and it will be reassuring as well as instructive. One of the best-considered discussions in it is the one on our Lord's use of the Old Testament. On that subject Dr. Peters speaks with great discernment, in view of a careful examination of all the passages referring to it in the Gospels.

The Letters of St. Paul to Seven Churches and Three Friends.

Translated by ARTHUR S. WAY, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. + 223. Price 5s. net.

Mr. Way has experience of the art of translating. We owe to him renderings into English verse of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the *Tragedies of Euripides*, the *Epodes* of Horace and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius. He is far from satisfied either with the Authorised Version of the New Testament or with the Revised. The former is guilty of many offences, of leaving passages to be understood in a sense "totally different from that of the writer," of an "Oriental vagueness" in the sense it sometimes conveys in consequence of its limited handling of the prepositions, of inadequacy in giving the exact meaning of the original, etc. The Revised Version, as it is only a revision, is open to almost all the same objections. Mr. Way wishes to give us something better. What he attempts is neither literal translation nor indefinite paraphrase, but a version which will not "obscure the meaning of the original by the con-

densed literality of a word-for-word rendering," but make the "connection of thoughts, the sequence of subjects, the continuity of the original" clear by supplying the "necessary links".

This induces Mr. Way, among other things, to develop the meaning of metaphor, in the way in which he conceives the reader would at once "instinctively fill up the picture". It leads him also to print many sections in the form of hymns. Of these special features of this translation we have some remarkable examples. Among the paragraphs thrown into rhythmic form, to take but a few instances, we find 1 Thess. iv. 16-18 ("the hymn of the Second Coming"), v. 2, 3 ("the hymn of the Day of the Lord"), v. 5-10 ("the hymn of the Night-watchers"), 1 Cor. viii. 4-6 ("Confession Hymn"), xi. 23-26 ("hymn of the Lord's Supper"), etc. Of the expansion of figures we have illustrations in 1 Cor. xiii. 8, "love's flower-petals never fail"; 2 Cor. v. 4, "it is not that we would fain be disarrayed of the mortal body, nay, but rather overdressed with the immortal, that mortality may be drowned in the sea of life". There are many renderings of a better order than these, but there is much that is overdriven. There is a vivacity in the book, however, which compensates for some things that grate on the ear, and the modern reader is often brought in an unwonted way into the heart of Paul's thoughts and reasonings.

Travel in the First Three Centuries after Christ, with Special Reference to Asia Minor. By CAROLINE A. J. SKEEL, former student of Girton College, Cambridge, Lecturer in History, Westfield College, Hampstead. Cambridge: University Press, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 159. Price 5s.

This book begins with a statement of the rapidity with which Christianity was diffused in the first century, showing how intercommunication was maintained, and how facilities for travel such as never existed before were provided in the first centuries of the Roman empire. Very good sketches are then given of the different classes of travellers, the great recognised lines of communication North, South, East and

West, the road system of Rome, the lines of maritime transit, the risks of storm and piracy and the like, the main facts relating to river and lake travelling, etc. A special chapter is devoted to the story of communication in Asia Minor, in connection with which St. Paul's journeys are dealt with. Here we have a brief balancing of the pros and cons in the vexed question of the "Galatians" of the New Testament, the writer concluding for the South Galatian theory as the more probable view. The book is full of matter and is lucidly written. It is based on a study not only of Mommsen, Friedländer and other well-known authorities, but of the original sources. It is an intelligent and useful study.

Protestant Principles. By the Rev. J. MONRO GIBSON, M.A., D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901. Small cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 171.

Dr. Gibson's book belongs to the series of *Christian Study* manuals. Its object is to "exhibit in a systematic form the chief principles held by Evangelical Protestants". It deals consequently with the controversy with the Roman Catholic Church and Theology, but it does so in an excellent spirit of fairness, moderation and charitableness. It begins (and this is one of its good features) with a frank recognition of what the Roman Catholic Church has in common with the Protestant. It proceeds then to deal in succession with the points of difference relating to the Word, the Work of Christ, and the Church of Christ. Its argument is directed also against all who hold by the sacerdotal view of the clerical office, and in particular against the Anglo-Catholics. There is at the same time a cordial appreciation of the work of Anglicans like Professor Moberly and Bishop Gore, and of the value of such books as the *Ministerial Priesthood* of the former and *The Body of Christ* of the latter. Perhaps the best section of the volume is that on the Ministry. But the whole argument is fairly and ably conducted, and deserves to be considered by those who hold the opposite position.

The Greek Catholic Church. By RICHARD BRINSLEY CASSAVETTI SHERIDAN. London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. Pp. 70. Price 1s.

This small volume is made up of a paper read before the Exeter College Church Society in May last. It is an interesting, concise and sharp statement of the position of the Eastern Church. The writer leaves no doubt as to what that position is. With the utmost plainness and decision he sets forth the immemorial and persistent claim of the Greek Church to be the one Church, the whole Church, the true Church, the infallible teacher of mankind. He states the distinctive points in her doctrine, notices the few attempts at union, and in uncompromising terms explodes the idea of the possibility of any recognition on her part of the Anglican position any more than of the Papal.

Henry Drummond. By JAMES Y. SIMPSON. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Pp. 164. Price 1s. 6d. net.

This is one of the latest additions to the tasteful "Famous Scots" Series. It is a sketch rather than a biography, and as such it will have its own place. The writer has the advantage of having Professor George Adam Smith's larger work before him, and he owns his indebtedness to it. But he strikes out a pathway for himself, endeavouring to show how Henry Drummond's mind and influence grew, and to give an estimate of his work. Mr. Simpson has also been able to make use of a considerable amount of new matter, consisting of letters hitherto unpublished, the draft of what was intended to form a preface to a new edition of *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, etc. The book is well written. It will help many to understand Henry Drummond better in the several stages of his religious experience and his activity. The chapters which make up the second part and deal with questions of science and religion, particularly as they were put by Henry Drummond, are of special value.

An opportune addition is made to the already rich literature on the great Saxon Reformer by Dr. Martin Rade in his *Doktor Martin Luther's Leben, Thaten und Meinungen*.¹ It is a popular *Life*, addressed expressly to the people, not to the scholar, written with the view of bringing Luther close to them and helping them to see clearly what he was. The author's plan is to tell the story as far as possible in Luther's own words, in the direct, homely, vigorous, racy language with which he got at once to the heart of the German people of his own time. In this way we have page after page of vivid writing drawn from the Reformer's letters, sermons, books, etc. Nothing could be better for the purpose in view. The first of the three volumes into which the work extends deals with the period from 1483 to 1520. It gives a lively and attractive account of Luther's parentage, school-days, visit to Rome, and early conflicts, external and internal, on to his final breach with the Papacy. It also gives at length the most important documents and publications belonging to the period, the *Theses*, the *Address to the Christian Nobility*, the *Freedom of the Christian Man*, etc., and large extracts from the sermon on *Good Works*, the *Babylonish Captivity*, etc.

The second volume is entirely taken up with the narrative of the period from 1520 to 1525, the period of the Diet of Worms, the retirement in the Wartburg, etc., closing with the Reformer's marriage. Here again we have transcriptions of important publications, his sermons on John xx. 19-31, Philippians iv. 4-7, etc., and large extracts from his notable discourses on Luke ii. 1-14 and Psalm xxxvii., his public utterances in connexion with the Peasants' War, etc. In these we see him face to face with the people. The third volume covers a much larger field. It takes the whole period from 1525 to 1546. Here we get a good account of the origin and early history of the Lutheran Church, an appreciative esti-

¹ *Doktor Martin Luther's Leben, Thaten und Meinungen*, auf Grund reichlicher Mittheilungen aus seinen Briefen und Schriften dem Volke erzählt. Von Dr. Theol. Martin Rade (Paul Martin). 3 vols. Neusalza i. S. : Hermann Oeser; Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. 772 + 746 + 770. Price M. 13.50.

mate of Luther in his domestic, ministerial and academic relations, and a touching picture of his later years, his last journey, his death and his burial. A very full and most useful index is added.

The work is to be looked at in the light of its declared object. There are respects in which it might be open enough to criticism. But as a popular representation of a great career it is certainly well done. It keeps its proper purpose steadily in view, and does justice to it. The personality, the life, the work of Luther, these are inexhaustible themes. Many hands may try their skill on them still, and much will be left for others to do. By the preparation of these volumes the author has done a service to the mass of the German people. It is to be hoped that they will be widely read. They will help to give the German people a new interest in the man to whom they owe so much. They will help them to understand his greatness, his European importance, his large, German nature, and what he did for the German nation in particular.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

In the *Journal of Theological Studies* for January, Professor Swete writes on "Eucharistic Belief in the Second and Third Centuries". He remarks on the "significant absence in Ante-Nicene monuments of any reference to the adoration of Christ in the Eucharist". His opinion is that while the Church of that period "took Christ's words as true, and revered the Bread and Cup which He called His Body and Blood," we have no evidence to show that she "based on this belief and reverent attitude a system of practical devotions such as that which was afterwards built upon them". Dr. Hastings Rashdall examines "Dr. Moberly's Theory of the Atonement". Dr. Rashdall's own sympathies are with the views of Maurice, Westcott, and Ritschl. As might be expected, therefore, he does not favour Dr. Moberly's attempt to revive the theory of Dr. John Macleod Campbell, and affirm an objective value for Christ's work in the form of the oblation of a vicarious penitence. He follows Dr. Moberly's argument step by step, and discovers some weaknesses and confusions in it. We cannot indeed regard the view of the Atonement to which he seems to incline as adequate to New Testament teaching, to what sin is, or to the deepest Christian experience. It certainly did not satisfy St. Paul, and never could have done so, and it is one in which in many cases men of profound thinking and enlarging knowledge of human nature have been unable to tarry all their days. But Dr. Rashdall's criticisms of Dr. Moberly's book are often very much to the point, especially as regards a certain lack of clearness or coherence in some of its positions. He concludes by charging it with two great defects, *viz.*, a confusion "between an effect produced upon the character of the sinner and an obliteration of sin or guilt which takes place independently of any such effect,"

and a confusion "between the retributive view of punishment and the disciplinary". The latter confusion certainly appears in some measure. With respect to the former the case is not so clear. The effect on character and the effect on standing are indeed different. But the "traditional theology" which Dr. Rashdall thinks Dr. Moberly follows to his hurt does not contemplate the latter as taking place "independently" of the former. We should be surprised to find that Dr. Moberly himself so contemplates it. Under the title of "An Eirenicon from Culture," Dr. Sanday contributes a kindly, and even generous, but at the same time searching criticism of Professor Percy Gardner's *A Historic View of the New Testament*.

In the January issue of the *American Journal of Theology* Principal Grant of Kingston writes on "The Outlook of the Twentieth Century on Theology," expecting an increase of spiritual unity which will lead up to organic union, but also anticipating that as a preliminary to organic union the great Churches of the Reformation will re-write their Confessions and adapt them to our own time. The Rev. Abel Millard and Professor G. B. Stevens of Yale contribute interesting papers, the one on "Nathanael Emmons," and the other on "Horace Bushnell and Albrecht Ritschl: a Comparison". Professor Henry Goodwin Smith of Lane Theological Seminary contributes an important statement on the "Beliefs of American Indians". Much curious information is also given in a paper by S. K. Vatralsky on "Mohammedan Gnosticism in America".

The main articles in the January issue of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* are three in number. Professor Warfield contributes a second paper on the "Printing of the Westminster Confession," showing step by step how the Confession found its way into print in America, and tracing its course there from 1647 (at which date there was but a single printing press in the Colonies) on to 1895. Dr. Edward H. Griffin of Johns Hopkins University deals with "Two Types of Naturalism," comparing the systems of Spinoza and Herbert Spencer. Professor Vos of Princeton writes on the "Scriptural Doctrine of the Love of God," expounding first the Old Testament doctrine as it is given in the Thora and the other books, and then the New

Testament doctrine as it appears in our Lord's own teaching and in that of the Apostles. The paper deals carefully with the questions regarding the relations of the Divine righteousness to the Divine Love, the general and specific aspects of the Divine Love, etc. There is a long list also of reviews of books, all of them done with care. Among others we have a somewhat full and circumstantial examination of Professor George Adam Smith's *Criticism and the Old Testament* by Professor Matthew Leitch of Belfast, and a very able and incisive review of Gunkel's *Genesis*, bearing the signature of Kerr Duncan Macmillan, Berlin.

Among other weighty contributions in the first issue of *Mind* for 1902 we notice specially one by A. W. Benn on the "Later Ontology of Plato," and another by Professor J. S. Mackenzie on the "Hegelian Point of View". The former deals with the Platonic Conception of the *Soul*, the distinction between teleological and mechanical causation, the substantial identity of mind with its object, the discrepancies between the *Timaeus* and the *Republic*, etc.

The *International Journal of Ethics* for January opens with an interesting paper by Professor Höffding of Copenhagen on "Philosophy and Life". Mr. Bernard Bosanquet contributes a somewhat thin paper on the "Dark Ages and the Renaissance". There is a sensible discussion of the question of the "Modern Workman and Popular Control," by S. M. Lindsay of the University of Pennsylvania. But the contents of this number are popular rather than weighty.

The most remarkable article in the *Methodist Review* for Jan.-Feb., 1902, is one by President Warren of the University of Boston on "Beginnings of Hebrew Monotheism—the Ineffable Name". It is a statement of a theory of the origin of the Divine name which has occurred also to Halévy and the Rev. G. Margoliouth of the British Museum, *viz.*, that the Hebrew *Jah* is identical with the Sumerian *Ia*, *Ea*, *Hea*, and that the distinctive name of the God of the Hebrews, therefore, is "in historic reality only the West Semitic form of East Semitic or Proto-Semitic *Ea*". Dr. Warren's more particular contribution to the subject is the way in which he

applies this equation of *Jah* = *Ea* to various points in the Old Testament. *Ea* being the god of all waters, whose special symbol was the serpent, and who was associated with diseases and their cure, a new light is shed on the call of Moses, his power to remove leprosy and to turn water into blood, as also on the crossing of the Red Sea, the passage of the Jordan, the libation of water to Jehovah recorded in 1 Sam. vii. 6, the signs asked by Gideon, etc. He suggests further that narratives like that regarding Balaam may be better explained in this way than by any of the schemes of text-dissection propounded by Wellhausen, Freiherr von Gall, and others. He closes with an expression of his conviction that "a serious study of the religion and world-view of the Semitic peoples in Mosaic and Pre-Mosaic times is to-day more likely to contribute to a just understanding of the beginnings of Hebrew Monotheism than any study of writings composed at so late a period as those of Amos and his successors".

The first issue of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for the year contains a paper by Aaron M. Crane on "The Cleansing of the Temple," the object of which is to show that there are insuperable difficulties in the narrative on the literal interpretation of it, and that these disappear if we take the "temple" in view to be the temple of Christ's body! Professor Frank Hugh Foster contributes an interesting article on "Professor Paine on the Ethical and Christian Trinities". A paper by Justus Newton Brown on "What is the Trinity?" reviews the usual statements of the doctrine, and propounds another expressing the idea that the term *Father* does not point to the relation which one constituent of the Godhead bears to another, but "suggests God's character and the relation which He sustains to mankind". Among other readable articles we have one on "Huxley and Phillips Brooks," by Dr. William Newton Clarke.

The following articles in recent issues of Theological and Philosophical Journals also deserve notice. "La nouvelle édition des lettres de Sainte-Thérèse," by Louis Valentin, *Bulletin de littérature Ecclésiastique*, Dec., 1901; "Die Bedeu-

tung der Landflucht," by Pfarrer August Ludwig, *Monatsschrift für die Kirchliche Praxis*, Dec., 1901; "La Missa Poenitentium dans l'ancienne discipline d'Occident," by A. Boudinhon, *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses*, Jan.-Fév., 1902; a "Further Collection of Latin Proverbs," many of them of very considerable interest, by Morris C. Sutphen in the *American Journal of Philology*, xxii., 6; a criticism of Harnack's *What is Christianity?* by John Welford in the *Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1902; a brief paper on "Critical Theology versus Church Theology," by Professor George H. Schodde in the *Homiletic Review* for Jan., 1902; a review of Zahn's *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, by Erik Christensen in the *Teologisk Tidsskrift*, iii., 1901; a paper on the "Western Text of St. Luke," by the Rev. W. Harloe Dundas in the *Churchman*, Jan., 1902, generally in favour of the theory of a double recension; a communication on "Ancient Egyptian Beads," by R. C. Clephan in the *Antiquary* for January; two papers in the January issue of the *Biblical World*, one by the editor on "Jesus' use of Hyperbole," dealing with the non-resistance sayings and similar absolute words of Jesus and the principle of their interpretation, and another by Professor Shailer Matthews on "The Social Teaching of Paul," which gives a careful study of the "social content of early Messianism"; an article by W. H. Cobb of Boston on "Primary Hebrew Rhythm," in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, opposing the early views of Dr. Julius Ley and the theory of Professor Bickell (which he describes as "suicidal") and making much of the simple pendulum movement.

We have also to notice the twelfth volume of *The Preacher's Magazine*,¹ a publication which continues to be ably and successfully conducted by Dr. Arthur E. Gregory, furnishing a remarkable variety of good and useful matter suited to the purposes of the pulpit and the class-room, and to be cordially commended to the attention of ministers and teachers; an interesting and stimulating book by Edwin A. Pratt, *Notable*

¹ London: C. H. Kelly, 1901. 8vo, pp. 580.

Masters of Men,¹ containing a series of sketches of successful lives—those of Andrew Carnegie, William and Robert Chambers, Sir George Williams, George Tinworth and others; *On the Path of Progress*,² a series of sermons by Henry Latimer Jackson, M.A., of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Sydney University, intended to enforce the need of a forward movement in the National Church, dealing simply and sensibly with such subjects as Loyalty, the New Learning of the Day, etc.; a pamphlet by Shaw Maclaren, entitled "Follow Thou Me,"³ being letters written on joining the Church of Scotland, laying some severe indictments against the modern Church generally, but written in a sincerely religious spirit and affirming the great doctrines of the Christian faith; *Bericht über die Literatur zur Religionsgeschichte, ausschliesslich des Christentums aus dem Jahre 1900*,⁴ a careful, useful, and welcome summary of an important section of the recent literature on the history of religion, contributed by Professor Baentsch and Dr. Lehmann to Krüger's *Theologischer Jahresbericht* and published now in separate form; another part, viz., the eleventh, of W. Muss-Arnolt's *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*,⁵ a much needed work, and one which students of Assyrian will be glad to see progressing under the laborious editor's hand; a pamphlet on *Incense*,⁶ by the Rev. W. Harris Winter, A.B., B.D., dealing with certain views of Professor Sanday and Mr. Pullan on the subject, and giving much attention to the proper interpretation of Malachi i. 11, but also arguing out at length and with much force the non-Scriptural character of the ceremonial use of incense, its lack of support in the writings of early Church Fathers, and its illegality in the Episcopal Church of England as "declared again and again

¹ London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 320. Price 3s. 6d.

² London: Elliott Stock, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 96. Price 2s. 6d.

³ Inverness: Melven, 1901. 8vo, pp. 30. Price 1s.

⁴ Berlin: Schwetschke u. Sohn, 1901. 8vo, pp. 98. Price 3s.

⁵ Assyrian-English-German. Berlin: Reuther u. Reichard; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. Pp. 641-704. Price 5s.

⁶ *Incense, viewed from Scripture and History*. Coatbridge: Pettigrew, 1902. 8vo, pp. 41. Price 1s. net.

by eminent lawyers"; *Babylonia and Assyria*,¹ by Ross G. Murison, M.A., B.D., Lecturer on Oriental Languages, University College, Toronto, a sketch of the history of these ancient world-powers, written in excellent style, thoroughly scholarly and reliable, with concise and instructive summaries of what is known of the civilisation, literature and religion, as well as the fortunes of these great peoples; *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*,² by the Rev. William Robertson, M.A., Coltness, and *Lessons on the Gospel of St. Mark*,³ by Rev. A. Irvine Robertson, D.D., Clackmannan, two recent additions to the series of "Guild Text-Books," very suitable for the purpose in view, expounding and illustrating the main points in the narratives in a capable, useful and practical way, and giving evidence of careful study; an edition of *The Book of Proverbs*,⁴ issued by Messrs. Gay and Bird as part of their "Bible Classics" series, a pocket volume in very attractive form.

Professor Strack has recently issued a third revised edition of his *Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*,⁵ which first appeared in 1896. In addition to an outline of the grammar of Biblical Aramaic, the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra are given with various readings and notes. An excellent glossary completes the work. Its extremely moderate price puts it within the reach of every student. We have also received the same scholar's edition of the Mishnah treatise *Aboth*,⁶ also in a third edition. Professor Strack here provides a fully vocalised text with copious notes of this famous treatise, the study of which in the original forms the best possible introduction to the study of post-biblical Hebrew.

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 116. Price 6d.

² London: A. & C. Black. Pp. 154. Price 6d. net.

³ *Ibid.* Pp. 149. Price 6d. net.

⁴ London: Gay & Bird. Pp. 135. Price 6d. net.

⁵ *Grammatik des biblisch-aramäischen*, etc. Von Professor Dr. H. L. Strack. Dritte grosstentheils neubearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs. Price M.2.

⁶ *Die Sprüche der Väter*, etc. Dritte wesentlich verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs. M.1.20.

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Addendum *re* Wordsworth's *Ministry of Grace*.

On reviewing his review in the January number, the writer feels that he used one or two phrases which seem to ignore an element in the bishop's book referring to home reunion within certain restricted limits. It resolves itself practically into a single passage, but one which certainly deserved quotation, as it has wider possibilities than are explicitly contemplated in the author's own words. Speaking of the fact that in some churches, especially Rome and Alexandria, there were at first only two orders, so that the episcopate was subsumed under the order of presbyters, he says that this "has much to recommend it as a practical basis for that reunion between Episcopalians and Presbyterians which is one of the most obviously necessary tasks of English-speaking Christianity" (p. 142). As, however, this seems to confine the present or practical outlook towards reunion to a type of organisation but very slightly represented in his own diocese, and in England, as a whole, as compared with the older and more numerous non-Episcopal churches south of the Tweed, the reviewer felt that it hardly affected the general complaint he had to make.

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The Revised Bible—American and English.

The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments translated out of the original tongues, being the Version set forth A.D. 1611, compared with the most ancient authorities and revised A.D. 1881-1885. Newly edited by the American Revision Committee, A.D. 1901. Standard Edition. New York : Thomas Nelson & Sons, 37 East 18th Street.

IT is somewhat surprising that so little notice has been taken of the fact that the English-speaking world now possesses two standard editions of the Revised Bible, an English and an American. It was anticipated when the work was in progress that that might come to be the case. What was regarded as a possibility, but not as the result most to be desired, has now become actual fact. We have before us the American form of the Revised Bible, the Standard American edition, issued under the authority of the American Committee and bearing the signatures of the secretaries of the two companies of American Revisers. The appearance of this book is a notable fact in the history of the English Bible. It gives more definite and unmistakable expression than ever was given before to the differences between the two bodies of Revisers in the general conception of what a Revision suitable to modern times should be, and to the more important points of divergence in the handling of the text, and in the rendering. It raises anew the question as to which of the editions of the Revision is to be preferred on the whole. It leads one to ask whether the differences are so numerous or so serious as to make it impossible to speak of the Revision as a unity. It turns our minds again to the way in which things have fared with the Revised Version since the day when it was received with impatient eagerness, hot from the press, by the expectant people, and to the likelihoods of the future that lies now before it on both sides of the Atlantic.

From the first the co-operation of American scholars was felt to be of the utmost importance. It was formally suggested as early as 7th July, 1870, in the Canterbury Convocation. In due time an unsolicited but official invitation was forwarded, Bishop Ellicott, chairman of the New Testament Company, sending a letter, and Dr. Angus crossing the Atlantic with authorisation to arrange matters. A plan of co-operation was drawn up, and a committee of about thirty members was organised by 7th December, 1871. Dr. Philip Schaff was chosen President, and the Committee was divided into an Old Testament Company, presided over by Dr. Woolsey of New Haven, and a New Testament Company, presided over by Dr. Green of Princeton. The Committee did not begin its work till 4th October, 1872, by which time the first revision of the Synoptical Gospels had been completed by the English Revisers and transmitted to their American brethren. The American Committee came into existence, therefore, informally, without any public American authorisation, and simply in virtue of the power vested in the English Committee by the Convocation of Canterbury. In the nature of the case it was not a Church movement. No American religious body was officially consulted except the Protestant Episcopal Church, and that Church declined to act officially. The Committee, however, contained members of nine different denominations, and had a sufficient representation of the best Biblical scholarship of the time. It worked all through with remarkable harmony as well as efficiency, on the same general principles as had been affirmed by the English Revisers and with the view of producing, by the labours of the two Committees, a revision which might be accepted by both countries. The New Testament Company concluded its work on 22nd October, 1880, and the *Documentary History* of the movement was issued in 1885.

There were some nice points to settle with regard to the relations between the two Committees, the agreement with the University Presses, and other matters. All difficulties, financial and other, were happily adjusted, however, in course of time, and the final arrangement, which was necessarily

of the nature of a compromise, worked well. It was to the effect that the English Revisers were to give special consideration to all the American suggestions before they concluded their labours, and were to allow the American Revisers to embody in an Appendix all the differences in reading and rendering which were deemed of importance and had not been adopted by the English body; while the American Revisers engaged to support the circulation of the edition of the English University Presses and to refrain from issuing an edition of their own for the period of fourteen years.

Our American brethren, therefore, have not been in haste to take advantage of their rights. They have allowed some years to elapse since the expiry of the engagement by which they bound themselves not to publish. Many editions have been issued in America, but not with their sanction or by their act. Immediately on the publication of the English edition more than thirty reprints appeared in America. One of these was produced by photographic process a few hours after the English edition came to hand. Some of these editions were not exact reproductions, but Americanised forms in which the Appendix was reversed. In some the American renderings were given as footnotes, in others they were placed in the margin. The hope which the American Committee had never ceased to entertain, that the American preferences, or most of them, might by and by be accepted, was extinguished when the English Committee was disbanded after the completion of its labours in 1885. The American Committee, however, having in view the possibility of a call for an American edition, kept together after that period, and continued its labours. Finding, as is said in the preface to the work now before us, that "the judgment of scholars, both in Great Britain and in the United States, has so far approved the American preferences that it now seems to be expedient to issue an edition of the Revised Version with those preferences embodied in the text," they have at last given to the public this special recension of the Revised Bible. It may be well to add that this is a very different

book from another which was published in 1898 in our own country with the title "American Revised Version with References". That publication simply transferred to the text the matter which had been consigned to the Appendix. The edition now issued by the American scholars is, as we shall see, vastly more than that.

It will be at once admitted that they are entirely justified in the step they have taken. It would no doubt have been most satisfactory to have had one and the same version for all sections of the English-speaking people. But there are advantages on the other side. There is something to be gained by having these two editions, and if the issue of this American edition gives a fresh impetus to the study of the version and quickens anew the interest in it which has been flagging, the gain will be all the more. The differences no doubt are considerable, but they touch nothing essential. A renewed comparison of the two forms only brings out more clearly the fact that they are not more than two recensions of one and the same version. Now that there has been time for reflection and public opinion has had a lengthened opportunity of forming, it will also be generally confessed, we believe, that in not a few cases the American decisions were the better decisions and might have been accepted by the English Committee instead of being relegated to the Appendix.

The extent and the nature of the differences between the two bodies of revisers are both made more apparent by the publication of this standard edition for the United States. The amount of the divergence is an interesting question. But it is difficult to determine it. The most careful calculation that has been made is probably that by Bishop Lee, a member of the American New Testament Company. Taking as the basis of his estimate certain parts of the work that were done *independently* by the American Committee, *viz.*, the first revisions of a portion of Isaiah, the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Book of Job, he brought out the general result that in about half of the whole number of changes the two committees agreed, while in the other half most cases admitted of easy adjustment. In the instance of the Epistle

to the Hebrews 476 out of the 913 changes made by the Americans coincided with those made by the English. In that of the Book of Job the *identical* changes amounted to 45½ per cent., while the cases of *substantial* coincidence amounted to 58½ per cent. The Appendix itself as we have it represents but the minimum of change. In at least 680 instances the Americans gave up their own preferences, and the materials for the Appendix¹ were to that extent reduced. Concessions were also made on the English side. Many of the suggestions of the American revisers were ultimately adopted by the English Committee, not a few of them of considerable interest. Examples of these are seen in "food" for "meat" (Matt. iii. 4 and elsewhere), "the Jordan," "epileptic" for "lunatic," "turn" for "be converted" (Matt. xviii. 3, John xii. 40, etc.), "seventy times seven" for "seventy times and seven" (Matt. xviii. 22), "the daughter of Herodias herself" for "his daughter Herodias" (Mark vi. 22), "Quirinius" for "Quirinus" (Luke ii. 2), "rulers of the Pharisees" for "chief Pharisees" (Luke xiv. 1), "teaching" for "doctrine" (John vii. 16, 17), etc., etc. Others were placed in the margin, *e.g.*, "the genealogy" for "the book of the generation" (Matt. i. 1), "authority" for "power" (Matt. ix. 6, 8), "alien" for "stranger" (Luke xvii. 18), "or, sanctuary" for "temple" (John ii. 19, 20, 21, and elsewhere), "fulness" for "full assurance" (Heb. vi. 17).

We shall have a very imperfect idea, however, of what this

¹A curious fact appeared with regard to the Appendix, to which attention was called by Dr. Schaff in his *Companion to the Greek Testament and English Version*. The Americans prepared a careful introductory Note to be prefixed to the Appendix. It ran in these terms: "The American New Testament Revision Company, having in many cases yielded their preferences for certain readings and renderings present the following instances in which they differ from the English Company as in their view of sufficient importance to be appended to the Revision, in accordance with an understanding between the Companies". For this the English Company, as it would seem without giving any explanation, substituted the heading "List of readings and renderings preferred by the American Committee, recorded at their desire. See Preface to New Testament."

American edition is and how it differs from our own, if we suppose that all that has been done is to transfer the matter in the Appendix to the text. The Appendix itself has been carefully revised. It had to be completed under pressure in order to prevent delay in the publication of the English version, which the people were so urgent to have. It did not satisfy the Americans themselves, particularly in textual questions. They have, therefore, not limited themselves to a simple incorporation of the matter of the Appendix as it stood into the text, but have reconsidered many of the readings and have inserted into the text now not a few of those that had been excluded by the conditions of the English vote. They have introduced in like manner into the body of the book a large number of renderings which for the same reason did not find a place. In some cases they have returned to the readings of the Authorised, or have withdrawn from preferences formerly intimated. They have made a number of changes for the sake of consistency (*e.g.*, a much larger use of the word "justice" for "judgment"), or with a view to distinction in terms (especially, *e.g.*, the distinction between the words "stranger," "foreigner" and "sojourner"), or on the ground of euphemism (*e.g.*, the substitution of "heart" for "bowels" in Jer. iv. 19, Lam. i. 20). They have carried out more fully the practice of replacing obsolete expressions by others more intelligible—the displacement of "his" or "her" by "its" in the case of "impersonal objects not personified"; the substitution of "who," "that" for "which" where personal objects are in view; of "are" for "be" in indicative clauses; of "a" for "an" before *h* aspirated; the removal of unnecessary or confusing Hebraisms, such as "mine eye spared them from destroying them" (Ezek. xx. 17), "they that may be to do the service" (Num. viii. 11), etc.

In the matter of punctuation they have returned in a good many cases to the way of the Authorised. They have used the colon less frequently and the hyphen more frequently. In some passages (Gen. ii. 5, xiv. 24; Ezek. xxix. 9, 10) they modify the sense by modifying the punctuation. They have paid special attention to the arrangement of the contents or

sections, and have made improvements in a good many instances on the paragraphs adopted in the English edition.

Among other changes which will now justify themselves on the whole to many on this side of the Atlantic as well as the other, we may reckon the introduction of the name "Jehovah" for the "Lord" or "God" of the English version in the Old Testament. It is true of course that "Jehovah" is not a correct representation of the Ineffable Name, but it is the nearest euphonious approach to it and it is a word long naturalised in English. It is to be preferred, therefore, on the whole. The Americans themselves, however, fail with the name "Jah". That name has its own value, and it is of frequent occurrence, but, while in other versions it has been inconsistently dealt with, it disappears here altogether. It is an improvement, again, to have *Sheol* uniformly used, where the English revisers vary between it and "grave," "pit," "hell"; the term "Holy Spirit" steadily instead of the variation between "Holy Spirit" and "Holy Ghost"; "try," "make trial of," etc., instead of "tempt," "temptation," where the idea of *evil* is not immediately in view; "demon," "demoniac," etc., for "devil," "possessed with a devil," etc. It is also a legitimate return to ancient practice to adopt the simpler titles of the books, dropping the "S." (= Saint) before the names of the writers and in the headings of the pages of the Gospels, the term "the Apostle" in the titles of the Pauline Epistles, the misleading words "of Paul the Apostle" in the title of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the term "General" in the designation of the Epistles of James, Peter, 1 John, and Jude, and the description of the writer of the book of Revelation as "S. John the Divine" (instead of simply "John").

There are other points of advantage which may be claimed with some reason for the American edition. There are other terms in the rendering of which it is better and more consistent. It preserves, *e.g.*, the proper distinction between the two Hebrew words expressing the distinct ideas of "assembly" and "congregation". It does away with the exaggerated "God forbid!" It deals on the whole very suitably with phrases for which good English usage can no longer be

pleaded, such as "smell thereto" (Exod. xxx. 38), "a fool's vexation is heavier than them both" (Prov. xxvii. 3). It deals with a freer hand than the English revisers allowed themselves with archaic, obsolete and obscure terms, and on the whole it must be admitted to be successful in a large number of instances both in the words selected for removal and in the simpler and more modern forms substituted for them. It relieves the text of such terms as "basilisk" for "adder," "chapter" for "capital," "charges" for "offices," "coasts" for "borders," "duke" for "chief," "oil" for "ointment," "ouches" for "settings," "poll" for "cut the hair of," "in good liking" for "become strong" (Job xxxix. 4), "bolled" for "in bloom" (Exod. ix. 31),¹ "charger" for "platter" (Matt. xiv. 8, and elsewhere), "vain," "vanity" for "false," "falsehood"; as also such forms as "lade" for "load," "afore" for "before," "astonied" for "astonished," "wot," "wist," "listeth," "listed" for "know," "knew," "will," "would," etc., for which more is to be said on the other side.

There are other cases in which changes are made which are on the whole reasonable, but which are not carried out so successfully or consistently. We have instances of that in the term "spoil," for which a variety of words, "despoil," "plunder," "ravage" and others are now substituted. One or other of these is selected as best suiting the context or the particular idea, but the reason for the preference is not clear in all cases, nor is the word "spoil" in each instance either unintelligible or obviously incorrect. A better example is seen, however, in the use of "shall" and "will". This is confessedly difficult and disputable ground, and the attempt at greater consistency which is made here will not be regarded as eminently successful. There is also the interesting case of the rendering of coins. Certain inconsistencies and inaccuracies were left untouched by the English revisers. They had some justification for so acting, especially in the case of the *δηνάριον*, for which it is difficult

¹ The reference is wrongly given in the Preface, p. vi., as Exod. ix. 4.

to find any proper and universally applicable equivalent. But it is not easy to see why they should have taken "farthing" twice as the rendering of ἀσσάριον and twice as that of κοδράντης, or "penny," "pence," "pennyworth" fifteen times as the equivalent of the δηνάριον. The American edition gives "mite" for λέπτον, "farthing" for κοδράντης, "penny" for ἀσσάριον, and "shilling" for δηνάριον. In the passages about the rendering of tribute (Matt. xxii. 19; Mark xii. 15; Luke xx. 24), however, they still fall back on the Latin *denarius*.

There is one matter of some importance in which the earlier position as expressed in the Appendix is modified. That is the attitude adopted toward the appeal to ancient versions. The American revisers objected to the frequent references made by the English Committee to the versions and other ancient "authorities". They thought many of them of trifling importance and all of them too vague, as they also made more of the "extreme difficulty," as they put it, of correcting the Hebrew text by these. They laid down the absolute position, therefore, that "all renderings from the LXX, Vulgate, and other ancient versions or 'authorities' " were to be omitted from the margin. They now admit that this was too sweeping, and that there are some variations of the kind in view that are of sufficient importance to be recorded. They keep, therefore, about a sixth part of the references in the English revision, but make them more definite and specific in their statement.

There is, therefore, a very considerable number of American preferences that have reason on their side and that are likely to win a larger measure of acceptance after these long years of proof than they had when they were first declared. On the other hand there are a good many things of a different kind. It is to be regretted, for example, that in not a few cases the edition fails to print supplied words in italics where the words are of the nature of additions and interpretations. It carries to a needless length the process of removing archaic forms, and in this way it takes from the charm of some old familiar passages without bringing us any adequate com-

pensation in lucidity or in point. No imperative reason rising out of the requirements of intelligibility can be urged on behalf of such alterations as "find favor" for "find grace," "refine," "refiner" for "fine," "finer," "frighten" for "fray," "perverse" for "froward," "devise" for "imagine," "maiden" for "maid," "abundant" for "plenteous," "interest" for "usury," etc. And speaking generally it must be said that if the English revisers in many cases erred on the side of literal renderings, the Americans have gone now and then to the other extreme of obtrusively modern forms of speech and great freedom in translation.

There is much else to be said of this American edition than can be said at present. There are other characteristics of the American work of which we may speak on another occasion. There is much to learn from it. The book is admirably printed and does credit to the publishers, Messrs. Thomas Nelson & Sons. It is to be had at prices ranging from a dollar and a half to nine dollars. We hope a cheap, popular edition may be issued soon. In closing their preface to the New Testament section the editors express their belief that the volume "will on the one hand bring a plain reader more closely in contact with the exact thought of the sacred writers than any version now current in Christendom, and on the other hand prove itself especially serviceable to students of the Word". In this belief, they tell us, they "bid it anew God-speed, and in the realisation of this desired result they will find their all-sufficient reward". All lovers of Scripture will rejoice if the expectation thus expressed is made good.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Die Synoptische Frage.

Von Lic. Paul Wernle, Privatdocent an der Universität Basel.
Freiburg-i.-B.; Leipzig und Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr
(Paul Siebeck), 1899. 8vo, pp. xii. + 256. Price M.4.50.

THE CRITICAL REVIEW is probably not singular in allowing a notice of Wernle's *Synoptische Frage* to succeed one of his later work, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion* (1901). The work of a young author on the eternal critical problem is apt to be overlooked, even by those who are impressed, as many readers of the *Anfänge* have been, by what may be called his positive structure. But if the *Anfänge* is a remarkable book, the *Syn. Frage* is, in its own way, hardly less so. Perhaps it should be studied with most care by those whose feelings about the *Anfänge* are almost equally divided between admiration and alarm. Wernle does not profess to take up the Synoptic problem *ab initio*. His masters are H. J. Holtzmann, Weizsäcker and B. Weiss. He holds with them the double origin hypothesis (*i.e.*, Mark + the Logia Document), but declines to burden his own or his reader's imagination (as the two last-named authors do) with an *Original Mark* or an *Ebionitic Redaction of the Logia*. A refreshing quality of the book is its dislike of merely *possible* documents. A critic must have space—the larger the better—for possible documents. But the space is the lumber-room to which the mind consigns its unsolved problems. In the workshop all the space is needed for what is actual and what is probable. Following this principle Wernle finds it possible to bring into the workshop what some of his masters, perhaps without knowing it, had consigned to the lumber-room. An instance in point is the so-called Ebionitism of Luke. Wernle allows the *Ebionitic*—he prefers to call it the *Catholic* or *Catholicising*—element in the Third Gospel, but he finds much

to support the view that it belongs to the evangelist himself, the author of the Acts and the painter of the two centurions with their meritorious preparation for the evangelic blessing (Luke vii. 1 ff.; x. 1 ff.). Wernle does not, like Professor Ramsay, rehabilitate Luke as an historian, but he pays ample tribute to his originality and great literary skill. For instance, in regard to the large sections of Luke which break away from the Mark-thread (vi. 20 to viii. 3; and ix. 51 to xviii. 14), he thinks it reasonable to ascribe almost entirely to Luke's invention the "occasions" (*e.g.*, our Lord praying or dining with a Pharisee) there provided for introducing the material taken from the Logia Document. Those who find such a result staggering, may be partly reassured by Wernle's emphatic refusal to ascribe to the same source the discourses of our Lord (*e.g.*, the Prodigal Son) that are peculiar to Luke. As well, says Wernle, ascribe to Luke the origin of Christianity. An instance of Wernle's concession of the value of a lumber-room is his attitude to the Judaistic element in Matthew (v. 18 f.; x. 5; xxiii. 2 f.). In view of Matthew's quite pronounced and characteristic aversion to Jewish particularism (*e.g.*, viii. 11 f.; xxviii. 19), Wernle thinks that among many recensions of the Logia Document (=Q) there must have been one of a Judaistic type (Q^J), and in view of the differing types of the same original in Matthew and Luke (*e.g.*, eight blessings over against four blessings and four woes), he is willing to place in his lumber-room beside Q^J, a Q^{MT} and a Q^{LK}. On the linguistic question Wernle opposes a decided negative to all theories of Aramaic documents. The work of Dalman, Arnold Meyer and others has its place as a test of what may be primitive in oral tradition, but it has nothing to do with the literary structure of our Gospels, none of which (Matthew even less than Mark) is of the nature of a translation.

What then of the Aramaic Matthew of Papias? Wernle thinks that from the time of Schleiermacher criticism has followed a false scent in supposing that Papias meant by the *Logia* which Matthew wrote a mere discourse-document and not a full-fledged Gospel, which latter he regarded (Wernle

thinks quite erroneously) as the original in Aramaic of our Matthew. There *may* have been such a Gospel, but for the study of our Gospels it belongs purely to the lumber-room. There was certainly a Logia-Document from which Matthew and Luke borrowed, but everything points to its having been Greek. The yield of Papias to the Synoptic problem is at most the *name* Matthew, an apostle indeed, but one of whom we know nothing, for according to Mark—our sole primitive authority on the matter—the name of the publican whom Jesus called was Levi, the Son of Alphaeus (Mark ii. 14).

As regards the termination of Mark, Wernle concedes that Mark could not have meant to end at xvi. 8, but he is certain that neither Matthew nor Luke knew of the conclusion (vers. 9 ff.). Ver. 7 is sufficient to account for the closing Galilaean scene in Matthew, while the slightness of the hint about Galilee tempts Luke, the historian in the Acts of the movement that begins in Jerusalem, to adopt the traditions—oral rather than written—of appearances in and about Jerusalem.

In an appendix Wernle discusses the relation to the Synoptics of the Gospel of John, the Gospel to the Hebrews and the Gospel of Peter. Most will readily agree with Wernle as to the secondary nature of the two last, but Wernle's attitude to John may perhaps even to his own view bear some amending in the light of Wendt's work (*Das Evangelium Johannis*, 1900). In view of such a detailed apparent proof as Wendt has given of the composite structure of the Fourth Gospel, Wernle must give the shrift of a fuller discussion to the question whether there are not in that Gospel elements—narrative as well as discursive—which bring it nearer the level of what is most reliable in the synoptics than he has allowed.

Though no space has been given to criticism, this notice is too brief even for the purpose of praise. It conveys no idea of the thoroughness of Wernle's critico-literary work, nor of the singular deftness of its arrangement. Literary criticism of the Gospels can hardly be made easy, but Wernle has done much to make it as easy as possible, and even if

his work were no more (it is much more) than to make Holtzmann easier reading it would be worth our thanks.

The more thoroughly we deal with the literary problem treated in the *Syn. Frage*, the more distinct becomes the throb of the vital questions that lie behind it and give it an interest ever freshening and deepening.

1. Is there in the Gospels an element that is merely edifying, but has nothing to do with history—*whether?* or *how much?*

2. Is the miraculous element part of it—*whether?* or *how much?*

Probably most readers of the CRITICAL REVIEW have passed in both cases beyond the stage of *whether* and are asking *how much?* Yet even the remnant who take their stand at *whether* may learn something from the faith (if not the knowledge) of scholars like Wernle who are sure that the divine glory of Jesus shines in *spite of* as well as *through* the Gospels.

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

Monasticism and the Confessions of St. Augustine.

*Two Lectures by Adolf Harnack, Rector and Professor, etc., etc.
Translated by E. E. Kellett, M.A., and F. H. Marseille,
Ph.D. London and Oxford: Williams & Norgate, 1901.
Cr. 8vo, pp. 171. Price 3s. 6d.*

PROFESSOR HARNACK is an idealist before everything. His power of wing is great, his flight bold and rapid, his contacts with *terra firma* comparatively rare. In order to sustain himself on air, he is obliged to discard the *impedimenta* of the concrete, and, once rid of them, the idea generates its own impetus; and the idealist is carried forward, like the poet's Camilla, over waving cornfield or tossing surge, without paying homage to gravitation. Of course this places him in sympathy with his subject, when discussing Monachism and its kindred formations. Benedict of Nursia, Hildebrand, Peter the Hermit, Dominic, Francis of Assisi, Ignatius Loyola, were each mastered by a great idea, and moulded themselves and the institutions which embalm their names upon it.

The principal factor which wrought in the early Western Monasticism was probably the outburst of all forms of social evil which attended the break-up of the Roman Empire and the rise of the barbarous kingdoms upon its ruins. This combined with the exhaustion for active good of a Church which "was no longer in a position to give peace to all that came to her and to shelter them from the world. She could promise a peace beyond the grave, but peace in the storms of life she could not secure. Then began the great upheaval" (p. 35).

How to rally from this cry of havoc and this spiritual decrepitude "the things which remained and were ready to die"; how to give them concentration and mutual support; how to form a home where the elements of spirituality might

reproduce and perpetuate themselves, instead of being swept down, scattered, pulverised, and lost in the thundering torrent of anarchy, was the problem which St. Benedict set himself to solve.

A great idea formed thus under stress of pressure is necessarily one-sided. And those who stand arrayed under its flag are like a phalanx which can only move upon one of its faces. Assume that after a century of effort they succeed in restoring a tolerable standard of society, their very success then reveals their peril. The pressure relaxes, an over-strain exhausts and an over-balance impairs effort. Then follow various stages and degrees of decadence and apathy. The Papacy takes every successive new movement into its bosom, to contract the *virus* of secularism there. A new idealist starts with a scourging reform, or modifies the old idea in a new direction. Every new order hunts the tail, so to speak, of the one preceding, exposes its weakness, declaims against its corruptions and seems to build upon its experience, and to learn wisdom from its failures; then follows its example, declines into inefficiency, becomes as salt that has lost its savour, and gives way in its turn to new-fangled models. Meanwhile the Middle Ages have run away, the *renaissance* has appeared, and human spiritual thought has come under the influence of a New Testament, rising as it were from the dust of those ages, clothing itself in the vernacular and multiplying itself everywhere by the mere mechanical agency of the press. These facts are partly touched by Professor Harnack, as follows:—

"Then (eleventh century) arose the Carthusians, the Cistercians, the Præmonstratensians, the Carmelites and many other Orders. But the constant appearance of fresh Orders only shows that Monasticism, in alliance with the secular Church, was ever losing its special character. Each new Order sought to call back the monks to their old austerity and to drag them away from Secularisation; but in the very act of subjecting itself to the secular Church, it was annexed and exploited by the Church."

The ideal indeed of Western Monasticism was one-sided from the first. Social life had become such a *vorago* of

iniquity that the only safety lay in cutting one's self off from it. Hence whatever was most anti-social became regarded as most elevating and purifying; just as to a large mass of the Reformers in the sixteenth century whatever was furthest from Rome seemed nearest to truth. Thus the Orders threw themselves with eager zeal into renunciation of property and marriage, and tended mostly to foster the notion of asceticism as an end in itself. What men renounce for themselves they are mostly ready to denounce in others; and the line which divides a counsel of perfection from a requirement of general observance becomes indistinct in the atmosphere of spiritual pride. Thus the Council of Gangra (A.D. 324) justifies some of its Canons as follows: "We write not these things to cut off any from the Church of God, who are minded to give themselves to an ascetic life according to the Scriptures, but only those who make such a life an occasion of pride, to lift themselves up above those who live in a more plain and simple manner, introducing novelties against the Scriptures and the rules of the Church. We admire virginity when accompanied with humility: and applaud continency, when attended with gravity and piety; but we also honour cohabitation in chaste marriage," etc. Every sentence of the above rebukes the spirit which either animated from the first the Western Monastic system, or was speedily imbibed by it.

The optimism of our idealist leads him to lose sight of corrupt and repulsive features which dog the course of monkery throughout, while they appear so early as to seem probably innate in it. He discusses the mediæval Papacy without a hint at the forged Decretals of the pseudo-Isidore—the broad, barefaced and wholesale falsehood which nursed a contagion of mendacity in all the Orders pledged to its support. There is probably none of the greater religious houses in this country which would have scrupled at forging a charter to its own advantage. The idea circulated universally, that the interests of the Order, the Papacy, or the House itself, were things so intrinsically sacred, that a lie or a forgery in support of them was more meritorious than the unvarnished truth which was hostile to them. It there-

fore became impious even to question them. Those forged Decretals emanated undoubtedly not from Pope Nicholas I. or his curia directly, but were hatched in some Gallican monastery in conjunction with some who knew the Romish tradition of the line of early Popes. They were greedily adopted by that Pontiff and his successors; and thus a common interest in a common infamy—one which all agreed to whitewash—was shared by the religious houses with the Papacy. The momentum thus given in the ninth century to mendacity culminated in the Jesuits of the sixteenth, and abides a living and moving force in the Ultramontist policy at this day.

These are some among the concretes which our idealistic professor prefers to sink out of sight, by which process he is able to impart a fascinating surface of terete rotundity to the subject discussed.

As regards the differentiation of the Eastern from the Western Monasticism, it comes nearly to this: The central Western patriarchate batted on imperial decay, and promoted monastic settlements in all countries which had formed the Western Empire, and more. Those settlements served it as the military colonies had served that Empire when it flourished, extending, recruiting, consolidating, satellitising it. The Eastern Empire did not decay, it fossilised; and contact with it tended to fossilise both the Church and the monastic system. Tzarism repeats Justinianism. The magic youth of the *Arabian Nights*, who was exactly half-man and half-black marble, is no bad type of it. We miss in the Eastern Church also any rousing influence like the friars—the “Salvation Armies” of the later Middle Ages (as the Crusades formed its S. P. G.) putting the eager question “Are you saved?” or its analogue and equivalent, at the corners of all streets, in tap-room and hostelry, in palace and in hovel. For lack of such agency, the Levantine monasteries still contentedly sleep the sleep of the just. At the very close of the monastic period, in a sky whitening with “renascence,” we have such an astonishing work as Thomas à Kempis’ great “*Imitation*”—

western monasticism's "last sigh," as it were. But on its strength and weakness this is no place to dilate.

The second part of the volume, on the Confessions of St. Augustine, is a noble contribution to his memory, and may be accepted with hardly a grain of critical reserve. Or if one must be made, it would be that the Confessions contain somewhat more of "psychological disquisitions on the Understanding, the Will, and the Emotions," than the somewhat sweeping negation on p. 128 allows. They differ indeed from the "moralising introspections of M. Aurelius" (*ibid.*) in having no independent human standpoint, but referring all to the *Deus Creator omnium*. A passage from *Conf. X.*, xxv., will illustrate this:—

" . . . Veni ad partes eius [memoriae] ubi commendavi affectiones animi mei, nec illic inveni Te. Et intravi ad ipsius animi mei sedem, quae illi est in memoria mea quoniam sui quoque meminit animus, neibi Tu eras, quia sicut non es imago corporalis nec affectio viventis, qualis est cum laetamur, contristamur, cupimus, metuimus, . . . ita nec ipse animus es quia dominus deus animi Tu es."

The sections of the same Book X., xxxi. . . . xxxvi., which might be headed *De Tentationibus*, illustrate the same thesis still further.

HENRY HAYMAN.

Demonic Possession in the New Testament : its Relations Historical, Medical and Theological.

*By Wm. Menzies Alexander, M.A., B.Sc., B.D., C.M., M.D.
Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. xii. + 291.
Price 5s.*

THE study of demonic possession in the New Testament owes its recognised difficulty to the number of factors involved. There are obvious points of connexion with anthropological phenomena, both in the Semitic and in other fields of inquiry; physiological data are given in certain cases, which must be examined and explained; nor can the study as a whole be conducted without regard to the doctrine of the Person of Christ. Any one, therefore, who can hope to make any useful contribution to our knowledge of this subject must be able to approach it from more than one standpoint. It is the ability to do this (with a varying measure of success) that has enabled Dr. Alexander to write a fresh and vigorous book, distinguished by its breadth of view and its scientific method. It is interesting from beginning to end, and there can be few theological readers who will not find it instructive.

The author's general attitude to the problem before him is one of belief in the genuineness of demonic possession in certain New Testament instances, and of acceptance of Christ's power over this state as miraculous. But the result of his examination of the recorded facts is to limit the genuine cases to a much narrower area than is usually assigned. His particular thesis may be stated in his own words: "Genuine demonic possession, as set forth in the New Testament, contains an element that is natural, another that is supernatural. The former belongs to the category of mental disease and still continues; the latter belongs to the category of Satanic opposition and was summarily suppressed" (p. 12).

In support of this proposition he begins by a brief examination of the demonology of the Old Testament, including the degraded heathen divinities. The Septuagint and the Apocryphal books also are noticed, but most space is naturally given to a statement of Rabbinic demonology, with ethnic parallels. The New Testament phase of the subject is approached by asking: "What was the attitude of Jesus to the foregoing superstitions?" This is answered, not so much by an inductive study of the Gospel narratives, as by deductions from our Lord's general teaching about the spiritual world, His restatement of a pure monotheism, and His "true knowledge of Nature". It is evident that those who do not accept the author's Christology may criticise this procedure. The book shows weakness in its implicit use of certain theological assumptions, *e.g.*, the perfection of our Lord's earthly knowledge. It has already been said that the *a priori* cannot be excluded from this study, but the exact point of its introduction and the limits of its use should be clearly indicated.

The two following chapters are concerned with the "Medical Aspects of Demonic Possession," and this part of the book is specially valuable. The Synoptic narratives are studied comparatively and critically; it is a pity they have not been printed in parallel columns, by use of smaller type, rather than in successive full-page sections. The exegesis is independent and often striking, and the careful use of minute detail sometimes suggests Professor Ramsay's work. Three cases are taken as typical, those of the demoniacs of Capernaum and of Gerasa, and the boy at the Hill of Transfiguration. These are diagnosed as cases of epileptic insanity, acute mania, and epileptic idiocy respectively. With the help of data so obtained, other asserted instances of possession are examined, *viz.*, those of the Syro-Phœnician girl, the dumb demoniac, the blind and dumb demoniac, Mary Magdalene, the infirm woman, the Philippian Pythoness, the Ephesian demoniac. Some of the particular results should claim attention from future commentators. An attempt is also made to estimate the number of the "possessed" in the time

of our Lord, and the result reached is that there were about 12,000 insane and idiots in Palestine. This piece of unnecessary and insecure guess-work could well have been omitted, and a much fuller treatment given to the section entitled "The Mental Temperament of the People". The importance of the psychological factor in the evolution of Semitic demonology has not been sufficiently brought out by Dr. Alexander. Demonology is one theory of certain psychical and physical phenomena, which *we* explain in another way; the particular forms and categories of demonology are to be traced back to the ideas of personality which underlie them. To realise the gulf that separates the modern from the ancient psychology, it is only necessary to remember that the ancient world usually conceived the soul as a quasi-material *something*, and that it regarded man as accessible to external "spirit" influences in a way utterly foreign to our present day thought of self.

So far, Dr. Alexander's argument has been based on the natural phenomena of demonic possession, *viz.*, those which can be referred to mental disorder. A special chapter is now devoted to the elaboration of his particular thesis as to the existence of genuine demonic possession. He finds the criterion of this to be "the confession of Jesus as the Messiah or Son of God" (p. 150), which he holds to be the product of demonic inspiration, since it cannot be explained as the result of accident, clairvoyance, verbal information or genuine discrimination. The application of this test excludes such alleged cases as that of the idiot boy, the Philippian Pythoness and the Ephesian demoniac, which are explained on purely natural grounds. So defined, the cases of genuine possession are few, and are confined to the earlier portion of Christ's ministry (Mark i. 24, v. 7; and the general cases of i. 34, and iii. 11). In these there is mental disease, with the super-added presence of demonic agency. It is obvious that such a theory as this has too much of the *deus ex machina* in its constitution to commend itself to the scientific mind. The author is certainly led into an overstatement of his case when he describes it as "equally invincible" (p. 157) with

his conclusions as to the natural element. The theory might have been made a little more plausible by a comparison of Paul's principle, "No man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit," but in any case it seems inadequate and arbitrary. To say nothing of philosophical objections, it is open to the criticism that it introduces a differentiation of the cases of which the New Testament betrays no consciousness. When the author has gone so far in his reduction of these cases to the purely psychical, the retention of a "reserve" like this seems artificial and inconsistent, and due to dogmatic rather than exegetical reasons.

The remaining three chapters of the book discuss "The Beelzebub Controversy," "The Difficulties of the Gerasene Affair," and "Alleged Continuance of Genuine Demonic Possession". Beelzebub, "prince of demons," is distinguished from Satan ("Judas is the sole instance of Satan-possession"), and his analogue is found in Babylonian ideas. In regard to Christ's answer to the Pharisaic accusation, the author does not seem to have faced the theological issues involved with sufficient clearness of vision. He says Christ "uses, as the basis of His argument, the language of His opponents; and *He had a right to do so*" (p. 190). Similarly, in regard to the Philippian Pythoness, it is said, "Paul may have used an ethnic formula without endorsing ethnic doctrine". On the other hand, there is a special discussion of the question "Did Jesus practise accommodation?" (App. O), and the answer is a decided negative, with which few will not agree. It is doubtful if any intermediate point is tenable between the view that what Christ accepted must be true, and that which sees in His attitude to demonic possession a particular example of Kenosis.

The chapter on the Gerasene incident is frank, and does not try to conceal the real difficulties of the narratives. These are said to contain "a certain theory of this occurrence," and it is asserted that "the facts are separable from this theory". Dr. Alexander believes that Jesus did not regard the case as one of manifold possession, nor did He countenance any idea as to the herd of swine, whose stampede

is explained by the loud voices ("But above those wild shouts of the demoniac rose the voice of Christ"). The discussion of the loss of the swine owners borders on the ludicrous, *e.g.*, "The loss may have been diminished by retrieving the carcasses and utilising them afterwards". The closing chapter reviews the evidence available as to "possession," in sub-apostolic and later times, down to our own day, and brings together much interesting material. The author's conclusion is that "genuine demonic possession was a unique phenomenon in the history of the world; being confined, indeed, to the earlier portion of the ministry of our Lord" (p. 247). He thinks it was due to "a counter-movement of the powers of darkness" called into play by the Incarnation.

We do not think Dr. Alexander has proved his thesis, either as to the genuineness of demonic possession or as to the criterion of its presence, but he has written a very interesting and useful book which students of the New Testament cannot afford to neglect. Nineteen appendices complete the volume, amongst which those on Greek Demonology, Greek Medicine and Witchcraft are worthy of special notice. A good example of the author's welcome candour is seen in his rejection of the argument for the authorship of Luke based on its alleged medical details (p. 254, *cf.* p. 83). The style of the book is generally good, though the language employed is sometimes open to the charge brought by the author against Huxley of "unnecessary vehemence" (*cf.* "lordly hypocrites" and "saintly villains" of the Pharisees, p. 184). Out-of-the-way words are sometimes preferred, *cf.* "equipollent" for "equivalent" (p. 210). Authorities might have been quoted much more freely with advantage, *e.g.*, for some of the medical statements or anthropological detail. The reason given in the preface for the omission of such references—"this work is an original research, not a compilation"—rests on a misconception. Full and detailed references to sources never conceal the originality of their use from any competent student.

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

The Book of the Psalms.

*Books IV. and V., Psalms xc.-cl. By A. F. Kirkpatrick, D.D.,
Regius Professor of Hebrew. Cambridge Bible, 1901. Pp.
cxii. + 303. Price 2s. net.*

The Book of Proverbs.

*Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, with Notes by the late A.
Müller, Ph.D., Professor in the University of Halle, and E.
Kautzsch, D.D., Professor in the University of Halle. Eng-
lish Translation of the Notes by D. B. Macdonald, B.D.
Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Nutt, 1901. Pp. 864.
Price M.5.50, bd. M.7.*

Handkommentar zum Alten Testament herausgegeben.

*Von Dr. W. Nowack, etc. Esra, Nehemia und Esther, übersetzt
und erklärt von D. C. Siegfried. Goettingen: Vanden-
hoeck und Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901.
Pp. 176. Price M.3.80.*

THE concluding volume of the *Psalms* in the Cambridge Bible is a good example of the careful scholarship which for the most part characterises that series. The introduction deals with the whole Psalter; although it accepts the principles of modern criticism, it shows a certain bias in favour of traditional views. It is, however, only right to say that the evidence is stated with scrupulous fairness, and that the conclusions are given as, for the most part, probable rather than certain. Many of the titles, we are told, "cannot be reconciled with the contents and language of the Psalms to which they are prefixed". But several psalms are held to be pre-exilic. Great stress is laid on the arguments for the existence of Davidic Psalms, and David is held to have

been the founder of the Psalter, but we cannot find—in the introduction at any rate (*cf.* below)—any explicit statement that the author is convinced that any given psalm is the work of David. He regards it as “doubtful whether any Psalms date from the Maccabæan period”. One new piece of evidence adduced is the presence in the Hebrew *Ecclesiasticus* of a psalm which is largely a cento of phrases from Book V. of our Psalter. Hence, it is argued, the Psalter was complete before the composition of *Ecclesiasticus* in B.C. 180. It is interesting to note that Professor Kirkpatrick accepts the recently discovered portions of the book as belonging to the original Hebrew, and not to a re-translation from the versions; but we doubt whether the text of these sections is good enough to be followed in such a case against the Septuagint.

Our author evidently has little faith in the various theories which “discover a metrical system in the Psalms, on the basis of quantity, or of number of syllables or accents” (p. lx.).

There is a very sensible discussion of the Imprecatory Psalms, the gist of which is given in the following paragraph: “It is important to observe that they are not dictated merely by private vindictiveness. . . . While it would perhaps be too much to say that they contain no tinge of human passion (for the Psalmists were men of infirmity, and inspiration does not obliterate personal character), they rise to a far higher level. They spring ultimately from zeal for God’s cause, and they express a willingness to leave vengeance in the hands of Him to whom it belongs. Retribution is desired and welcomed as part of the Divine order.”

Professor Kirkpatrick’s views as to the authorship and the titles are best illustrated by the separate introductions prefixed to the individual psalms. He seems inclined to discover pre-exilic psalms in these last two books, to an extent which would not be sanctioned by most modern critics, or, as we think, by the available evidence. Nevertheless he usually sets aside the statements of the titles. He does not ascribe xc. to Moses, or cxxvii. to Solomon; of the seventeen psalms assigned by the titles to David, he only accepts ci. Of Psalm

cx. he writes, "If we are free to choose, it seems best to regard the Psalm as addressed to David"—and therefore not spoken by David as our Lord's words are supposed to imply. In his introduction to this psalm Professor Kirkpatrick shows clearly that the authority of Christ is in no way involved in the question of its authorship. He quotes, with obvious approval, "the words of Bishop Thirlwall as given by Bishop Perowne, 'we are left very much in the same position with regard to the Psalm as if our Lord had not asked these questions about it'".

The recently published edition of *Proverbs* in Dr. Haupt's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* is simply a critical text with notes, for the most part, on the textual criticism. As in other volumes, the authors and editor have not been able to refrain from inserting here and there miscellaneous information which they have come across in their study of the text. But the questions of the composition of the book, and of the date and authorship of its various sections are not dealt with. No doubt these subjects are reserved for the English translation in the *Polychrome Bible*; but, as one special object of the series is to exhibit conspicuously the mode in which the books are composed, the text should have been furnished with headings and other indications of the authors' views. These are entirely absent. Several passages are merely represented by . . . , as being "corrupted beyond emendation," e.g., xiv. 7, which R. V. translates, "Go into the presence of a foolish man, and thou shalt not perceive in him the life of knowledge". This method is far better than printing an impossible reading or a purely speculative conjecture as if it were the true text. Toy's emendation should have been noticed in v. 2, and some reference should have been made to the uncertainty of the text in xxxi. 1. In the list of books on pp. 31, 32 we miss Cheyne's *Job and Solomon*. Assuming the correctness of the view taken here and in the *Polychrome Chronicles* that *tôrâ* is connected with the Assyrian *tertu*, we doubt whether it is rightly called a

Babylonian loanword, any more than "Church" in English is a German loanword from "Kirche".

In his *Esra, Nchemia und Esther* Professor Siegfried supports E. Meyer as against Kusters in accepting the substantial historicity of the account of the Return and the genuineness of the documents in Ezra iv.-vii. He rejects the decree of Cyrus (Ezra ii. 2-4). In the translation different kinds of type are used to indicate the various documents; we have not been able to discover any table giving a key to the varieties of type; but the reader will have no great difficulty in constructing one for himself from the introduction.

With regard to *Esther* our author follows Zimmern, Jensen, and Wildeboer in holding that the story is an adaptation of a Babylonian myth; that Mordecai is to be identified with Marduk, Esther with Ishtar, and Haman with the Elamite deity Humman. The original myth described the victory of the gods of Babylonia over those of Elam. We could have wished for a fuller treatment of the problem of this adaptation of a foreign myth to Jewish use. Purim is held to have been a feast in honour of the dead, and to have been connected with the primitive worship of ancestors rather than with the prophetic Jahwistic religion — neither God nor Jahwoh is mentioned in the book. Possibly the original myth was connected with a Persian feast for the dead, and the Jews borrowed the story because it seemed suitable for a similar function. The composition of the book is assigned to the Maccabæan period. The extreme brevity of the introduction is no doubt responsible for the absence of any discussion of the many difficulties of this position. Would a Jew of that period have adapted a Gentile myth? If he had would he have chosen a story which depicted his countrymen on friendly terms with a heathen master? It is true that Siegfried's view is also held by Cornill, Kautzsch, Wildeboer and others; but we should be inclined to follow Driver in assigning the book to the earlier Greek period.

W. H. BENNETT.

The Progress of Dogma.

By James Orr, M.A., D.D., Glasgow. London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 365. Price 7s. 6d.

THE *Progress of Dogma* is a series of lectures which Professor Orr delivered in the autumn of 1897, before the Western Theological Seminary, Alleghany, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., and the Christian Public, as the fourth course in a series of lectures provided for by the Elliot Lectureship Fund. "It need not be said," says the lecturer in his preface, "that no attempt is made to deal exhaustively with the History of Doctrine. The design of the lectures goes no further than to provide broad outlines, which may suffice to illustrate the principles expounded at the commencement, and serve as an introduction to the subject." The class of readers whose needs Dr. Orr endeavours to meet are those "who, without being professed scholars, feel an intelligent interest in the trend of theological thought throughout the centuries". One object of the lectures is to combat certain of the positions taken up by Harnack in his *History of Dogma*; but in other respects the material of the lectures is the accumulation of years of thought and study. Within the limits thus imposed upon himself, Professor Orr has produced a valuable, timely and most interesting contribution to an important subject; and though he says that the volume "is not intended for proficients but for learners," there will probably be few proficients who will not feel that even they have much to learn from such a luminous and even fascinating treatment of the subject. The idea running through the lectures, which gives the volume its distinctive mark, is the relation of dogma to its history, and the parallelism of the logical and historical development. "How dogma has shaped itself in history, what law has guided its development, and what abiding value

belongs to its products" (p. 4). The lectures raise the question whether there is a recognisable law in the progress of dogma, and what its discovery may do for us in our attitude to theology now. Having disposed at the outset of those who would exclude dogma from Christianity altogether; and of others, such as Harnack, who regard the course which dogma has taken as a departure from the original idea of Christianity; and, having answered those who allege that criticism has so subverted the foundations of historical religion as to make dogma impossible, by saying that the same assertion would dispose of the entire Christian faith—Dr. Orr proceeds to define dogma as a synonym for "those formulations of Christian doctrine which have obtained authoritative recognition in wide sections of the Church and are embodied in historical creeds" (p. 12). Then he unfolds the purpose of his discussion, which is to show that the logical and historical order in the progress of dogma are coincident—that there is a singular parallel between the historical course of dogma, on the one hand, and the scientific order of the textbooks on dogmatics, on the other. "The temporal and the logical order correspond" (p. 21). The textbooks follow an almost invariable order, beginning with what may be called Theological Prolegomena, passing then to Theology proper, Christology, Soteriology, the Application of Redemption, and Eschatology. "If now, planting yourself at the close of the Apostolic age, you cast your eye down the course of the succeeding centuries, you find, taking as an easy guide the great historical controversies of the Church, that what you have is simply the projection of this logical system on a vast temporal screen" (p. 22). This coincidence forces the conclusion that there is a law of development underlying the arrangement, and that the law of these two developments—the logical and the historical—is the same. The textbooks place the doctrines in the logical order of *dependence*—the one forming the presupposition of the other. History reveals their development in the same sequence, and this is not merely a coincidence, but is due to the same law underlying both. "The simpler precedes the more complex :

fundamental doctrines those which need the former as their basis: problems in the order in which they naturally and inevitably rise in the evolution of thought" (p. 30). Dr. Orr contends that we thus obtain such a test of the value of theological doctrines as becomes a valuable criterion by which fresh developments may be tried. That, put in a sentence or two, is the task essayed by Dr. Orr, and in the performance of which he reviews the great theological periods of Church history. Dogma tested by history, for the history of dogma is the judgment of dogma, just as the history of the world is the judgment of the world. Doctrine an evolution, in which the system of doctrine embodied in the great Church creeds represents "the survival of the fittest," for a true evolution is organic, is a continuation of the developments of the past, not a reversal of them. That is the line taken in the lectures, with, as the lecturer contends, "the result that, instead of inextricable confusion in history, we see the creation of an organism: instead of fatuity and error, the gradual evolution and vindication of a system of truth" (p. 30).

In fulfilment of this plan there is passed under review, first, the controversy with Paganism and Gnosticism, out of which were evolved those general truths which form the early Christian Apologetic. Dr. Orr thinks that sufficient justice has not been done to Justin's apology, much of which he regards as by no means antiquated. The account of Origen against Celsus is lucid and interesting, and the general position taken by the lecturer is that, alike on its defensive, aggressive, and positive sides, the Christian Apology was able and admirable. There is, in passing, an effective refutation of Harnack's view that the apologists had no grasp of the distinctive nature of Christianity. It is granted that their habits of thought gave a strongly philosophical cast to their writings, and that they looked on truth with the apologist's eye; but Harnack's assertion that, to the apologists, "Christianity is a system of natural religion with super-natural sanctions," is neither warranted by the writings of the apologists, nor consistent with many of the admissions of Harnack himself. With equal success, in his fine

treatment of Gnosticism and its effects on the formulation of doctrine, does Professor Orr dispose of the charge of "Hellenising" Christianity, a strange task certainly for fathers to whom Greek philosophy was the parent of all heresy! The evolution of a Christian philosophy of the world from the conflict with Gnosticism is not to be dismissed as a mere process of Hellenising, for it was really in the line of sound development.

Then follow the various controversies of the third and fourth centuries—the Monarchian, Arian and Macedonian—in the course of which the Church came to its theology proper, its doctrine of God. Here Dr. Orr combats Harnack's contention that the writings of this period exhibit two Christological types, the Adoptionist and the Pneumatic, by showing that the former type is discovered by Harnack in the *Shepherd* of Hermas only, and that it is by no means clear that even Hermas teaches a purely Adoptionist view; and that what Harnack so describes is really the view of Paul of Samosata, that while in nature only man, Christ is raised to an honorary Godhead through the working of a divine power within Him. "This accords with a tendency quite prevalent in recent theology (that of Lipsius, Beyschlag, and many of the Ritschlians) to assign to Christ the predicate 'Godhead,' while not really recognising in Him more than man. . . . Godhead is not a thing that can begin in time, or be conferred as a degree of honour on any created being. This view, therefore, under all its disguises, remains a unitarian one" (p. 102). The discussion of the Arian dispute is very thorough, and goes to show that the creatureship of the Son being admitted, Arianism could run only one logical course: "and the logical stages are, as usual, virtually also the historical ones". The great task of Athanasius was "to rescue the Christian idea of God from influences derived from Greek philosophy which threatened to subvert it" (p. 123).

The chapter on the Augustinian and Pelagian controversy is specially good, and it is clearly shown that there were in Augustine two lines of teaching which are irreconcilable, his churchly and his doctrinal side, on the former of which he is

a Catholic, on the latter a Protestant; though even as a Protestant he extended the meaning of "justification to include, not merely the free forgiveness of sins, but the inward change which he supposes to take place in baptism" (p. 143). Baptism, as Augustine taught it, is also shown to run across his theory of predestination, and to confuse it. Always and everywhere, however, predestination is shown to have been rightly connected by Augustine with salvation. "It is the salvation of the believer viewed, if we may so say, *sub specie aternitatis*" (p. 152). Yet it is not easy, Dr. Orr confesses, to free the Augustinian view of predestination from the charge that it conflicts with the love, or rather, the Fatherhood of God. It is open to this charge, because he regarded the subject too exclusively in relation to the individual salvation, and not sufficiently in connection with an *organic view* of the divine purpose in its relation to the world and history.

A long discussion follows of the Christological controversies—the most unlovely in the history of the Church—and the general criticism is offered that the union between the divine and human in Christ which was postulated was, in each case, too external, "and probably the chief gain of our modern way of thinking on Christological questions is that it transcends this older dualism, and starts rather from the affinity of the divine and human, recognising a God-related element in human nature, as created in the Divine image, which furnishes a starting-point for the conceivability of the incarnation" (p. 176). The defect of the Chalcedonian creed is that "it states the factors for us, but gives us no help to a positive solution of the problem they involve" (p. 193).

Soteriology in the doctrines of Anselm, Abelard and Bernard is next reviewed, the special contribution of Bernard being "the idea of the organic relation of Christ and His people as explaining how the satisfaction of one should avail for many" (p. 231). The endurance by Christ of the penal consequences of transgression is the specific note in Aquinas: and it is shown that with the Reformation came the clearer light shed upon the way of salvation by the doctrine of

justification. It is noted also that the Reformers one and all, in Ritschl's words, "estimated the atoning work of Christ by reference to that justice of God which finds its expression in the eternal law". This is what lifts the subject out of the sphere of private rights which is the defect of the Anselmic doctrine. In asserting that the doctrine of the Reformers is "forensic," Dr. Orr wisely remarks that this element is necessary to any theory of the atonement which does justice to Scripture and conscience, and is demanded even by God's love and Fatherhood: for the love of God must manifest itself in reigning through, not in annulling righteousness.

As every doctrine has its hour in the historical development, the period of the Reformation saw the Church formulating the doctrine of the Application of Redemption. The Reformation principle of justification was rooted in the "religious self-estimate," as Ritschl calls it, of godly men, and, in that respect, stood in an unbroken relation to the past. "It was in its essence no new commandment which the Reformers taught, but an old commandment which the Church had from the beginning" (p. 254). Premising that "the Reformation creeds *do* give, and give practically for the first time a survey of Christian doctrine in all its great articles" (p. 282), the lecturer deals with the theological developments which have taken place on the basis of these Reformation creeds; and, while it does not fall to him to defend Calvinism from the shallow and often ignorant criticisms that are sometimes passed on it, much is done, and well done, in showing the true bearings of Calvin's teaching; though it is difficult to see why this criticism was not brought into closer connexion with the exposition of Augustinianism, with which it is vitally related. Dr. Orr frankly admits that Calvin errs in placing his root idea of God in sovereign will rather than in love: and that Calvin's doctrine of election "is not a conception in which the Christian mind can finally rest" (p. 293). Neither Augustine nor Calvin, in Professor Orr's judgment, took a sufficiently organic view of the divine purpose.

The transition to modern theology is made in a very interesting statement of philosophical thought from Descartes, through Kant, to Hegel. Kant's service to theology, in his vindication of the place of the practical reason and of teleology, is noted, and there is constant reference to the derivation from Kantian principles of the positive religious conceptions of the Ritschlian school. The colour given to modern theology by evolution and socialism is discussed; and the modern call for a new Apologetic, which recognises nature as having a moral end, is admitted as valid. The new Apologetic must seek to "grasp Christianity in its widest relations—as a religion, in its connexion with the general philosophy of religion: as historical, in its place and context as one of the great historical religions: as a religion of the Kingdom of God, in its relations with social strivings and the general world-end of Providence" (p. 320). This will afford a corrective to the demand of Ritschlianism that faith must be divorced from reason, and will show that Christian apologetic can never be satisfactorily separated from the positive exhibition of the Christian system. "If we are to defend Christianity, we must define what we are to defend. Christianity is its own best apology" (p. 322). The modern tendency to a doctrine of God which recognises the truth of His immanence—which connects itself with the idea of the divine Fatherhood—which has practically superseded federalism with the category of the Kingdom—is welcomed in the closing lecture. And "the trend of the higher philosophy, in laying stress on the dignity of man as rational, self-conscious spirit, and on his kindredness to the divine" (p. 327), is fully recognised as a necessary corrective to the tendency in older speculation to hold God and man too far apart. The limits of the application of evolution to theology, which in the main Dr. Orr regards as inevitable, are defined in the sentence: "evolution does not explain *origins*". The volume concludes with some wise and fruitful discussion of the place which Christology and Eschatology have come to occupy in modern thinking. The gain to Christology from modern ways of treating it is "that whereas the old Church

doctrine approached the subject of Christology predominantly from the side of the opposite predicates of the two natures, modern theology approaches it from the side of the receptiveness of humanity for the divine". "It will not be denied that the historical, scientific spirit of modern times has done much to rectify one-sidedness, and to give us an impression of the human Christ, such as the world has never possessed since the days of the first generation of believers" (pp. 334, 335). He takes an eclectic view of modern speculations on the atonement, asserting that "those who hold most strictly by the judicial view may find in them elements of assistance" (p. 340). And, like Canon Moberly, he welcomes the breaking down, by various forces, of individualism, as a way to the wiser statement of the truth of vicarious suffering. "Substitution will be interpreted through representation, the old idea of the Head suffering for the members" (p. 344). And, again in line with Moberly, he pays a tribute to McLeod Campbell's view of representative confession as an aspect of the truth on this subject which has yet to come to its own. There is no dogmatic pronouncement on the subject of Eschatology—Dr. Orr evidently feeling, with many, that a merciful uncertainty is a wise reaction from over-dogmatism on such a theme.

From this outline of the volume it will be seen that the history of dogma has been treated once more by a competent hand. And, despite the introductory chapter in which Dr. Orr lays down the law of the progress of doctrinal development, which throughout he seeks to discover, probably the chief value of the book is just that it is a history of dogma, written in view of everything that has recently been said on the subject. For the knowledge which the lectures suggest is worthy of the lecturer. Nothing escapes his observant eye. And the spirit in which modern restatements of theology are treated is admirable. It is open to doubt, when one has finished the volume, whether the claim made at the outset, that the logical and historical order coincide, has been made out: or whether it is even important that it should be. That the order in a textbook of dogmatic should coincide with

the order in which doctrines have been formulated historically, is not a convincing proof of a law of the progress of dogma. The textbooks are necessarily based on the history of dogma, as that closed practically with the Reformation. And, as Professor Orr himself points out, while the order is the prevailing, it is not the invariable one. The order was inverted by Dr. Chalmers, who began with sin as the disease for which a remedy is provided: and modern statements of dogmatic are fond of starting with the Kingdom of God as the goal of, and the key to, the divine purpose. And one is apt, as the author admits, to look with suspicion on all attempts to force history into systematic categories. Not that the faintest suggestion of a charge of manipulating history to suit his formula can be made against Professor Orr. The treatment of the historical process is eminently fair, and even judicial. But a man always, or nearly always, can prove from history what he means to prove. And surely he is rather absolute in saying that the history of dogma never returns upon itself to take up as part of its creed what it has formally, and with full consciousness, rejected at some bygone stage. In many ways Dr. Orr in his closing chapter exhibits this very return of dogma upon itself, in the development alike of phases of theology and Christology, which, in the formative periods of these doctrines were, if not rejected, certainly ignored. One cannot help looking charily on categories used as Baur and Hegel used theirs. But the question whether Dr. Orr has succeeded in quite making good that idea which colours these lectures, and may be said to be their special aim, in no way detracts from the value of a course of lectures which, for literary merit, exhaustive discussion of an important subject, and sane criticism, not to speak of their real interest, leaves nothing to be desired.

DAVID PURVES.

Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi.

Von Emil Schürer. 3te und 4te Auflage. Erster Band : Einleitung und Politische Geschichte. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. 8vo, pp. vii. + 780. Price M.18.

THIS new edition of the first part of Schürer's well-known work appears just three years after the third edition of the second part, and the text of the whole work is complete in its new form. The indices to the whole are to appear shortly. In the meantime the former indices will serve as a general guide, for the pages of the older edition are inserted in the new.

The new matter is the great feature of this edition, the arrangement of the work remaining unchanged. Most of the additions will be found in the notes, with one or two interesting exceptions. They increase the bulk of the book by about 127 pages; thirty-seven of these being in the "Quellen," and ninety in the "Politische Geschichte".

As the author points out in his preface, some of the most striking additions are due to the recent finds of papyri in Egypt and the work done on these by scholars. In place of the dozen lines, which on page 53 of the second edition discuss the solitary papyrus there mentioned, we now have five pages given to an account of several. Five of these papyri have a curious family likeness, and all seem to refer to persecutions of the Jews in Alexandria. Two fragments relate the story of a conference in the time of Trajan—or possibly Hadrian; two others report a similar conference under Claudius; and the fifth a conversation between a certain Appian and one of the Antonines, either Marcus Aurelius or Commodus. The literary connexion of these fragments is difficult to determine. Their resemblance to one another in form and content is marked, yet they come from different

places, refer to events separated in time, and differ palæographically. They afford, however, still further evidence of the position of the Jews in Alexandria during this period.

In the section dealing with the taxing of Quirinius, Schürer makes good use of the discoveries of Egyptian ἀπογραφαί. We learn that in Egypt there were two kinds of such lists. (1) Every fourteen years each householder had to hand in a list of all the inhabitants of his house for the past year. (2) Every year each owner had to give a written account of his moveable possessions for the current year. How far this new information is of value for a knowledge of taxing in Syria is discussed by Schürer. The rest of this book is characterised by the author's undaunted attempt to take notice of all the literature of any value that has appeared in any part of his large field. In the matter of chronology, for example, he has been converted by Niese to a new position as to the dates of the Seleucid period. He now prefers to follow the dates given by Eusebius rather than those of Porphyry which he had previously adopted. A comparative table of the two sets of dates has been added, and with the following note adds much to the reader's ease in understanding the position.

In the section dealing with the history of the Maccabæan period Niese's work "*Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher*" has led to a fuller discussion of many points (*e.g.*, in notes 42 and 58). Schürer however still finds himself unable to acknowledge the source of 2 Macc. (Jason of Cyrene) as more trustworthy than 1 Macc. Niese's view is that 1 Macc. is only a working over of Jason in the interest of the Maccabæan dynasty.

In the history of Herod the Great, the chronology remains unchanged, but in a long note Schürer discusses and opposes the view of Kromayer that Antony's gift to Cleopatra of the Phœnician coast should be assigned to the year 36 rather than to 34.

English scholarship is not ignored in this edition, but Professor Ramsay has not converted the author on the subject of the identity of the lands of Ituræa and Trachonitis. Professor G. A. Smith is quoted against him and the literature

of the dispute is mentioned. The breadth of the author's reading is especially manifest in the supplement on the Nabatæan kings. Here not only are the Nabatæan inscriptions fully treated, but the work of Dussaud and Macler on the inscriptions of Safa, which only appeared late last year, is used.

The above are only a few instances, taken almost at random, of what one can find in this stimulating book. Surely it is time now to have a new English translation of the work. The one we have is not as exact as one could wish, and is not sufficiently up to date. It is scarcely likely that the structure of the work will be changed in future editions, and further additions might be published in a supplemental volume, which could be consulted by those who wished to look up any particular detail.

G. W. THATCHER.

The Agape and the Eucharist in the Early Church.

By J. F. Keating, D.D., Canon and Chancellor, etc., and Principal, etc., Scottish Episcopal Church. London: Methuen & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 207. Price 3s. 6d.

A SMALL hand-telescope of higher power may stand as the type of book for which we are indebted as above to Dr. Keating. It concentrates effort on a compact area, and searches the field for all specks of evidence of every magnitude and for every filmy nebula of doubt which it contains. Looked at broadly, the question antecedently arises, *Could* any religion which started into existence in the period from B.C. 100 to A.D. 200 have failed to include some such institution as the Agape? To this the answer with overwhelming probability is negative. But the fact of a common feature being thus found to pervade three diverse religions, viz., heathen-Greek, Jewish and Christian, does not imply that even the latest of them in date of origin derived it from either of the other two, although its collateral existence in all may have had a modifying influence as regards form. Thus the diverse ritual, so to speak, of the Agape, viewed as a Christian institution, may be explained, *e.g.*, at Corinth (as in 1 Cor. xi.) by the juxtaposition of Hellenic influence, or in the *Αἰδαχή*, by the Judaistic affinities perceptible in the treatise itself. As regards the former case our author cites (Appendix, p. 177) Neander's remark, that "There existed among the Greeks an ancient custom of holding entertainments at which each one brought his food with him and consumed it alone. The Agapæ in the Corinthian Church were conducted on the plan of this ancient custom, although the peculiar object of the institution was so different," etc. As regards the second case, the author remarks (p. 32) that the *Αἰδαχή* "is now generally believed to be a strongly

Judaising document". This belief is probably an overstrain; but the presence of the affinities noticed above is clear, and suffices to account for the tendency which colours the rules given in *Διδαχῇ*, i.

It is curious that neither by the author nor by any of the numerous authorities whom he quotes is any influence on the genesis of the *Agape* ascribed to our Saviour's emphatic direction in St. Luke xiv. 12 ff., especially v. 13, "When thou makest a feast, call the poor, etc. For they cannot recompense thee;" a precept which suggests the *Agape* in its eleemosynary aspect—that in which the Christian apologists prefer to present it, as a bond of brotherhood between rich and poor. The closest approximation, however, to the *Agape* is found in the Jewish sects of the *Therapeutæ* and the *Essenes*. Any converts to Christianity from these bodies would doubtless bring their own influence with them. This accounts for the resemblance traceable between what we learn from Philo and Josephus concerning the festal practices of these sects (quoted pp. 25-31), and the notices of the *Agape* derived especially from Tertullian, with which Dr. Keating co-ordinates them (pp. 29, 30). The Saviour's rule above quoted is to the *individual* feast-giver, and stands in direct parentage to the form which we find the *Agape* assumed in a large array of "Church ordinances," especially in the third and following centuries (see Dr. Keating's 4th chapter). There the duties of the guests towards their host (*e.g.*, p. 115, "Let the bishop pray over the guests and him who has invited them") form a leading topic of regulation. The skilful industry of co-ordination between these various authorities, such as the Apostolic Constitutions, the Canons of Hippolytus, the "Testament of our Lord," the Egyptian Church Order and the remains of Egyptian Canons, will impress the reader with a sense of editorial aptitude, and will unfold a rich array of sources unsuspected by the early research of Cave and Bingham.

Bingham indeed was able to do little beyond sketching the subject in rather rough outline. He notes the way in which the *Agape* and the Eucharist were involved in each

other, and the different periods in which the former preceded, then the latter; the final separation of the two, the exclusion of the *Agape* from the Church building, and finally its canonical extinction in the seventh century. It had, however, its survivals in various connexions, *e.g.*, in marriage and funeral feasts, in commemoration of departed saints, in the *panis benedictus* still distributed in Western Churches, and the *εὐλογία* of the Eastern. We may doubt, indeed, whether the "Church Ales" of our mediæval ancestors had not an "underground" connexion with it.

In Appendix II. a good sketch is given of "the Roman legislation on *collegia* and *sodalicia*" in relation to the *Agape* from the "Twelve Tables" downwards. A number of these were what we should now class as "Trades Unions". They were colourably beneficial or religious institutions, capable of plausibly cloaking occult movements against the authorities. The suspicious attitude of authority towards them in the earlier period is easily accounted for by the feebleness of police; which also measures the extreme severity of penalties by which their suppression was enforced. Our author (p. 4) regards the "religious confraternities" as "more ancient than the trade or other secular corporations".¹ One of the oldest Roman inscriptions extant is the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*, repressive of some improprieties or even enormities, believed to have become current and popular through an agency of female clubs about A. U. C. 566. At the same time some of the older "religious confraternities," *e.g.*, the *Fratres Arvales*, *Salii*, etc., were under the direct patronage of the early Roman republic. Accordingly this class was the first to escape from repression when that became the rule. "*Religionis causa coire non prohibentur*" is a passage from the *Digest* given on p. 183, of uncertain date of origin. The same passage recognises *collegia tenuiorum* as indulged. The Roman Government took over Greece by conquest, recognised gradually its higher civilization, and finding such fraternities

¹ This seems questionable: perhaps the fact is that they attracted the repressive efforts of authority earlier.

(ἐταίρια) everywhere, was tolerant of them as a custom racy of the soil. Hence inscriptions extant give us (p. 105) a "*collegium symphonicorum*," a "*collegium dendrophorum*" and a "*collegium neon . . .*" (νέων? Cf. the *Collegia Juvenum* on p. 187). Trajan, however, seems to have set his face against the growing laxity. He was the one type under the earlier Empire of a military *princeps*. No doubt he did not wish during campaigns on the Danube to be troubled with organisations which might veil sedition in Bithynia. This brings us to his edict of repression, and to Pliny's famous letter—ground in direct contact with the Christian *Agape*, but ground lately trodden and retrodden by Dr. Armitage Robinson, Liebenam, Professor Ramsay, Mr. Hardy, and others. For the net result of their opinions we must refer the reader to Appendix II. of the volume itself,¹ one to be welcomed by all who have a student's eye for Christian antiquity.

Only a few minor points seem open to animadversion, e.g., the note on p. 47 regards as open to "obvious objection" a rendering of St. Paul's words, οὐκ ἐστὶ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον φαγεῖν (1 Cor. xi.), which on p. 173 "seems to harmonise best with the context". And on pp. 55, 56 the statements concerning "the later meeting" of the Christian body in Bithynia and "the meeting in question" (with a comparison of Tertullian's phrase, cited, *antelucanis temporibus*) do not seem strictly to cohere. But these are surface blemishes only.

HENRY HAYMAN.

¹ See also p. 56, note 3.

The Marrow of Modern Divinity.

In two parts. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and an Appendix, Biographical and Bibliographical, by C. G. M'Crie, D.D. Glasgow : David Bryce & Son, 1902. 8vo, pp. xxxii. + 390. Price 5s. net.

ONE is glad to have at last a worthy edition of the *Marrow*. Dr. M'Crie has rendered a great service to all who are interested in the history of Scottish theology. It may seem ungrateful to regret that he has not done more. The theology of the *Marrow* has never been adequately expounded; and no one is more fitted to interpret that theology than Dr. M'Crie. By knowledge, by sympathy, and by hereditary right, he is amply qualified to do a work which must be done if the history of Scottish theology is not to remain the unknown land which in our day it has become.

The Marrow of Modern Divinity, a small and badly printed octavo, was published by G. Calvert, at the sign of "The Black Spread Eagle, neer Pauls," in May, 1645. It was offered as an irenicon, discriminating between Legalism and Antinomianism, and pointing out "the middle path, which is Jesus Christ, received truly and walked in answerably". The first edition of the *Marrow* was quickly sold out, and in the following year a new and greatly enlarged edition was published. In 1649 the second part of the *Marrow of Modern Divinity* appeared. This addition was a detailed exposition of the Ten Commandments, expressing with great fulness the views of the author on the moral requirements of the Gospel. One edition followed another in quick succession, each "revised and corrected by the author," until, in 1650, the seventh impression was issued. In that year, apparently, the author died.

Dr. M'Crie's edition is based upon these earlier editions. Of these the seventh is the most accurate, and is really our authority for the text.

After the death of the author the *Marrow* was not again printed until 1668: that issue is the basis of the famous edition of 1718. In 1699 a new revision was executed by one whose name is withheld, but whose acquaintance with the Neonomian Controversy, then raging, appears to have been most intimate. It was brought out by Isaac Chauncy's publisher. The obnoxious phrases were omitted, uncouth sayings were pruned, and those passages which had been most vehemently objected to were "all smoothed according to the stile of the Westminster Confession". Hog of Carnock did not know of this edition in 1718. But there were some who thought that if he had made use of it, instead of the reprint of 1668, the Marrow Controversy might have been avoided. A careful study of the influence of the *Marrow* upon the Neonomian Controversy will throw light on some dark places in the later controversies which arose in Scotland.

In all the impressions which were issued during his life, the author of the *Marrow*, modestly willing to conceal his name, appended to the title merely the initial letters E. F. Samuel Prettie, a divine whose "orthodoxness" was vouched for by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and who, in turn, was one of those who added their testimony to the *Marrow* in 1646, gives us a punning clue to the identity of E. F. "God," he says, "hath endowed his *Fisher* with the net of a trying understanding". During his lifetime the author remained unknown except within a narrow circle. Between the years 1646 and 1654 several writers refer to the *Marrow* as if it were virtually an anonymous book. Later it was reported to Richard Baxter that the author was Edward Fisher, a barber in London. On the other hand, Anthony à Wood identifies the author of the *Marrow* with Edward Fisher of Mickleton in Gloucestershire, an Oxford graduate, and a ripe scholar. This identification of Wood's was received for a time without question, but is now utterly exploded. Dr. M'Crie does not speak as firmly on this point as the evidence seems to require.

The Marrow of Modern Divinity is a catena of quotations from the Reformers and early Puritans, pieced out with

original reflections and constructed in the form of a lengthened colloquy. In the first part alone there are more than three hundred citations drawn from ninety-one volumes, the work of fifty-four authors—German, French, Swiss, Italian, and English Reformers; along with Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist, and “Sectarian” divines of the Puritan age. The books made use of are all in English, and their dates range from 1550 to 1645. Some of them are now very scarce. One of them—*The Prayer and Perfection of a Christian in his Pilgrimage*, by Master Gray—I have not been able to find. It was printed in London, in 1638, and was probably a mere brochure. It is of this Master Gray that Bakewell, a somewhat truculent writer, says that, when he became antinomian in his principles, “the Lord, in mercy to His church, smote him that he died”.

In his Appendix Dr. M'Crie gives much interesting information regarding those authors of whom Fisher made spoil; but the lists are not complete. There are also several mistaken identifications, as, for example, John Forbes of Middelburgh has to give place to Forbes of Corse, Edward Vaughan of Stretton Leafield to Richard Vaughan, and Nicholas Gibbens to John Gibbon.

Not only are the citations in the *Marrow* very numerous, but it is in them that the distinctive “Marrow Theology” is to be found. Principal Hadow waged war not with E. F., “barber and bookseller in the Old Baily,” as we suppose him to have been, but with Ezekiel Culverwell, John Rogers, John Preston, and Martin Luther. Dr. M'Crie has done us the great service of verifying many of these citations, and of separating them from the matrix in which they inhere, by quotation marks. Should a new impression of this edition be called for—and we trust it will—it would be of much consequence that this should be done with all. In very many cases an ordinary reader cannot detect the beginning or the end of the fragment extracted from an earlier writer. Occasionally it extends to a mere sentence or phrase; sometimes it covers more than half a page.

DAVID M. M'INTYRE.

The Pastoral Epistles.

A New Translation with Introduction, Commentary, and Appendix. By Rev. J. P. Lilley, M.A., Arbroath. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901. Pp. vii. + 255. Price 2s. 6d.

Momenta of Life.

Essays, Ethical, Historical and Religious, by Rev. James Lindsay, D.D., of St. Andrew's Parish Church, Kilmarnock. London: Elliot Stock, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 146. Price 5s.

MR. LILLEY'S volume on the Pastoral Epistles forms one of the excellent series of handbooks intended for theological students, and is a valuable and careful contribution. Both in the Introduction and the Appendix, the author gives evidence of thorough acquaintance with the extensive literature on the subject, and as the result of his study and investigation he writes in full agreement with the traditional view of the authorship and value of these Epistles. The general Introduction, which extends to twelve sections, gives a clear and complete survey of opinion, ancient and modern, on the genuineness and substance of this group of Epistles, and of the various facts and inferences, drawn from Paul's history and from the writings themselves, that determine the keenly debated questions of date and authorship. Special notice is taken of Schleiermacher's influence in disturbing the traditional view of the integrity of the Epistles, and in suggesting that parts at least were of later compilation. Baur's scientific criticism is referred to as giving the next great impulse to anti-traditional views and to the theory of late composition. Baur held that the author was an adherent of Pauline Christianity who wrote about the middle of the second century and in opposition to the Gnostic heresy that was then active and threatening. Notwithstanding Baur's

objections, and recent modifications of his views by opponents of the authenticity of these Letters, Mr. Lilley stoutly defends the traditional position, and argues that all three Epistles were written after Paul's first imprisonment, and belong to the closing stage of the apostle's life (A.D. 66-67). It is maintained that the so-called rigid and developed church organisation reflected in the Epistles, and the particular errors controverted, are not incompatible with an early date, and that changes in theological teaching and literary style were naturally called for in altered circumstances. Holtzmann's objection to the Pauline authorship on the ground of style, and in view of the peculiarity that these Epistles contain no fewer than 171 "hapaxlegomena," is met by the consideration that Paul's mind was intensely active and versatile, and that like Carlyle he "seems to have retained the power of issuing fresh verbal coinage up to the close of his career".

The second part of the Introduction deals with the characters and contents of each Epistle, and this is followed by the author's translation and by a full and detailed commentary. The latter is, we think, exhaustively and well done and will repay study. The Appendix is of more than usual interest and, along with other topics, discusses more fully some of the points raised in the Introduction. The section on "Paul's Doctrine of Inspiration" (2 Tim. iii. 16) is valuable for its correction of the extreme and literal view adopted by theologians of the seventeenth century, and in America, who have confounded inspiration with "inerrancy". Mr. Lilley, in agreement with Dr. W. Robertson Smith, whose views he recalls, wisely admits that "the Scriptures are not necessarily flawless in mere matters of detail," and that "infallibility does not depend on mere formal accuracy". The author closes this able and scholarly handbook with a list of the chief works on these epistles, to which should now be added Dr. R. F. Horton's volume in *The Century Bible*. (On p. 39, second line, "initiative" is an obvious misprint.)

The essays which are here gathered together under the not very happy title, *Momenta of Life*, have appeared in different magazines and bear witness to the author's wide reading and independent thinking in the fields of ethics, philosophy and Christian theology. Indeed the number of academic and honorary degrees and the variety of offices as "Lecturer" and "Examiner," etc., held by Dr. Lindsay, and detailed in eight lines of the title page, remind us somewhat of the long names and titles of honour displayed by the Egyptian and Assyrian Kings, and prepare us to expect the amount of learning and the familiarity with philosophical and theological subjects that are shown in this small but suggestive volume. Of the seven essays which form the collection the first two trace the development of ethical philosophy and of Christian ethics. This development is viewed not in relation to the cultivation of particular virtues but in the deepening of the ethical consciousness, in the firmer grasp of first principles, and the clearer recognition of the metaphysical and theistic implications which lie at the root of morality. It is contended that ethical philosophy, if regarded as a purely natural science, lacks its root and foundation and is no better than a torso. In the sphere of Christian ethics, it is claimed that progress is still more observable. The new and all-embracing principle that distinguishes Christian ethics is Love. God appears as the perfect Good, and Jesus Christ as the perfect type or pattern realising this ethical ideal and end—"the new ethics was introduced when Christ bade men be perfect even as their Father in Heaven is perfect" (p. 53). Dr. Lindsay is earnest in emphasising the worth of the individual moral personality and in maintaining that Immortality, which is the summit of moral aspiration, must be personal and real. "No immortality of the positivist or of the materialist can satisfy our ethical ideals. We are, in fact, weary of sham immortalities, and crave that which is real or none. That of the pantheist cannot be a satisfying immortality, for personality has no justice at his hands" (p. 57). The importance of man's gift of individuality and personality

is emphasised also in the fourth essay on the Reformation or the Protestant assertion of liberty and revolt against blind authority; and, again, in the chapter on "Man and the Cosmos," where man is affirmed to be the crown and key of creation. Perhaps Dr. Lindsay's insistence on the reality of personality, and the importance of ethical individuality as the basis of moral action, freedom and immortality, is the deepest note and the most valuable feature of these essays. The chapters (iii. and v.) on Schleiermacher and Origen are interesting and sympathetic. Full recognition is made of Schleiermacher's extraordinary influence in renewing theology, but his defective hold on the Divine Personality, the risen Redeemer, personal immortality, and his imperfect view of the moral sense and sin, are equally admitted. Like some recent writers, Dr. Lindsay has been drawn to the study of Origen, and his chapter on this "ancient modern," like that on Schleiermacher, is filled with a glow of appreciation and of sympathy with the subject which makes these two essays lighter and more readable. Something might have been said on Origen's work as an expositor of the Scriptures and on his principles of interpretation. The last of the essays is a discriminating paper on "Mysticism," in which a Ritschlian representative comes in for criticism. "Herrmann is for ever coming to the knowledge of God but never succeeds, for Christ is for him no real way to the Father" (p. 144). This is not comforting nor quite fair to Herrmann. We conclude by wishing that Dr. Lindsay had written, especially in the two opening essays, with more regard to what he terms (p. 54) "the scientific interest of clearness". For after all, as Mr. Leslie Stephen has said, it is a philosopher's art to make his language intelligible to the outside world.

W. M. RANKIN.

Spiritual Religion.

(*The Fernley Lecture for 1901.*)

By John G. Tasker, Handsworth College. London : C. H. Kelly, 1901. Demy 8vo, pp. xi. + 179. Price 3s.

Muhammad and His Power.

By P. De Lacy Johnstone, M.A. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. (The World's Epoch-Makers.) 8vo, pp. xviii. + 238. Price 3s.

The Medici and the Italian Renaissance.

By Oliphant Smeaton, M.A. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. (The World's Epoch-Makers.) 8vo, pp. x. + 286. Price 3s.

THE Fernley Lecture for 1901 is a most readable book. We could not name a better summary of the freshest thought on the Possibility and Nature of Spiritual Religion. Professor Tasker has thoroughly mastered recent speculation on the subject, and from theologians, philosophers, and poets, he has gathered much valuable material. This he sifts and criticises so deftly and gives his own opinions so lucidly, that even on this abstruse subject the simplest may run and read. Professor Tasker's volume may worthily stand alongside Mr. T. G. Selby's *Theology of Modern Fiction* or Mr. Watkinson's *Influence of Scepticism on Character* in the same series.

The author shows how the religion and ideals of an age express themselves, and then proves from material science, from physiology, and from psychology that man is a "religious animal". He then turns to the Divine side and argues that God must be a Personal Spirit, and that communion between

God and man is not impossible. In nature, and in history, God has revealed Himself, but the Supreme Revelation was in Jesus Christ. To-day this revelation is manifested to men by the ministry of the Holy Ghost, the fellowship of the Church, and the co-operation of the believer in works of holiness. The book is full of good matter patly expressed : but pp. 137-140, where Christian experience and its relation to Holy Scripture is discussed, and pp. 156-160, where there is an excellent statement of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, are especially deserving of notice.

In *Muhammad and his Power* Mr. Johnstone sketches the state of Arabia in "the days of ignorance" before Muhammad's time. He then recounts the birth and life of the prophet, and traces the rise and progress of the Muslim Empire till the defeat and death of Husain at Karbala in A.D. 680. There is an interesting account of the composition, character, and moral value of the Qurān, and a short account of the origin of the Shia and Sunni Schism among Muhammadans. Mr. Johnstone follows the recognised authorities with commendable accuracy, but small slips occur here and there. On page 30 "Arsacid" should be Sassanid. The Arsacidæ were kings of Parthia, the Persian rulers were Sassanidæ. Then on page 108 Juwairiya is correctly called "widow" of the slain chief of the Bani Mustaliq, but on page 110 she is called his "daughter". These small points, however, do not impair the value of an excellent handbook on the first fifty years of Islam.

Mr. Smeaton in *The Medici and the Italian Renaissance* has made every student of Italian history and literature his debtor. The Renaissance was certainly an epoch, and no family did more to propagate and extend the influences that sprang from the new learning than the Medicis of Florence. Mr. Smeaton has a graceful pen, and his style is a model for writers of history. He has laid the standard authorities like

Roscoe, Symonds, and Von Reumont under contribution, but he has supplemented those by research in many quarters. Accordingly he has given us a history of Florence in her palmyest days : a biography of the subtle Cosimo and the splendid Lorenzo : a picture of popes and cardinals who were humanists and politicians if not Christians, and he has sketched an account of an age torn by continual wars, and seething with spites, ambitions and intrigues. The estimate of Lorenzo's influence on the Renaissance, and of his patronage of arts and letters strikes us as especially valuable ; while the brief accounts of the leading scholars which the Medici gathered around them will make frequent consultation of this volume indispensable.

JOSEPH TRAILL.

Gereformeerde Dogmatiek.

*Door Dr. H. Bavinck. Derde Deel, 1898; Vierde Deel, 1901.
Kampen : J. H. Bos.*

It is matter for regret that this important work, the first and second volumes of which were noticed in this *Review*,¹ should be so bulky and should be in Dutch, for thereby many are excluded from a knowledge of it who would assuredly both consult and value it if it were more accessible. Its author, Professor Bavinck, is well known to those interested in the state of parties and theology in Holland as the scholarly representative of the (Free) Christian Reformed Church, now united (since 1892) with the body of dissentients from the National Church headed by Dr. Kuyper, at its theological institution at Kampen. This *Gereformeerde Dogmatiek* shows, what Dr. Bavinck's other writings evince, that his learning, gifts of thought, and power of doctrinal exposition place him in the front rank of modern dogmatic writers. His standpoint, like that of the Church of which he is an ornament, is believing and Calvinistic, even to the extent, one may feel, of ultra-orthodoxy. Yet one cannot peruse his volumes without perceiving that in every other respect he is a thoroughly modern man. His grasp of his subject is immense, and his acquaintance with the history of systems, with earlier and modern philosophy, and with the literature of theology in all its departments, down to the newest English and Scotch work, is well-nigh exhaustive. To these stores of knowledge Dr. Bavinck adds a spirit of profound faith and a faculty of logical and coherent thinking, arising from a clear hold of first principles. In its scope and completeness the present work reminds one of the days of the old theological masters, and it is certainly a sign of the times,

¹ Vol. viii., p. 308 ff.

and evidence of a revived interest in positive dogmatics in Holland, that such a work should be found lifting its head at all. Criticism of the work in detail is not to be thought of, but it may be of interest to indicate the general character of the volumes last published. In all, the *Dogmatiek* consists of four parts, in as many volumes. The first volume contained the principles of dogmatics, and the second made a beginning with doctrines, treating of the doctrine of God (knowledge of God, names of God, attributes, Trinity), and of the world *in statu integritatis* (creation, man). These two were formerly noticed. The third and fourth volumes complete the work—the former exhausting the doctrines of sin, of Christ, and of the application of salvation (benefits of redemption); and the latter dealing with the doctrines of the church, of the means of grace, and of the last things. The whole is admirably arranged, and at the close clearly summarised and indexed. It will be seen from the division that the main *doctrinal* interest lies in the second and third volumes. The third volume opens with a discussion on providence, which, the author points out, has two senses, that of foreseeing and that of providing. The first belongs to the doctrine of the attributes (prescience) and to the doctrine of the decrees (both under God). After creation, providence has to do, not with decrees, but with the execution of decrees, *opus ad extra*, continuation of creation. But here also there is limitation, for while providence in the widest sense embraces all the works of God, therefore also redemption, in theology this *locus* is confined to the common or universal relations between God and His creation (*conservatio*, *concursus* and *regimen* or *gubernatio*). The most profound and difficult questions in God's providence are those relating to His permission and government of sin. Four elaborate chapters are devoted to this subject (origin, nature, spread and punishment of sin), in which the various theories are reviewed and the view is strongly combated that sin is a "not-yet," or necessary moment in development. It is, the author holds, a *deformatio*, or destroying of the original form of creation, *privatio actuosa*, which has its origin

in the will of the creature, and not in the nature of God or of His works. The recovery from this state of sin God does not accomplish by force, but in the way of love and mercy, of right and justice, that is, by a mediator. "The doctrine of Christ is not the starting-point, but the middle-point (centre) of the whole dogmatic." The discussion of Christ's Person is followed by that of His work, and this by the consideration of the *ordo salutis*, and of the special blessings of regeneration, justification and sanctification. Under the work of Christ (in humiliation) the main stress is laid on its aspect of redress of the right of God; not by teaching alone, nor by force, but in the juridical sense, in the way of obedience, of sacrifice, of satisfaction. By this Christ has restored the objective, juridical relation between Christ and the world. He has said, showed, proved, that God is in the right against the world. We are not criticising, or it might be argued that there is another side—the showing of God to the world—which scarcely has justice done to it. Without following the plan further, it should be evident that we have here a *magnum opus* on the old dogmatic lines which, by its very massiveness, cannot be without interest and instruction to any. It is certainly, in its combination of the old with a fulness of knowledge of nearly everything that is new, a most remarkable and able work.

JAMES ORR.

Reply to Harnack.

Das Wesen des Christentums. Vorlesungen in Sommersemester 1901, vor Studirenden aller Fakultäten an der Universität Greifswald gehalten von Hermann Cremer, Dr. Theol. und der Rechte. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. Price 3s. 9d.

THESE lectures, delivered in reply to Professor Harnack's under the same title, show that, if Professor Harnack's lectures have elicited much admiration and agreement in Germany as in other countries, they have also provoked much determined opposition. The present volume is proof enough, apart from previous works, that Professor Cremer is not unfit to enter the arena against such an antagonist. Besides the solid qualities of scholarship and expository power which we associate with the best German work, the volume is instinct with strong feeling; the pages burn with passion. The author speaks from first to last under the conviction that all is at stake. The first of the twelve lectures bears the significant title "Which Christianity?" It is no use disguising the fact that the other school proposes a new departure of the most vital kind. If one side represents Christianity, the other does not. The presence and absence of such doctrines as Incarnation, Atonement, the Trinity, is much more than a superficial difference. In the present volume the difference is several times aptly put as the difference between a Christianity in which Christ is the object and one in which he is the subject of religion, or one in which he simply *teaches* the Gospel as any prophet might have done and one in which he *is* the Gospel.

The plan of Professor Cremer's volume is original and effective, and it is most ably worked out. Instead of dealing in criticism of details, he presents the entire conception of

Christ as contained in the New Testament, and then says in effect, "Look on this picture and on that: which is the true likeness?" He nowhere travels beyond the New Testament. His book, therefore, is without the brilliant discussions of the Christianity of after ages which form so important a part of Professor Harnack's course. Here the critical difference between the two representations emerges at once. To Professor Cremer the whole of the New Testament is the source from which he gets the answer to the question, What is Christianity? To Professor Harnack the first three Gospels alone are the source. It will be noticed that in the case of the latter, "Christianity in the Apostolic age," which includes Paul and the whole of the primitive Church, is placed on a level with Christianity in the four other subsequent stages. They are valuable as showing how the Gospel was then understood, but not one of these five interpretations has more authority for us than we choose to give to it. The narrow limit to which the sources are reduced is obvious. The fourth Gospel and the Epistles are shut out. This is a more contracted Gospel even than Marcion's in the second century. Indeed whether all in the Synoptics is retained, is doubtful, or rather it is not doubtful. The miraculous in the proper sense is everywhere struck out. Professor Cremer often quotes Professor Harnack's sentence, "Jesus Christ does not belong to the Gospel". Professor Harnack writes to a German periodical to say that here a clause is omitted: the complete sentence runs, "Jesus Christ does not belong to the Gospel, as Jesus preached it". Professor Cremer might reply, "True, but according to Harnack, this is the only Gospel. The Gospel as John or Paul preached it, is not acknowledged." Why the qualifying clause was added, is not apparent. Harnack's answer to the question, What is Christianity? is, "Christianity has three articles, The Kingdom of God and its Coming, The Fatherhood of God and the Infinite Worth of the Soul, The Better Righteousness and the Commandment of Love". Nothing else; and all these are taken from the Synoptics. Nothing from Paul or John, nothing of Christ's Deity or Atonement. "Jesus does not

belong to the Gospel" we understand to mean that Christ is **not** the personal object of faith, Christianity is merely the religion which Jesus taught and Himself practised, not the religion which consists in the blessings that follow from faith in His Death and Resurrection. How this is consistent with the teaching of the Synoptics and the position which Jesus assumes in them, we do not see, unless the Synoptics undergo a drastic excision; see Matt. xi. 28, x. 32, 33, 37. In the Synoptics too the Supper is instituted as a memorial of Jesus Himself. From other writings of Professor Harnack we learn that in his opinion the initial mistake of the Church was in substituting Christ and faith in Him as a person for faith in His teaching—the teaching summarised above. If so, the mistake was made early, by the very earliest Church, by the men who had companied with Christ and been trained by Him. The entire Church since has done the same. If Paul's and John's impressions were wrong, how can we be sure that those of writers in the nineteenth century are right? Indeed, if we understand our most recent teachers, we must distinguish even in the Synoptics between Christ's teaching and the report of the teaching by the evangelists. How are we to do this? We might go behind the Synoptics, if other sources of information were open to us. But where are they? Such speculations would land us in universal historical scepticism. We ought then to distinguish in the same way in Thucydides and Livy. That is, we ought to correct and excise and transform according to our own sweet will. And yet arbitrary dogmatism is a monopoly of orthodox theologians! If the New Testament is to be minimised and Christ's position transformed in the way proposed, it is **not** only the hymnology of the Church that must be revolutionised, but the entire thought and faith of Christendom in relation to Christ.

The impression given by many historians of dogma is that the ideas of incarnation and redemption are creations or fictions of later thought. Nothing can be farther from fact. Particular embodiments of these ideas are the result of later development, but not the doctrines themselves, as readers of

Professor Cremer's chapters on the Apostolic Preaching, the Preaching of Jesus in the Synoptical Account and the Johanne Account, will see. There we have the substance of later doctrine. The best proof that the doctrine is rightly inferred is that the only way of getting rid of it is to get rid of the documents. Professor Cremer's method is, we hold, the scientific and historical one, the opposite is the speculative one. The several chapters in the volume are luminous summaries of the Gospel teaching and history. The chapter entitled "The Work of Jesus, or His Suffering and Death, Resurrection and Ascension" is particularly fine. The old doctrine is put in modern phrase and defended on modern lines. It is indeed a rich, full, satisfying theology that is here set forth. The chapter on "The Miraculous Activity of Jesus" is a piece of strong, vigorous discussion. The only sense in which miracles are admitted on the other side is in acts which appear miraculous to us because of our ignorance of the resources of nature. Miracles like the Stilling of the Storm or Resurrection are repudiated. Our author shows that miracles are simply means to spiritual ends. Incarnation, redemption, forgiveness are the supreme miracles. How these can be retained when the lower miracles are denied is not said. The miracles are not solitary phenomena but parts of a system. A sinless Christ is as truly miraculous as the Stilling of the Storm or Feeding the Thousands. Yet Professor Cremer is open to new views of the function and place of miracle. "We do not believe in Jesus because of the miracles, but we believe the miracles because of Jesus." "We do not believe in Jesus because of His Resurrection, but we believe His Resurrection because we believe in Jesus."

J. S. BANKS.

Werturteile und Glaubensurteile.

*Eine Untersuchung von Professor D. Max Reischle. Halle
a. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1900. M.2.40.*

THE subject of value-judgments is exciting deep interest, much discussion, and even keen controversy in Germany, not only in theological, but also in philosophical circles. A right understanding of the question is essential for a just judgment of the Ritschlian theology. Nevertheless the statements on the subject in Ritschl, Herrmann, and Kaftan leave not a little to be desired in point of adequacy and lucidity of treatment. Otto Ritschl, the son and biographer of the founder of the school, some years ago endeavoured in a pamphlet, entitled *On Value-judgments*, to supply the deficiency and to correct the defect. Although this work showed a very marked advance on the previous treatment of the subject, and sufficiently and successfully met the objections to the theory, that it sacrificed the objectivity of religious knowledge, and the unity of human thought, yet it left some ambiguities, affording a free field for further controversy. A brief account of this controversy is given by Reischle to justify his attempt to offer a fresh treatment, of which it may be confidently said that it does carry us some steps further on our way towards a solution of the problem of the nature of religious knowledge.

An analysis of the conceptions of "value" and "value-judgments" is first given. "I assign a value," he says, "to an object of which on reflection I am sure that its reality affords satisfaction to my whole self, or would afford it, and indeed a higher satisfaction than its non-reality." "A value-judgment is a judgment in which a predicate of value is assigned to any object." Next it is shown that value-judgments may be arranged in order as they approach universal

validity. *Natural* or *hedonistic* value-judgments, which relate to our feelings of pleasure or pain, may be individual, collective, or general; but universal validity can be claimed only for the judgments in which a recognised standard is applied. These *ideal* or *normative* value-judgments are æsthetic, intellectual, moral and religious, and the ideas of beauty, truth, right and piety are their norms. Intermediate are the *legal* value-judgments in which law and custom serve as the standards. The most important contribution to the explanation of the subject is made in the fourth chapter, in which a careful distinction is drawn between the verbal, the psychological, and the epistemological points of view in determining the conception of value-judgment. From the first point of view, only the judgments "which assign a relation of value to an object as its predicate" are value-judgments. From the second point of view, the value-judgment must be accompanied by a personal valuation of the object; an emotion must be attached to it; it may express command, desire, affection, or satisfaction. From the third point of view, a value-judgment is "every judgment, the validity of which can be based, not on a necessity of perception and reasoning, only on the attitude of the man who feels and wills to the object represented". We affirm as value-judgments from the epistemological point of view those truths which we cannot perceive by sense, nor demonstrate by reasoning, but gain and hold as personal convictions. Such judgments Reischle proposes to call *thymetic* (from *θυμός*). The following chapter fixes the place of the propositions of faith among value-judgments as thus distinguished. Most of these are not verbally value-judgments, as they often affirm facts, and do not express values. Nevertheless it can only cause confusion to describe them as "theoretical propositions on the basis of value-judgments," as Kaftan proposes, as this would obscure the fact that they are value-judgments from the epistemological point of view. As a personal valuation more or less direct may be assumed in all propositions of faith, they are value-judgments from the psychological point of view, to which Otto Ritschl in his treatment confines himself.

That they are thymetic judgments is beyond question, for their basis is personal conviction. Determining them more closely they are not natural, or legal, but ideal judgments. Narrowing the circle further, they are not æsthetic or intellectual, but moral and religious judgments, as "they belong to the realm of personal valuations, on the basis of which alone a true personal life in practical relations to the world is shaped". But they are not merely postulates or demands suggested by man's rational, moral and religious necessities. They are "directed to a normative divine revelation," and so are "judgments of faith, that is, of trust". To sum up, "the Christian propositions of faith are thymetic judgments, ideal-personal, morally conditioned religious judgments of trust". The consequences of the whole discussion for the problem of the proof of the truth of the propositions of faith are lastly drawn. That this truth needs to be proved, and cannot be simply assumed, the apologetic efforts of Ritschl's followers show. Critics have held that the theory of value-judgments ignores this necessity and makes this assumption; but this Reischle emphatically denies, and makes good his denial by pointing to these apologetic efforts, and by offering a proof himself. Theoretical reason cannot directly decide the truth of the propositions of faith. It may reach a world-cause, but it cannot prove fatherly love in God. It suggests last questions it cannot itself answer. But there are necessary considerations of our practical reason which can be advanced as a proof of the truth of the Christian faith. (Here Reischle advances beyond Otto Ritschl, who denies the possibility of any such proof, and stops at the hope that his personal conviction will become general.) In this proof it must first be shown that Christianity alone gives a satisfying answer to the question. Can we in the moral struggle rely on the ultimate cause and final purpose of the world? Secondly, it must be shown that Christian faith is justified "in valuing the Spirit living in and working through the person of Christ as the divine Spirit that has power over the world". This Christian apologetic should, however, confine itself to what is morally valuable, and can be experienced as revealed. No

dualism of the theoretical and the practical reason is thus recognised, as it is the same person who thinks theoretically and practically ; and the two sets of judgments supplement each other, and may be combined in the unity of one world-view. This book can be most cordially recommended as offering both a correction of some errors about the theory, and as presenting it in a more intelligible and credible form than any previous work.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

Principles of Western Civilisation.

By Benjamin Kidd, author of "Social Evolution". London : Macmillan & Co., 1902. Large 8vo, pp. vi. + 518. Price 15s. net.

EIGHT years ago, Mr. Kidd, an unknown name his was then, wrote a volume which at once arrested the attention of thinkers, and secured a popularity seldom given to books of deep reflection and far-reaching speculation. After a considerable interval of comparative silence, sedulous preparation and admirable self-restraint, he steps into the field again with a book which takes up the earlier subject and carries it to further issues. If his former contribution ranks as one of the most remarkable literary successes of recent years, this volume is not likely to be behind it in distinction or in the power of compelling attention. It is written in a style that is by no means either equal, or altogether clear, but which sometimes glows and is usually effective. It is pervaded by a spirit which is sometimes hopeful and at other times gloomy and heavy with boding, but always strong and living. It flings out ideas the worth of which will be sharply questioned ; it prosecutes lines of reasoning which to many will seem fallacious ; it makes for conclusions which will provoke keen dissent. In many things it will have to run the gauntlet of a criticism that may even be contemptuous, and it may not succeed in convincing many. But it is certain to be read, and it will make its power felt.

It is a bold, a soaring attempt. It aims at nothing less than a new synthetic philosophy, an entirely novel interpretation of the march of history and the system of things. The philosophy of which this volume gives the point of issue is to displace those systems which have been most characteristic of the century now behind us, and to expose their

shallowness, their lack of veracity, their unreason. It is to give us a profounder reading of things, one which, as it is partially expounded here, sometimes uplifts us and gives us visions of a vast majestic process, and sometimes makes us feel as if in the grasp of an omnipotent fate to which we are as nothing.

Mr. Kidd begins with an impressive chapter entitled "The Close of an Era," in which he calls our attention to "the characters and dimensions of a vast process of change which, beneath the outward surface of events, is in progress in the world behind us," and shows how the "great controversies, scientific and religious, which filled the nineteenth century, have broadened out far beyond the narrow boundaries within which the specialists imagined them to be confined". He closes his book with a great chapter which he calls "Towards the Future". In it he points us to the momentous empire which he sees before us in the new era, the universal empire the principles of which, he thinks, "have obtained their first firm foothold in human history in that stupendous, complex, and long-drawn-out conflict of which the history of the English-speaking peoples has been the principal theatre in modern history". He speaks of the transcendence of this empire, of what it represents, of its tremendous meaning. "It represents," as he puts it, "that empire in which it has become the destiny of our Western Demos, in full consciousness of the nature of the majestic process of cosmic ethics that has engendered him, to project the controlling meaning of the world-process beyond the present. All the developments that have hitherto taken place in our civilisation are but the steps leading up to the gigantic struggle now closing in upon us as the ruling principle of a past era of human evolution moves slowly towards its challenge in the economic process in all its manifestations throughout the world." In the intermediate chapters he elaborates the contrast between the old era and the new. He defines the essential point of difference. He criticises the phenomenon of Western Liberalism and other forms of thought, and applies a new criterion to the estimates of great historical, philosophical and economic

movements. The chapters on what is described as "The Development of the Great Antinomy in Western History," in which he expounds the conflict of ideas, the ceaseless and ill understood struggle of competing forces, the vast operation of half-recognised tendencies in the successive stages of European history, are of the profoundest interest. But all through there are more or less the same novelty and grandeur in the ideas, the same vast sweep in the generalisations, the same ambition to take all knowledge for the writer's province. At times one feels little short of overwhelmed, and is left uncertain whether he is grasping the great argument. But the tension happily finds frequent relief, especially in the expositions and criticisms of systems that but lately held almost despotic sway over multitudes of minds. One who remembers the days when the preachers of evolution and utilitarianism were thought to have brought us to the *ne plus ultra* in philosophy and science, when the apostles of materialism and agnosticism spoke with an authority that almost defied challenge, when the beliefs in the soul and immortality were thought to dissolve under the work of the laboratory, and the secrets of life and the universe were taken to be at the disposal of mathematical formulæ and statistics, has the delight of a vast surprise when he looks into these pages and sees how differently all is made to appear. These gods of the intellectual world of a century, a generation back, these great names of a Bentham, a Mill, a Huxley, a Spencer—what is made of them here? Purblind their guidance, shallow the waters into which they cast their lines, narrow, mistaken, provisional, their notions—antiquated theorists, touching only the surface of things with their elaborate, high-sounding schemes.

The great idea of the book is that of the ascendancy of the future. In expounding this Mr. Kidd takes up again the main positions affirmed in his *Social Evolution*, but carries them to further issues, to larger and better applications. In his former work he made remarkable use of the principle of evolution, and descanted on the struggle seen in human society between the interests of the individual and those of the social whole. His final statement was to the

effect that the evolutionary forces are working towards the greatest good of the social organism, not of the individual as such. But this conception of the greatest good as the end and aim of the evolutionary process meant, it was indicated, that that process looked to the generations of the future as vastly greater in numbers than the generation of the present. This latter is the master-thought which he elaborates in his new book. In doing this he employs again the leading principles and ideas of his former volume, but in a richer and more effective way. He gives them a larger, riper and more confident expression. He gives reason a better place, and evolution a more consistently teleological interpretation. He argues with a new insistency that utility is not the explanation of things; that a philosophy of the world which has that for its heart is of necessity a failure; that a new principle must be sought, and that this new principle is found in the idea of evolution when it was properly understood.

Here, therefore, he again accepts Darwin, but corrects and supplements the original Darwinian hypothesis. "Evolution," said Darwin, "leads to the improvement of each creature in relation to its organic and inorganic conditions of life." It works "solely by and for the good of each being". It makes for progress, but for progress "in the light of the individual's welfare in or relations to existing conditions". Mr. Kidd looks to the later developments and modifications of the Darwinian hypothesis, and says this is not the real meaning of natural selection. Its scope and aim must be vastly more than this. It works towards the production of the largest results. It chooses and conserves and develops advantages in the economy of nature with a view to the interest of the majority, but that majority is not in the present. It is in the future. "In the operation of that deep-seated cause in life," he says, "which makes it possible for the higher forms to maintain their places only by continuous rivalry and selection, it cannot be said by any stretch of the imagination that the advantage towards which natural selection is working, is one which is

shared in by the existing generation of individuals. With the resulting advantage accruing at a stage always beyond the limit of their existence this cannot be." "Other things being equal, the winning qualities must be those by which the interests of the existing individual have been most effectively subordinated to those of the generations yet to be born." Evolution rightly read is the ascendancy of the future, not that of the present. It is the sacrifice of the present to the future, of the being that now is to the generations yet unborn, of the individual to the social organism in its largest sense and widest reach.

Here, then, is the real meaning of evolution. It is something vastly different from the conception of it proclaimed so loudly by some of its most confident prophets, something vastly greater and more profound. It is well to study here Mr. Kidd's interpretation of it in his own words: "When we look at the statement of the law of Natural Selection as Darwin left," he says, "it may be perceived on reflection that there is a consequence involved in it which is not at first sight apparent. It is evident that the very essence of the principle is that it must act in the manner in which it produces the most effective results. The qualities in favour of which it must in the long run consistently discriminate are those which most effectively subserve the interests of the largest majority. Yet this majority in the processes of life can never be in the present. It is always of necessity the majority which constitutes the long roll of the yet unborn generations." The centre of significance is shifted. The change is expressed in the "principle of projected efficiency". This is the phrase that gives the master-thought of the argument. What the evolutionary process tends to is the control of the present by the future. "The controlling meaning of the process is tending ultimately to be projected beyond the present." This is the way in which the evolutionary process has been working from the first. It has not been apprehended; it has been grievously mistaken; but it is now discovered. And as it has been operating thus from the first so shall it fulfil itself continuously to the end. The

principles at work in it are principles "involving the subordination of the individual and all his interests, and even those of whole movements and epochs of time, to the ends of a process of life moving forward through the slow cosmic stress of the centuries". So then all history has to be read anew. This is the process that has been in view from the beginnings of human life. It is the key to man's history. The preparation for this principle of projected efficiency, its conflict with antagonistic forces, its partial victories, its occasional defeats, its triumphant reassertion, its certain march to ultimate sovereignty—there is the explanation of all that has been happening through the ages—in the changes which have taken place in society, in the rise and fall of the various forms of power, in the fortunes of nations, in the progress of civilisation, in the long story of men's political, economic, social, moral and religious ideas and experiences. The operation of this principle, the movement of this process, has not been understood. But it is now passing into recognition—"the historical process in our civilisation has reached the brink of consciousness". The fact marks a change of almost measureless importance and introduces a new era which will be greater and grander than all its predecessors. The real purpose and movement of things will become a part of the consciousness of man and will be definitely applied to the largest ends.

Mr. Kidd takes us over the great stages of history, and reveals their secret as he conceives it. What he discovers in them is the perpetual antinomy or conflict between competing interests, those of the past, the present and the future, but all tending to the triumph of the third. In the earliest and most rudimentary forms of civilisation the present is seen under the control of the past. *Power*, and in the succeeding stages more definitely *military efficiency*, were the controlling principles. The rise of the great world-empires, culminating in Rome, issued in due time in the liberation of the present from the control of the past, and the ascendancy of the present became the great note of the civilisation of antiquity. The birth of the Christian religion meant the entrance of a new

epoch that was to change the whole complexion of things. It introduced transcendent motives, the principle of the subordination of the present to the future, the law of self-sacrifice. Christianity itself reverted to the preference of power in its mediæval forms, and the significance of the Reformation lay in the fact that it was a return to the true idea of Christianity, a reassertion also of the principle that the spiritual is more than the temporal and material. How high is Mr. Kidd's estimate of the Reformation and its consequences will appear from these remarkable words: "Centuries are yet to pass before the real significance of the profoundly significant transition which has been accomplished is destined to fully permeate the religious consciousness of our civilisation".

What has he to say then of the present and what is his forecast of the future? He is not blind to the dangers of the present. He sees how low the ideals of man in many respects are, how far we are yet in the grasp of the ascendancy of the present, how tremendous is the tyranny of monopoly and capitalism, how threatening is the economic and industrial conflict, how much there is of an "uncontrolled and irresponsible scramble for profit, governed in the last resort by the qualities contributing to success and survival in a free fight for private gain". But he sees in the heart of this condition the cure for its evils. Even in the economic struggle, he discovers more than self-interest, or the absorbing thought of the present and the individual. In much of the action of the great States, in their economic arrangements, their legislation in favour of equality, their protection of the young and immature against the tyranny of the employers of labour, and in other things, he sees the beneficent operation of higher aims, of ideals that transcend the present, of principles that counteract the selfish forces which work to disintegration and destruction. Mr. Kidd's outlook, therefore, is hopeful. Gloomy as the aspect of the present is to the common eye, the note that he strikes is not pessimistic but optimistic.

To deal fairly with a book of this magnitude, abounding in novel speculation and far-reaching ideas, it would be

necessary to read it again and again. It is no doubt open to many criticisms. Its language is often strained and there is a tendency in it to coin extraordinary words—*normalcy* and such like. It is unduly hard on some of the thinkers whose speculations it repudiates or refutes. It is not always clear in the statement of the teleology which it recognises in the process of the world, or in the part which it assigns respectively to final causes and efficient. It gives, as we have said, a more definite place to reason than was the case in *Social Evolution*. But there is something lacking still in its treatment of the rational foundations of things. As to religion, it is important to notice how essential is the position which Mr. Kidd assigns to it, and in particular to the Christian religion, in the drama of history and the fulfilment of the evolutionary process. Yet one may well hesitate to accept the treatment given it here as a part of human biology. And there is a good deal that is doubtful in the view which Mr. Kidd takes of certain chapters in the history of the Christian religion. He has some interesting paragraphs on the heresies, in which he states his view of the issues which were at stake. The account which he gives of the greater heresies is remarkable for the insight it shows into the real meaning of these forms of belief and the significance of the Church's repudiation of them. It is not entirely accurate, however, in some of the details, and it makes more of some of the minor heresies than they perhaps deserve.

It must further be said, as we think, that there is a note of exaggeration in a good many of Mr. Kidd's judgments of things. He is so absorbed by his great idea that he cannot see that there is another side at any point of his argument. He fails, therefore, to recognise the existence of other elements in the ancient civilisations than those that speak for the ascendancy of the present. Historians of Greek thought are not likely to admit that his view of the Greek civilisation is adequate. The whole antagonism between the interests of the present and those of the future as it is carried through the story of nations in these pages is put too absolutely. There is also the final question whether "human biology"

holds the whole secret of life and history. One is ever on the brink of fallacy when he reasons from the biology of nature to the biology of society and man, and more especially so when he takes biological data as the master-key to man's whole story. But when all is said, it remains that this book leaves all utilitarian explanations of life behind, and shows that the true philosophy of the world must have the ideal, not the material, at its heart. It is a witness to the fact that there is more than matter and force in the system of things, and that progress depends on powers that are not selfish but ethical and religious.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Oxford Essays by John Richard Green. Edited by Mrs. J. R. GREEN and Miss K. NORGATE. London: Macmillan & Co., 1901. Globe 8vo, pp. xxxii. + 302. Price 5s.

THIS is a timely and notable addition to Messrs. Macmillan's admirable Eversley Series. It will be read with special interest in connexion with the *Letters* of the gifted author. "The papers represent an idea," we are informed, "which was constantly in Mr. Green's thoughts for many years—a History of Oxford." They deal with the "Early History of Oxford," "Oxford during the Eighteenth Century," "Young Oxford," and "Oxford as it is". They are enriched by a considerable body of valuable notes, and by an Introduction, which gives some interesting personal particulars, by Mrs. Green.

In these *Studies* the lamented author shows very clearly how poor an opinion he had of the eighteenth century in comparison with other periods, the Elizabethan, for example, and the Victorian. But while he has a keen eye to the faults of Oxford and its University in these times, he sees also into the deeper nature of things and finds not a little to appreciate and sympathise with. And everywhere the touch of the master hand is seen in these sketches. Instances of this that may be specially referred to are the descriptions of the "poor scholar," his duties and position, "the gentleman-commoner" and his liberties, the "toasts" of Merton walks and the "smoaks," the clubs, the races, the entertainments, the potations, and the tavern-life of the time, the state of the high-ways, the Jacobite prejudices and enthusiasms, etc. But the book is bright and attractive all through, and at the same time it has much to tell that is worth knowing for its own sake. It brings the Oxford of the past before us as if we were ourselves moving in it.

Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions. By the Rev. JAMES S. DENNIS, D.D., Students' Lecturer on Missions, Princeton, 1893 and 1898; Author of *Foreign Missions after a Century* and *Christian Missions and Social Progress*; Chairman of Committee on Statistics, Œcumenical Conference on Foreign Missions, New York, 1900; Member of the American Presbyterian Mission, Beirut, Syria. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1902. Pp. 401. Price 21s.

DR. DENNIS has earned for himself a foremost name among our authorities on Foreign Missions. He has laid all Christian people under lasting obligation by his former publications on this great subject. He has also been an indefatigable and enthusiastic worker in various branches of Foreign Mission enterprise. In this volume he sets the crown upon all his previous efforts. It is a book which it is impossible to criticise. We can only marvel at the patience, perseverance, and enormous pains which have been required for its production. It gives the statistics for the last century of the position, agents, operations, contributions, etc., of all the Foreign Mission Societies planted over the world. It arranges the information which it has amassed at vast cost under the several heads of *evangelistic, educational, literary, medical, philanthropic and reformatory, cultural*. It gives the particulars of the various training institutions, mission steamers and ships, etc., and adds to its usefulness by furnishing careful summaries, abundant indices, and a series of excellent maps. The laborious author is to be sincerely congratulated on the completion of an undertaking from which most men would have retired beaten. The churches and all friends of Foreign Missions should count themselves happy in having the volume. It will be found indispensable. It gives one a new idea of the magnitude of Christian effort in heathen lands, the progress it has made, and the wonderful success which has attended it.

Tetraeuangelium Sanctum, juxta Simplicem Syrorum Versionem, ad fidem Codicum, Massorae, editionum denuo recognitum, lectionum supellectilem quam conquisiverat PHILIPPUS EDWARDUS PUSEY, A.M., olim ex aede Christi; auxit, digessit, edidit Georgius Henricus Gwilliam, S.T.B., Collegii Hertfordiensis Socius. Oxonii: e typographeo Clarendoniano, MDCCCCI. 4to, pp. 608. Price £2 2s. net.

THIS is a contribution of exceptional importance to New Testament scholarship. With the utmost care and diligence Mr. Gwilliam has laboured for years on the text of the Peshitto Syriac, and he has now put into our hands in this handsome volume an edition of the Gospels in that version for which we owe him our most cordial thanks. He has followed up the painstaking labours of the late Philip Edward Pusey in the collating of MSS. with a view to a revision of the text, and has carried out the plan of which he gave an account in his previous publications of 1887 and 1897. The object which he set himself was to exhibit "the Peshitto Gospels as they were read, on the evidence of the MSS., in the ancient Syriac Church". In making that object good he has examined a large number of codices of dates extending from the fifth century to the twelfth, and representing the testimony of the undivided Syrian Church, the Jacobites and the Nestorians. The results are of great interest and importance. They support in the main the traditional text. They show that the text of the *editio princeps* of 1555 is nearly the same as that current when the MSS. used for this work were written; and that the Peshitto version was not corrupted in later times, its variations from the Greek text being proved to go back to very early times.

The book is admirably printed. The Syriac text is accompanied by the Latin. The various readings are chronicled at the foot of the pages, explanatory notes being also introduced where they are required. The learned editor is to be congratulated on the completion of a work which is a credit to English scholarship.

- The Century Bible.* General Editor, Professor W. F. ADENEY
- Thessalonians and Galatians.* Introduction, Authorised Version, Revised Version, with Notes, Index and Map. Edited by WALTER F. ADENEY, M.A., Professor of New Testament Exegesis, New College, London. Pp. 344.
- Corinthians.* Edited by J. MASSIE, M.A., D.D., Yates Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Mansfield College, Oxford. Pp. 339.
- Hebrews.* Edited by A. S. PEAKE, M.A., Professor in the Primitive Methodist College, Manchester. Pp. 251.
- Acts.* Edited by J. VERNON BARTLET, M.A., Professor of Church History, Mansfield College, Oxford. Pp. 394. Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack. Price each 2s. net, cloth; 3s. net, leather.

THESE further instalments of *The Century Bible* will be gladly received. The plan of the series has been already explained in these pages, and it is enough to say that these volumes do justice to that plan and are no less attractive than those that preceded them. Each has certain features of its own, and in each there are certain peculiarities of opinion in matters of introduction or in the exposition of difficult passages. In all the historical and critical questions are dealt with, not only in a capable way but in an interesting style. The exegesis, too, is well done, due regard being had to the restraint, compression and omission imposed by the limits of space at command and the nature of the audience more particularly addressed.

There are some things in the introductions which are of interest. Professor Peake deals briefly but carefully with the problems of the Epistle to the Hebrews. He concludes in favour of Jewish Christians in danger of lapsing into Judaism as the persons addressed, holding that the force of such phrases as "falling away from the living God" (iii. 12) is not sufficient to weaken the evidence furnished by the general tenor of the Epistle. He fully recognises the difficulty of determining the destination, but prefers on the

whole the view that Rome is the place in question, and that the Epistle may be dated between the death of Paul and the Neronian persecution. He also accepts, surely far too easily, Harnack's theory that the Epistle emanated from Aquila and Priscilla, the latter being the actual writer, as the most probable explanation of the authorship. Professor Massie gives an excellent account of the condition of things in the Corinthian Church, the Church order, the parties, the ecclesiastical questions, etc. He also reviews with much care the debate about the unity of the Second Epistle which has been occupying many minds of late, bringing out very clearly the difficulty of keeping chaps. i.-ix. and chaps. x.-xii. in the same letter and in their present order, and suggesting that the severe letter was sent from Ephesus through Titus, and that when Paul met Titus with good news in Macedonia he sent him back to Corinth with i.-ix. and perhaps xiii. 11-14.

Professor Adeney discusses the problems of the Epistle to the Galatians at considerable length and in a clear and scholarly way. The most interesting section perhaps is the one in which he puts the question—"Who were the Galatians?" In reply he gives a very fair and well-balanced statement of the arguments for and against the South-Galatian theory and sums up in favour of it. Professor Bartlet's introduction to Acts is comparatively brief but much is compressed into it. He argues for a date somewhere in A.D. 72-75. He gives reasons for pronouncing against the prevalent theory that Luke's authorship is confined to a document underlying the "we" sections. He holds that there "never was a 'we' document apart from Acts," and argues that Luke was the "eye-witness also of what he records in xiii. 1-xvi. 9". It is of interest also to see that further study of the book has led Professor Bartlet to modify opinions which he once held. Taking Luke to have written the second half of the book on the basis of personal knowledge, he accounted for the rest of the narrative by the hypothesis of written sources behind the first twelve chapters. But now further familiarity with Luke's style and mind and methods of working has brought him to think that the

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phenomena of chaps. i.-xii. are best explained as those of a narrative written on the basis of "notes of conversations with eye-witnesses and others in Jerusalem and Cæsarea touching those early days". And among such informants he would place Philip the Evangelist, Mary and her son John Mark, and Paul himself.

Regnum Dei. Eight Lectures on the Kingdom of God in the History of Christian Thought. By ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON, D.D., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; Hon. LL.D., Glasgow; Hon. D.D., Durham; Principal of King's College, London; Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Bristol. London: Methuen & Co., 1901. 8vo, pp. xix. + 401. Price 12s. 6d. net.

PRINCIPAL ROBERTSON has been happy in his choice of a subject, and he has made an able and opportune contribution to our knowledge of it. It has attracted in recent times, especially in its New Testament forms, a vast amount of attention on the part of theologians. The social movements and aspirations of our day have also helped to direct men's minds again to it, and have given it a new interest. Much has been written on it on one or other of its aspects, though less on the one selected by Dr. Robertson for special treatment than on some others. Much remains yet to do, particularly in the study of the Biblical conceptions of the Kingdom, and something even in the history of the idea and its applications. Dr. Robertson's book is a welcome addition to the literature of the subject. It is an independent study, and is distinguished throughout by the qualities that make for genuine scientific inquiry. It gives proof also of wide and careful reading. In this respect, however, it must be added that there are some remarkable omissions. For one thing, there is no indication of any acquaintance with the best book on the subject in the English language—the late Dr. James Candlish's Cunningham lectures. This is surprising, indeed, as Dr. Candlish's very able book goes practically over the same field and gives

much attention to the history of the various attempts that have been made both in ancient and in modern times to embody the idea of the Kingdom of God in forms of government and social order.

Dr. Robertson's object is to "interrogate Christian experience as to the meaning of the Kingdom of God". This being the central purpose of his work, he devotes less space to certain fundamental inquiries than is usually given. He cannot of course leave the Biblical theology of the subject out of the scope of his investigation. He begins with that as is inevitable, and reviews its main particulars. This, however, can scarcely be said to get adequate notice, and it is here that the volume will be felt to be lacking. The pre-Christian doctrine of the Kingdom, including all its Old Testament development, is dismissed in less than thirty pages. It is impossible to do justice to so vast a theme within these limits. So we find the scantiest reference made to the positions of the great Old Testament scholars, while our best authorities on the theology of the Old Testament are little noticed. In most things Dr. Robertson seems content to follow Dr. Charles, though he does so with repeated expressions of his dissent from his ways of disposing of important passages of the Hebrew Scripture. The New Testament doctrine is dealt with more at length. Even there one misses much, especially as regards recent contributions made by German scholars to particular aspects of our Lord's own teaching and that of the Apostles, the question whether the Kingdom in the one or in the other is a purely eschatological idea, etc. So far as Dr. Robertson states his own conclusions on the New Testament doctrine, however, they will be accepted by most as just and well stated. The distinction between the Kingdom and the Church, the distinction also (in the Pauline writings) between the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Christ, the contrast between Paul's doctrine and the Jewish views which prepared for it, the conception of the Kingdom as both the future and the present, the designation of it as *reign* and as *realm*, these and other important elements of the inquiry are handled in a very satisfactory way.

The strength of the book, however, is in the last five lectures. The fourth lecture gives an admirable summary of the history of opinion in the first four Christian centuries. The Millenarian question and the whole realistic theology of the Ante-Nicene period are ably sketched and acutely criticised. The fifth lecture is occupied entirely with Augustine's theology. This is the best part of the book, the one in which the author's power and enthusiasm are most felt. It is a very informing chapter, especially in what it says of the *De Civitate Dei*, the new philosophy of history promulgated by Augustine, his conception of the Church, the influence which his doctrine of grace had upon his doctrine of the Church, the changes in his views and the reasons for them. A great amount of valuable matter is packed into the lecture on the mediæval theocracy, the work of Hildebrand and his successors, and the difference between the ideals of that period and those of the earlier time. The seventh lecture speaks ably and appreciatively of Dante, and takes us on to the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. The book closes with a statement of the "Kingdom of God in modern thought, work and life". We could have wished more space to have been given to this. A comparatively short lecture is all that is given to the story of the development and application of the idea from the Reformation on to the present day. Luther and Calvin are noticed, but all too briefly. The Genevan polity surely demands more than a page or two. Ritschl's views are noticed and subjected to some acute criticism, and a few pages are devoted to Christian Socialism. This is all too little. What is said, however, is said pointedly and well, and one cannot do all he might wish to do for so large a subject in a single volume. Dr. Robertson may enter the field again.

Wendt's The Gospel According to St. John. 277

The Gospel according to St. John. An Inquiry into its Genesis and Historical Value. By Dr. HANS HINRICH WENDT, Professor of Theology in the University of Jena. Translated by Edward Lummis, M.A. Edinburgh · T. & T. Clark, 1902. 8vo, pp. xi. + 260. Price 7s. 6d.

THIS is a good translation of an important contribution to the study of the problems of the Fourth Gospel which many have desired to have in an English rendering. We have possessed for some time a translation of most of Dr. Wendt's work on the "Teaching of Jesus". But the introductory part of that work in which the question of the sources was discussed was left in the original German. We are glad that occasion has been taken by Dr. Wendt in connexion with the issue of a new edition of the *Lehre Jesu*, to deal again with the Johannine problem, and we are indebted to the publishers who gave us the English version of the two parts of the former volume for this rendering of the new discussion.

Further study has not led Dr. Wendt to make any fundamental change in his position. He adheres to the view that the Fourth Gospel is based in part on a writing of the Apostle John similar in character to the *Logia* of Matthew. He abides also in the main by the arguments which he formerly employed. He does not regard the Fourth Gospel as a unity. He thinks that the use of the words "signs" and "works" and other things point to different strata in the structure, and that two divergent views are given of the foundation of faith in Jesus. He distinguishes between the historical section and the discourses, and where others have conserved the former at the cost of the latter he gives reasons for affirming the credibility of the discourses as a whole and in their main averments. The argument is certainly ingenious, and the whole inquiry suggests much. Dr. Wendt's theory is not one to be accepted lightly. It has not a few difficulties. It takes a limited view of the word "signs". The criteria, too, by which it endeavours to distinguish the original *Logia* from others are by no means certain. But it has much that demands attention.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

WE have also to notice *Religious Writers of England*,¹ by Pearson M'Adam Muir, D.D., a volume of the *Guild Library*, giving sketches of select writers from Caedmon down to Thomas Scott, necessarily brief, but pointed, instructive and done with good taste; the fourth volume of the sixth series of the *Expositor*,² edited with as much success as ever by Dr. William Robertson Nicoll, containing many useful and some notable articles, including a series by Professor Denney on the "Theology of the Epistle to the Romans," a study of "St. Paul's Conception of the Spirit as Pledge" by Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy, a criticism of Professor Harnack on the Resurrection, by Professor M'Comb, etc.; a volume by J. H. Jowett, M.A., *Apostolic Optimism and other Sermons*,³ a series of discourses on a variety of subjects, "The true Imperialism," "Rest for Weary Feet," "Startling Absences," "The Baptism of Fire," etc., vivid, direct, arresting, bearing on every page the mark of the practised preacher, and as good to read as to listen to; another volume of pulpit discourses, *Immortality and other Sermons*,⁴ by a preacher of a different kind, the late Rev. Alfred Williams Momerie, which deals in a clear and penetrating way, now argumentative and aggressive, and again chastened and appealing, with the mysteries of life, death, the soul, resurrection, reunion, recognition, retribution, restoration, etc.—a volume containing many just and helpful things, though it looks at these great questions rather from the side of reason and literature than from that of

¹ London: A. & C. Black; Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 213. Price 1s. 6d. net.

² London: Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

³ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 277. Price 6s.

⁴ Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 307. Price 5s.

Scripture, and fails to do justice, as it seems to us, to the teaching of the New Testament on some of the more serious aspects of its subject; *Royal Manhood*,¹ by the Rev. James I. Vance, D.D., a collection of sensible and suggestive papers or addresses on such subjects as "The Majesty of Strength," "The Cause of the Weak," "The Religion of the Body," "The Ethics of a Smile," etc., thoroughly practical, written in a vigorous and telling style with pertinent illustrations from literature and from experience; a new edition of Pouchet's attractive and interesting volume on *The Universe*,² issued in handsome form, with numerous illustrations, carefully revised and edited by the competent hand of Professor J. R. Ainsworth Davis of Aberystwith; *Bibliographie der theologischen Literatur für das Jahr 1900, herausgegeben von Dr. G. Krüger, Professor in Giessen*,³ a remarkably complete and useful conspectus, prepared by Drs. von Baentsch, Clemen, Preuschen and others, reprinted in separate form from Krüger's *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, with an Appendix from the hand of Professor Nestle, which gives the death-roll for the period; a volume on *The Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus*,⁴ by R. Martin Pope, M.A., forming part of the "Books for Bible Students" series, and giving sensible and helpful notes on the Revised Version of these Epistles, well suited to the needs of students, lay preachers, and Christian laymen; *The People's Bible Encyclopedia*,⁵ a book certainly containing much in comparatively brief space, giving in concise form and popular terms all that most readers of the Bible are concerned to know of its biographical, geographical, historical and doctrinal terms, carefully edited by the Rev. C. Randall Barnes, D.D., and to be cordially commended as suitable for the classes in view; *Inns of Court Sermons*,⁶ a series of selected

¹ London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 251. Price 3s. 6d.

² London: Blackie & Son, 1902. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 576. Price 7s. 6d.

³ Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 343.

⁴ London: Charles H. Kelly, 1901. Pp. vii. + 248. Price 2s. 6d.

⁵ London: Charles H. Kelly. 8vo, pp. 1220.

⁶ London: Macmillan & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 228. Price 4s. 6d.

discourses by the Rev. H. C. Beeching, M.A., Professor of Pastoral Theology at King's College, London, most of which were preached by him (in his capacity of chaplain) in the chapel of Lincoln's Inn, a most readable and attractive volume, ranging over a considerable variety of subjects from "Religious Poetry" (a particularly fresh and suggestive discourse) to "Justification by Faith," sometimes overshooting the irenical mark (as when the attempt is made to harmonise the discrepant views of justification as *accounting* righteous and as *making* righteous), but generally characterised by just and stimulating reflection; *The Harvest of the Soul*,¹ by R. L. Bellamy, B.D., Vicar of Silkston, a sober and thoughtful essay on the doctrine of a future life, dealing in a careful and well-considered way with reward and punishment as *realisation* and as *state*, affirming what is termed the *consequential* aspect of punishment as well as the *corrective* and *vindictive*, and pointing to the considerations which make it doubtful "whether after death the separation from sin which is involved in true repentance will be more likely to take place than before death, or whether there is reasonable ground for thinking that it can then take place at all"; the third part of the very useful *Bibliographie der Theologischen Rundschau*,² carefully edited by Lic. Wilhelm Lueken; *die bleibende Bedeutung des Alten Testaments*,³ a pamphlet by Professor Emil Kautzsch of Halle, which gives a brief statement of the more important respects in which the traditional view of the Old Testament has been affected by modern criticism, especially as regards prophecy and, above all, pre-exilian prophecy, and indicates in a clear and judicious way what the change means and how the value of the Old Testament remains.

¹ London: Elliot Stock, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 97. Price 3s. 6d.

² 1901. Juli bis September. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 77-119. Price 9d.

³ Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. 38. Price 9d.

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Lotze's Philosophy, and its Theological Influence.¹

No one can question the real importance of a thinker to whom expositions and commentaries begin to be dedicated. Their appearance and number prove that the age recognises in him one who can state, if not solve, its pressing metaphysical problems in a way that commands intellectual homage. In his own country and in others this honour has been abundantly paid to Hermann Lotze. It may be true, as M. Schoen remarks, that while the study of the philosophy of Herbart, his precursor in Critical Realism, has been facilitated by a multitude of expository volumes, Lotze's system as a whole has not yet been made the subject of any great work. Yet the most enthusiastic disciple has really no cause to complain of the attention bestowed in recent years on Lotze's writings. Hardly any German philosopher has received such peculiarly prompt and careful service from translators. Even of considerable monographs there has been no lack. In 1888 von Hartmann devoted a fair-sized book to a detailed and trenchant examination of Lotze's philosophy, while in 1895 Prof. Jones of Glasgow published his brilliant, if unmitigatedly severe, review of Lotze's logical doctrines, the long-expected metaphysical supplement to which many would eagerly welcome. Apart from special works, the references to Lotze in histories of philosophy almost invariably rank him very high. He is acknowledged to have given a most powerful and salutary impulse to philosophy in various departments, and to have merited special

¹ *La Métaphysique de Hermann Lotze, ou la Philosophie des Actions et des Réactions réciproques.* Par Henri Schoen, Agrégé de l'Université d'Aix-Marseille. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. Pp. 291.

gratitude for his courageous resumption of the discredited problems of speculation in an age profoundly averse to metaphysics. All unite to recognise the singular purity of his intellectual conscience, and the width and liberality of his culture. A typical historian of modern philosophy describes his system as "the most fruitful and stimulating contribution to the movement of thought in Germany since Hegel, both from its clear systematic elaboration, and from the æsthetical and ethical principles upon which it is founded".¹

If his countrymen, as M. Schoen considers, are under a disadvantage compared with Germany and England in the study of Lotze, he could hardly have done a service more calculated to repair the defect than the writing of this book. He gave the public a taste of his quality some nine years ago in a work upon the historical origins of Ritschl's theology, a work which was executed with knowledge and accuracy, though marred here and there by a tendency to argue an indebtedness on Ritschl's part to previous thinkers where there existed only independent agreement. And perhaps in the present volume there is a kindred inclination to attribute results, theological and other, to the influence of Lotze, which were really due to the spirit working in contemporary thought. M. Schoen tells us how, in the course of his philosophical reading and reflection, he came early to the conclusion that the task of modern metaphysics must be to develop the germs of realism contained in the doctrine of Kant, and that he was induced to set forth the system of Lotze by the conviction that it is the best representative and embodiment of this realistic movement. He has done so with such enthusiasm, sympathy and insight that his book must be pronounced, upon the whole, the most useful and trustworthy on its subject. It is stronger in exposition, certainly, than in criticism, for Schoen makes no secret of his predilection for Lotze's methods and conclusions in the main. But it is an extremely able presentation of the

¹ Siebert, *Geschichte der neueren deutschen Philosophie*, p. 427.

philosophical work of an author who, in some respects, gains enormously by condensation. Schoen succeeds most admirably in detaching and rendering into French conciseness and lucidity the cardinal points of the ontology, cosmology and psychology of his author, praiseworthy attention also being paid to the philosophy of religion. The work has this mark of genuine ability and illuminating knowledge, that the reader will feel strongly impelled to pass from its pages to the study of the master himself. It is fitly dedicated to the venerated memory of Auguste Sabatier.

In one sense Lotze needs a commentary less than any other philosopher, though in the eyes of some this is not the least of his defects. He has been charged with sharing the fragmentariness and superficiality of the common consciousness, and no one need claim for him a too rigorous devotion to the systematic ideal. But at least he is intelligible to the ordinary reader, and, the business of philosophy being to interpret the experience which we actually have, it is not *prima facie* an unpardonable fault in him that he does not overturn any of our natural convictions. Many of the expressions which have led to his being accused of speculative indecision and antipathy to system are rather to be ascribed to his sober and genial sense of the limitations of human faculty, and his judicious scepticism about many of the faultlessly precise definitions in which an age of science takes delight; yet it may be freely granted that the bent of his mind was more analytic than synthetic. His severest critic (Hartmann) asserts that Lotze carries impartiality and caution to the length of never saying "Yea" without at the same time saying "Nay". "It is difficult," Prof. Jones complains, "to say whether he is an Idealist, or Realist, or both; and he has, quite naturally, been taken for a Materialist, for a champion of Orthodox theology, and also for an enlightened Agnostic."¹ It may be pleaded in extenuation that a similar difficulty was once found in placing Hegel, and indeed it appears to be the fate of the greater thinkers that

¹ *The Philosophy of Lotze*, p. 5.

rival schools should each insist on taking them for its heritage. These were the defects of Lotze's qualities as a *Vermittlungsphilosoph*. But aside from this seemingly inconsistent eclecticism, it may be confidently affirmed that a course of study under Lotze's guidance forms an incomparably valuable discipline. He is so genuine and persistent a critic. As Erdmann has said, "the reader of Lotze must make up his mind to find much which appeared to him indisputable truth described as uncertain, and, in the same way, much which he held as indisputably false represented as at least possible". His freedom from ambitious intellectual enthusiasms, his almost excessive antagonism to the inflexible demands of system, his distrust of a false simplicity of principle, his essentially modern sense of the complexity of life and experience, make him a writer from whom the novice especially can learn endless wisdom, while his contributions to special departments of philosophy will always compel the respect even of the unfriendly expert. There must be many who would confess that he first taught them to think, though they might complain later that he had not encouraged them to speculate. Nothing is more typical of his mind and temper than the saying that the business of a philosopher is not to ask "how being and reality are made," but to discover its activities, not to create the world, but to understand it.

Many of the elements in the system of Lotze only become intelligible when we take into account his attitude towards other German thinkers. There is in him a curious pre-Critical strain, which comes out, for example, in his assertion that the fact of being perceived is at bottom only one more relation into which things enter in addition to others; and it was this, presumably, which led Erdmann to suggest that Lotze has gone back to Leibnitz, and revived his monadology in its essentials, ignoring all that has happened in the interval. He himself, however, affirms that the purpose of his philosophy is to effect a synthesis between the thesis of the Hegelian idealism and the antithesis of the Herbartian realism, while it is probably correct to say that Weisse never

ceased to exercise a regulative influence upon his thought, especially on questions of theology. His fundamental standpoint, as is well known, is that of a teleological and ethical idealism for which the idea of the Supreme Good—which is conceived very definitely as Personal, and identified with the one all-comprehensive substance to which his investigation of causality leads him—is the sufficient reason for all that exists and happens. His metaphysic, therefore, strikes its deepest roots in ethics. Nothing could have been more timely than his work. He came to a generation which was hungry for facts, devoted to experience, half-intoxicated by the materialism which claimed to speak in the name of science, averse equally to the abstract idealism which would reduce all things into the transient pulsations of a single principle of thought, and to the inadequate mathematical methods of the Herbartian realism. These instincts he was peculiarly fitted to understand and satisfy by his profound knowledge of science, and his ineradicable conviction that even in metaphysics we must allow for art, poetry, and religion. He set himself accordingly both to stem the tide of Hegelianism and “to stay the Bacchic dance of the Materialists”. It is just this mediating and moderating spirit which, while (as with Bishop Butler) it may lessen the romance and confine the sweep of his thought, makes Lotze the practised and catholic-minded master of philosophical discussion that he is.

The influence of Lotze upon theology has been frankly declared to be pernicious and obscurantist. In Prof. Jones' language, theologians, ever ready to trust the heart against the head, find in Lotze “if not the last refuge, the latest hope”.¹ His advent has been hailed with profound relief and satisfaction by those “who had all along striven against the reduction of God, the soul of man, and the world into logical processes of thought”. And even those who would rank Lotze's services to philosophy very much higher than does Prof. Jones, are sometimes wont to represent him depreciatingly as a setter forth of doctrines palatable to the

¹ *The Philosophy of Lotze*, p. 4.

defenders of supernatural dogma. He is represented as having withdrawn the data of religion from the jurisdiction of reason as a merely formal function in our experience, and placed them in the sphere of a feeling which is simply incommensurable with thought. Are these things so? Does Lotze also remove knowledge to make room for belief? In answering this question we shall have to glance briefly at some characteristics of his theory of knowledge. We shall find that there is considerable ground for the charge that he teaches the subjectivity of cognition, and interposes an impassable gulf between thought and things; yet to counterbalance this there are compensations in his metaphysical doctrine for which his critics do not always sufficiently allow.

Interrogate Lotze simply as an epistemologist, and he is clearly an out-and-out Kantian in his conclusion that the objects of our knowledge are appearances and no more. Knowledge is but one species of reciprocal interaction, and the resultant of this cognitive collision between the mind and things is necessarily not an exact photograph of the outer world of reality, but coloured through and through by the nature of our knowing faculty. We know things, not as they are in themselves, but as they appear; absolute truth, such as may be given to angels and archangels, is for us an unattainable goal. Space, time, and motion do not really exist outside our minds; they are a translation into subjective terms of quite disparate objective relations, and the same may be said of cognition as a whole. Our ideas are properly the product of our own minds, stimulated indeed by external impressions, but resembling neither these impressions nor the things themselves from which they emanate. So far as his pure theory of cognition goes, then, Lotze is as convinced an advocate of the relativity of knowledge as Mr. Herbert Spencer. He speaks again and again as though in knowing the mind necessarily stood in its own light, and could not but do so from the very fact that it is a mind. "This relation of things to us we cannot eliminate," he says in one passage with what seems a tone of regret. Now by such habits of expression, by the repeated and emphatic use of

such phrases as "things themselves inaccessible to observation which we suppose to underlie our sensuous preception," "an invisible something which we suppose to be outside us," reality and intelligence are essentially divorced, and we are thrown back on that indeterminate and abstract idea of matter which plays so large a part in post-Cartesian philosophy. There can be no question, in view of many similar passages in his *Logic*, that Lotze is guilty of what Prof. Pringle-Pattison has called "the unpardonable philosophic sin—the assertion of the thing-in-itself as an unknown and unknowable kernel of reality".¹

How then does Lotze succeed in finally ascribing any truth to our knowledge at all? In one passage of the *Microcosmus* we find him arguing that though we cannot know the essence of things adequately, yet at least we can know them as causes of the impressions they make upon us. Each subjective phenomenon becomes an invitation to posit the existence of a real thing. Hypothesis is called in to enable us to divine what the essence of things *must be*. This results in the metaphysical conclusion that things, in order to be centres of action and explain the experience we have of them, must possess the capacity of suffering and self-enjoyment, in short must share with the human spirit in varying degrees the quality of self-hood. This hypothesis itself would be baseless, however, but for the act of faith which is inseparable from the very idea of knowledge, the supreme trust that we can attain to truth, and that reason may justly have confidence in her own powers. The objectivity of thought is saved in the last resort by the faith that the Good is also the most Real in the world, and that therefore knowledge cannot be a meaningless play of appearances. We are justified, accordingly, in obeying the principle *Wieviel Schein, soviel Hindeutung auf Sein*. Or as Lotze himself puts it, "all our conclusions concerning the real world rest upon the immediate confidence or the faith which we repose in the universal validity of a certain postulate of thought which oversteps the limits of the

¹ *Mind*, October 1895, p. 524.

special world of thought". This may be a roundabout way of rehabilitating a faculty which seemed to be discredited for ever, but at least that he should have taken it marks off Lotze's ultimate views of knowledge decisively from those of Mr. Herbert Spencer. The English thinker argues that while we are obliged to believe in the existence of an objective reality, manifesting itself to us under certain conditions, we yet are eternally condemned to ignorance of its real essence; Lotze reaffirms the ontological affinity of knowledge and being by a bold hypothesis springing from an act of faith. The difference, slight to begin with, carries the two philosophers far enough apart ere the end, until it is hardly too much to say that no metaphysician "of this generation is so far removed from the ultimate position of Spencerian agnosticism as is Lotze". He stands finally "committed to the possibility of knowledge that reaches not only to the bare fact of the Being of the Absolute, but also to the heart and essence of its qualifications. We know not only *that* God is, but we also know *what* He essentially and eternally is."¹

Lotze's theory of knowledge has received a somewhat adventitious importance from a well-known passage in Ritschl's great work, in which, after a rapid summary and criticism of the epistemological views of Plato and Kant, he professes his adherence to the positions arrived at by Lotze. "He holds"—so runs Ritschl's inaccurate epitome—"that in the phenomena which in a definite space exhibit changes to a limited extent and in a determinate order we cognize the thing as the cause of its qualities operating upon us, as the end which these serve as means, as the law of their constant changes."² The study of Ritschl's philosophical principles, as contrasted with his theology proper, is too unrewarding an occupation to detain us here; but it may be pointed out that he was mistaken in taking Lotze as opposed to the Kantian doctrine of the purely phenomenal character of knowledge; while on any rigorous interpretation of his

¹ Ladd, *New World*, September 1895, p. 409.

² *Justification and Reconciliation*, vol. iii., Eng. Trans., p. 19.

own language Ritschl himself must be understood as also teaching an essentially subjectivistic theory. And yet, so far as we can gather his general mind, it seems to have been his *intention* to ascribe to the theoretical reason a genuine and independent capacity of knowing the things to the action of which subjective phenomena are due. This view is confirmed by the interesting fact that an attached disciple felt it necessary to remonstrate with Ritschl upon the sinister realistic implications of this unreserved acceptance of Lotze's theory of knowledge; for, he argued, if you accept the epistemology you must likewise accept the metaphysic, which is organically bound up with it.¹

We may sum the matter up, then, by saying that so far as the mere theory of cognition is concerned, the influence of Lotze upon theological thought is at most ambiguous. A type of theological positivism which attempts to fence off the sphere of religion from reason altogether can claim his authority only when it neglects the realistic metaphysical inferences which form an integral part of his conclusions on the whole subject. On the other hand the pretensions of an abstract speculative theology find in him a consistent foe, who never ceases to affirm that human thought can in no wise constitute reality, but at best represents it imperfectly. The main source of his influence, indeed, is to be found not so much in any negative doctrine, as in his positive insistence on the part played by feeling, or rather perhaps, by feeling-coloured thought, both in the structure of experience and our estimate of its meaning.

In using such language, we must of course beware of giving any countenance to the idea that Lotze founded a school of theology. We cannot affirm that if he had never lived and written the course of theological progress would have been essentially different. Indeed, that part of his system which was to have dealt with ethics and the philosophy of religion was left unfinished at his death. He made no specific contributions to theology. What is meant is rather that in a

¹ Ecke, *Die theologische Schule Albrecht Ritschl's*, p. 50.

remarkable degree he had a profound sympathy with, and intellectual comprehension of, the religious needs of his time, and was in not a few instances the first to give powerful and suggestive expression to ideas which were germinating in the minds of the foremost contemporary theologians. He has not unjustly been styled the most Christian thinker among the philosophers. Take his formulation of the characteristic convictions of every religious mind—" (a) Moral laws embody the will of God, (b) Individual spirits are not products of nature, but are children of God, (c) Reality is more and other than the mere cause of nature, it is a kingdom of God"—and the truth of his insight into the genius of Christianity becomes unmistakable. Theologians instinctively perceive that Lotze, better than most, appreciates at their true value the interests which theology has to guard and advance.

Three reasons may be tentatively offered for the confidence and deference which have been shown to Lotze in recent years by theologians of a reflective type. The first is *his unquestioned eminence as a master of scientific method*. The apologetic work called for in modern times is directed, not primarily against speculative systems which profess to solve the world-problem without remainder, but against the forces of agnosticism and pessimism which proclaim that no rational solution, even in part, is a possible object of hope for the mind imbued with the genuine principles of science. Unfortunately the defenders of the faith are too often ignorant of the methods and results of that science which they aspire to dissociate from unbelief. All his life Lotze fought the Naturalism or Materialism which in the middle of the century was so confidently promulgated as the inevitable corollary of science; but he did so with the established reputation behind him of a brilliant and devoted investigator in physics and especially physiology. His scientific training gave him not only a consummate knowledge of the methods and principles of research, but his conception of the majesty of natural law.

The unreserved character of his adherence to the scientific point of view is clear from the fact that, even after he had

published, in the first sketch of his *Metaphysik*, the general philosophical conclusions to which he remained faithful throughout life, he vehemently defended physiological principles which led many to class him with the materialistic school of the day. This was in his *Allgemeine Physiologie* (1851). Here he adversely criticised the theory of vitalism—later discredited, but perhaps destined to enjoy another season of favour—and contended that the phenomena of life must be treated in thoroughgoing fashion as purely mechanical. This note of insistence upon the universal applicability of the principle of mechanism is heard again and again throughout his later works, and when combined with his equally unqualified assertion of the freedom of the will, leaves him, it may be, with an unsolved antinomy on his hands. But in itself he held the principle of universal mechanism to be innocuous. “The more,” he says, “I myself have laboured to prepare the way for acceptance of the mechanical view of nature in the region of organic life, the more do I now feel impelled to bring into prominence the other aspect which was equally near to my heart during all these endeavours”. He argues that if all nature is mechanical, all nature is likewise spiritual, and in famous words declares it his aim “to show *how absolutely universal is the extent*, and at the same time *how completely subordinate is the mission which mechanism has to fulfil in the course of the world*”.¹

The apologetic arguments of one who ranks as an outsider in science are apt to leave the chief difficulties arising from science untouched. His conclusions may be orthodox, but if his knowledge is mainly a matter of hearsay, they excite the suspicions of the thoughtful. It is something to be able to consult a man who, in his demonstration of the limits of scientific methods and categories, is speaking with the acknowledged authority of an expert.

Further, theologians have felt that Lotze knows and appreciates the *spiritual needs and instincts of the individual*. Pretentious systems which suppress or neglect those needs found in him

¹ *Microcosmus*, Introduction, pp. xv., xvi.

an irreconcilable foe. He protests against the sacrifice of "man's inalienable and highest aspirations" upon the altar of materialistic dogma. He revived the sense of wonder and mystery in speculative literature. He recalled the attention of our age to the presence of factors in human experience which cannot be defined, and yet must be allowed for in our interpretation of the whole. As it has been well put: "He regards all fundamental problems from a predominatingly æsthetical and ethical point of view, rather than from the purely or prevailingly ratiocinative". If Hegel construed all things in terms of thought, Lotze construed all things in terms of experience as a rich and varied whole.

This may be otherwise expressed by saying that, in Lotze's hands, the ontological argument changes into a great fundamental judgment of worth. "It is only the Good which has in itself the complete right to be, and this is recognised in a judgment or postulate of value, which carries us beyond the merely intellectual region into the domain of feeling." The conception of *worth*, indeed, is ubiquitous in Lotze's philosophy. As M. Schoen remarks, there are no terms, after the central term of *Wechselwirkung* (reciprocal action), which recur so frequently on his pages as *Werth* and *Werthurteil*. Here ethics and religion take their rise. Even for the work of knowledge proper this conception is fundamental; we are led to regard the universe as a consistent whole, not by the demands of an uninterested understanding, but "by the inspirations of a *reason appreciative of worth*".¹ This is both true and capable of development into a coherent and impressive theory, but the aspect of things changes when we find that the feeling to which the judgment of value is elsewhere ascribed is unambiguously declared by Lotze to be mere pleasure or pain;² and it is here, we may venture to affirm, that the Achilles heel of the theory in his formulation of it may be detected. It is one thing to say that judgments of

¹ *Microcosmus*, i., p. 244.

² *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*, p. 123.

value originate in a reason which is coloured by feeling; it is quite another to maintain that they spring from the feeling of pleasure and pain, and press reason into their service merely as a formal instrument.

In Lotze's own writings we have hardly more than the beginnings of a religious or dogmatic application of these conclusions. He makes tentative use of them indeed in stating his views on conditional immortality, and there is a still more suggestive reference to the revision they entail in the doctrine of the Person of Christ.¹ Not that Lotze was the first to emphasise the importance of the idea of worth in the religious domain. It has been traced back to Luther, and it is expressed with growing clearness in the works of Kant, Schleiermacher, De Wette, and Rothe; but perhaps Lotze may be said to have made it current coin. *Das Werthvolle allein das wahrhaft Seiende* is a principle to which he sometimes fairly commits himself. No one can miss the influence of his formulations upon the thought and language of Ritschl. Take a statement like Lotze's: "What we mean by value in the world lies wholly in the feeling of satisfaction or of pleasure which we derive from it," and lay it alongside the classical passages on the subject in Ritschl's *Justification and Reconciliation*, vol. iii., chap. iv., and the close relationship is undeniable. And when we find Scheibe justly and sympathetically summing up the gist of Ritschl's theory in these words: "Religious knowledge is given by value-judgments upon that which God is for us, i.e., by the feelings of pleasure which we connect with the thought of God,"² nothing more is needed to prove how easily theology on such terms may become infected throughout with the individual subjectivity of Hedonism.

It is well known that of recent years an extraordinary amount of profitable and fructifying discussion has circled round this theme. Real progress has been made in detaching the important truth that the apprehension of spiritual

¹ *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*, p. 172.

² *Die Bedeutung der Werthurtheile*, p. 11.

realities is spiritually and morally conditioned, from its compromising association with theories which regard reason as an outsider in matters of faith. There was once a tendency in certain quarters to ask how far this or that doctrine satisfies our religious sentiment, rather than what constitutes its objective truth. Lotze was careful to insist that such value-judgments must never come into collision with the ascertained facts of science; but with certain inconsiderate members of the modern school the value of an object of faith has been held to be a decisive reason, *pro* or *contra*, in judging of its existence. We have no space here to speak of the various contributions made to the elucidation of the subject by Herrmann, Kaftan, Otto Ritschl, or Garvie. But it may be observed that a remarkably luminous and valuable addition to the relevant literature has recently been made by Reischle in his book *Werturteile und Glaubensurteile*. By drawing so clear a distinction as he does between the *feeling* of worth as an inner psychological experience, and the *judgment* of worth as actually affirmed, he has removed a fatal barrier to genuine progress; and it may be confidently expected that others will follow, with good hopes of making positive headway, in the new path which he has struck out.

The third source of Lotze's influence upon theology has been *the thoroughly positive character of his thought*. On this topic a few sentences must suffice. We have seen above, indeed, that in some ways Lotze might be fairly designated an agnostic, were it not that in default of demonstration he falls back on belief. So that while he turns his wholesome distrust of human omniscience successively against science, idealism, and a too self-reliant theology, about the positive character of his final conclusions there can be no doubt whatever. His Theism is uncompromising. It is likewise somewhat original in its statement, and the student observes with interest that Ritschl's philosophical defence of the Personality of God is drawn straight from Lotze, who formulates its main tenet succinctly thus: "Perfect personality is in God only, to all finite minds there is allotted but a pale copy thereof; the finiteness of the finite is not a producing con-

dition of this personality but a limit and a hindrance of its development".¹

To take another example, the positive character of Lotze's conclusions, especially where they border on religion, is very clear from the importance he ascribes to the Kingdom of God. We owe M. Schoen special acknowledgments for the admirable section of his work in which he exhibits the union effected in Lotze's idea of the Kingdom of God between two previous conceptions—Kant's moral association of mankind, and Schleiermacher's notion of the Supreme Good in which the duties of the earthly life are combined with the hopes of another world. This complex idea is subordinated by Lotze, in his religious philosophy, to the Spiritual Monism to which he was ultimately led by his examination of causality and which dominates his entire system. In this light, the different phases of human progress, moving onwards to a supreme common and spiritual end, are seen to be only different phases of the development of the Absolute Personality which embraces them all. It can hardly have been accidental that during the years following the publication of the *Microcosmus* a series of important studies on the subject of the Kingdom of God began to be published in Germany by such men as Holtzmann and Lipsius. Since then the same idea has been placed by Ritschl and his school at the very centre of the dogmatic system.

These are but illustrations of the convinced and positive spirit which breathes through Lotze's religious philosophy, and which naturally has attracted the confidence of thoughtful students of theology. Other illustrations of the same temper might be found both in his unwavering assertion of moral freedom—despite universal mechanism on the one hand, and Spiritual Monism on the other—and in his express vindication of personal and conscious immortality. But enough has been said to prove how completely this philosopher was in sympathy with the instincts of piety. He gave powerful and reasoned

¹ This argument has recently been subjected to an extremely acute and suggestive criticism by Mr. McTaggart in his *Studies in Hegelian Cosmology*.

expression to convictions which ought to find a place in our theories corresponding to that which they have in life. And if he sometimes seems to betray a disabling and sceptical sense of the incompetency of reason to apprehend the divine reality which lies behind the veil of phenomena, it was but the irresistible reaction from the dialectical excesses of Hegelianism. To-day it is realised that Idealism erred when it put its whole trust in thought, to the exclusion of faith and feeling and will ; without Lotze this error might have had to wait still longer for its detection and exposure.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

**Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum A.T. herausgegeben von
D. Karl Marti.**

Josua erklärt von Lic. Dr. H. Holzinger. 8vo, pp. xxii. + 103.
Price M.2.50.

**Das Buch Hiob neu übersetzt und kurz erklärt von
Friedrich Delitzsch.**

Ausgabe mit sprachlicher Kommentar. Leipzig, 1902. Price
M.6.

Palästinischer Diwan.

Von Gustaf H. Dalman. Leipzig, 1901. Price M.9.

DR. HOLZINGER'S *Josua* consists of an introduction and a commentary, both brief. The introduction, after discussing the usual questions, concludes with a full and useful table shewing the distribution of the text among the different sources. Each large section of the commentary is divided into three parts, the first containing the Textual Criticism, the second the Higher Criticism, and the third the Exegesis. This arrangement has a good deal to recommend it, and in a short commentary it does not often cause serious inconvenience, for it is easy to look from one note to the other. The textual notes make full use of the Peshitta as well as of the different recensions of the LXX. The notes on the analysis of the documents go fully into the difficulties, and form the most important part of the book. The exegetical notes owing to the exigences of space are very brief.

The commentary is of course open to some adverse criticisms. It is a pity, *e.g.*, that Holzinger has accepted without hesitation Hollenberg's explanation of chap. v. 9 as referring to the circumcision of the people described in vv. 2-8. The expression "I have rolled away" suggests

that some action of *rolling* is referred to. What else could this be but the rolling of the memorial stones into their place at Gilgal (iv. 20)? And what "reproach of Egypt" is known to us from the Hexateuch, but the reproach that the Lord was not able to bring His people into the promised land (Exod. xxxii. 12; Deut. ix. 28)? The rolling of the stones into their place in Gilgal was the sign that the Lord had fulfilled His promise. But the commentary as a whole is very good, the treatment of geographical points, *e.g.*, being very careful (see the notes on x. 3-12, xi. 1-5).

Friedrich Delitzsch has written on Job in a welcome spirit of independence. The book was composed in Constantinople, away from the author's library, and has probably gained more than it has lost from the circumstances under which it arose. The text is re-arranged in three parts. First we have the prose beginning and end put together as the *Volkserzählung* of Job. Next comes the bulk of the book under the title, *Das Gedicht Iob oder das Hohelied des Pessimismus*. Lastly in appendices are given the speeches of Elihu, the "Origin of Wisdom" (chap. xxviii.), and the descriptions of the ostrich, the hippopotamus, and the crocodile (chaps. xxxix.-xli.). Quite brief notes are added to the text at the foot of the page, while at the end of the little book a "sprachlicher Kommentar" of fifty pages is given in which considerable use is made of the editor's knowledge of Assyrian. Dr. Delitzsch believes that the text of the book of Job is not nearly so corrupt as some recent critics have supposed, and we find no violent rewriting of such passages as chap. xix. 25-27. Sometimes, however, violence is done in translating, *e.g.*, in chap. xl. 20, "Ja, die Geschöpfe der Berge *mögen* ihn *feiern mit Reigentanz*". For this translation of *יִשְׁנֹן* Dr. Delitzsch appeals to chap. xxi. 12, but in vain.

Dr. Dalman's book is doubly welcome, since it serves a double purpose. It is in the first place a valuable chrestomathy of the Arabic used in modern Palestine, and in the

second place it supplies us with fresh texts, from which we may gather illustrations of the language and thought of some parts of the Old Testament. Dalman's original intention was to collect songs which offer parallels for passages in Canticles, but the collection grew in his hands and soon passed these limits. Certainly nothing could answer better to the compiler's first design than the song of thirty-eight lines called "Preis der Schönheit," which was communicated by a peasant to Rev. W. Christie of Aleppo and by him imparted to Dalman. The face of the fair one is here likened to the new moon (*cf.* Cant. vi. 10), her dark hair is praised (*ib.* vi. 5), and after mention of almost every part of the body the singer concludes (*cf.* iv. 7) with :

hādi ausāf ezzēn mābu zilālī (page 111).

(This is the description of beauty ! There is no blemish in it !)

The same song contains parallels to Cant. vii. 2a [Heb. 3a] (שֹׁרֵד), 3 [Heb. 4] (שֹׁדֵד).

Another song (page 106) supplies a parallel for Prov. v. 19 (וְדִידָה יִרְדָּךְ), a woman says to her lover

win tschunt 'atschān maijit nhūdi dūālib.

(Und wenn du durstig bist, künde ich an das Wasser meiner Brüste, die wie Schöpfträder sind.)

On page 159 is an interesting little "Song of Ascents" to Mecca !

Up ! journey on ! O Emir of Damascus !

Here is no abiding-place !

There is no place but in Mecca !

Upon Mecca be peace !

O peace, greet with peace

Him who is shaded with the clouds (*i.e.*, Mohammed) !

Every student of the Old Testament who contemplates visiting Palestine should devote some time to the study of Dr. Dalman's most suggestive book.

W. EMERY BARNES.

**Dogmatik von D. Julius Kaftan, Professor der Theologie
in Berlin. Dritte und vierte verbesserte Auflage.**

*Tübingen und Leipzig : Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr. London :
Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. viii. + 656. Price
9s. net.*

THIS is the second, or rather *these* are the third and fourth improved *Auflagen* of Professor Kaftan's work. The first (and second) appeared in 1897. It is, by the way, a somewhat puzzling custom which some German publishers have adopted of describing a work, at its very first appearance, as in its first and second Auflage or edition ; and at its second appearance as in the third and fourth Auflage. Unless there is an understanding that an Auflage means a certain fixed number, and the description referred to simply means that twice the number have been printed, the custom is surely open to abuse.

Professor Kaftan is often regarded and referred to as a Ritschlian. In some respects doubtless he is ; but though his development, as he himself frankly acknowledges, was greatly influenced by Ritschl—and what German theologian of the present day has not come more or less under the spell of that strong, masterful mind?—still he is in his way no less an independent thinker than any one of his predecessors.

Superficially examined the table of contents leaves the impression that the work keeps pretty closely to traditional lines. The old familiar *loci* are all there ; the Prolegomena also, dealing with the usual topics. As compared with the systems of Dorner or Frank or Beck or even Kähler it wears quite an old-fashioned look. But careful scrutiny, even of the table of contents, much more of the contents themselves, will bring to light considerable, not to say radical differences, both of presuppositions, method and results.

An unsophisticated student of Systematic Theology will

often feel as if he had for once come across a thoroughly sound German divine, and be ready to rub his hands with delight, till he compares notes and tries to think himself first into, and then out of, it: afterwards he may possibly not be quite so sure.

Professor Kaftan's work is not ill reading, but it is not easy understanding. The successive steps seem clear enough and to follow on each other, for the most part, without break; and yet, somehow, one is left in a kind of fog. Perhaps it is because the reader has not succeeded in divesting himself for the time being of his old prepossessions; or is it because the author goes beyond the usual limit in the *Umdeutung* of traditional terms?

It has been very customary with Systematic Theologians to make a great show of deducing one *locus* from another by means of a sort of speculative logic, beginning, of course, with the doctrine of God and ending with Eschatology. That a strict concatenation is possible and ought to be attempted seems to have been hitherto silently taken for granted—not merely by Hegelians like Marheinecke and Biedermann, or Schleiermacherians like Schweizer, but also by Lutherans like Philippi and Kahnis, of whom the last-named defines the aim of dogmatics to be to “present the doctrines or dogmas of the Lutheran Church in systematic form, *i.e.*, to develop and demonstrate them out of principles”; and by mediating theologians like Dorner and Frank, of whom the last-named says, “the task of Systematic Theology is to know and exhibit Christian Truth in its essence and connection”. From this assumption Kaftan dissents. Not that he objects to a unity; on the contrary, he maintains that the unity recognised by him is of so strict a nature that no factor of it, nor any group of factors, can be properly understood save in the light of the remaining factors or groups. It is a question, however, not of the construction of a systematic scheme, but solely of the best mode of arranging the several *loci*. Kaftan would not indeed go so far as Strauss, who in his worst satirical vein, compares some of these systems to “sausages of which orthodox doctrine supplies the flesh, Schleiermacher's theo-

logy the bacon-fat and Hegel's philosophy the seasoning"; but he does characterise the unity accomplished as a "Phantasterei".

Whilst Professor Kaftan's presuppositions and mode of treating the point just touched on provoke my dissent, the kernel of his contention seems to me true. Indeed, I have been long of the opinion that Systematic Theology is rather a conglomerate of fragments of several sciences (or as is the vogue to put it, *philosophy of them*) whose principle of association is their more or less close relation to God, than a philosophically or scientifically articulated system.

What is needed, however, is just the full logical carrying out of a traditional assumption which Professor Kaftan pronounces untenable, namely, that "the Christian knowledge of God and the scientific knowledge of the world can be objectively reduced to a self-consistent whole". A true philosophy, that is, to quote the words of T. H. Green, "a fully articulated conception of the world as rational," would be just such a whole. In such a whole every true element of Systematic Theology would not only find a place but be seen to fill a gap which would effectually prevent the rational articulation of the world and its history.

Professor Kaftan's definition of dogmatics introduces us at once to what is perhaps the most distinctive feature of his work: "It is a science of the Christian God-faith (Gottesglauben), not a science of God". Elsewhere referring to the same point, he says: "The prevailing view, however, is different. According to it dogmatics is the science *not* of faith and *its* knowledge, but of the objects of faith. Faith is, indeed, pretty generally presupposed. But dogmatics is supposed to help us to a scientific knowledge of the realities of which, so far as they affect us subjectively, we are assured by faith; otherwise expressed it is expected to help to a knowledge that is objective, that is directed to their objective connection with each other." "This view," he adds, "must be rejected because it fails to do justice to the peculiar nature and conditions of faith-knowledge. It is the business of dogmatics, indeed, to set forth such knowledge with greater

precision and exactness than faith gives to it ; but it is faith-knowledge, in its connection with the life of the believer, that forms its subject. For otherwise, the reality on which in the last instance all the realities rest with which we have here to do, namely, God is not *given* (gegeben), is not ours at all. To want 'objective' knowledge of Him and of the connection of everything actual with Him is to treat *Wissen*, i.e., scientific knowledge instead of faith, as the proper and adequate mental (geistig) means of coming to God—which is incompatible with the evangelical or Protestant conception of Christianity."

The current assumption certainly is (1) that theology is concerned supremely with God Himself, and (2) that as sense is the organ by which the physical cosmos is apprehended, so faith is the organ by which God is apprehended. But Kaftan is not content with this. This he holds to be a slighting of "faith"; this is to fail in appreciation of its true evangelical significance, which lies in a direction of which Luther caught glimpses, but of which the vast majority of theologians since his day have betrayed woeful ignorance.

It was Schleiermacher, he thinks, who first recognised the fact that dogma is faith-knowledge, and that the aim of dogmatics is not a scientific knowledge of the objects of faith that transcends faith. His design was to make the system of faith (Glaubenslehre) independent of philosophy and to secure for it a distinctive position among theological *disciplinae* as the science of the Church. He failed, however, to see that Glaubenssätze or faith-propositions contain and express *real knowledge*, not merely pious states; and that, correspondingly, dogmatics conveys real knowledge.

Ritschl's merit, on the other hand, Kaftan thinks, was that of recognising the place and function of faith as piety without overlooking its place and function as real knowledge. At the same time he allows that Ritschl laid too great stress on what he called value-judgments. That a large proportion of simple judgments are value-judgments, i.e., judgments in which things are estimated according to their direct value for ourselves, or their relation to recognised ideals, in which, that is, the value to us is treated or affirmed as a quality of

the things, is certain; but to say as Ritschl did that the religious view of the world is formed by value-judgments was a mistake; for it is formed rather by judgments of being (*Seinesurtheile*); it is knowledge in the strict sense, flowing from the knowledge *that* God is and *what* God is.

The question now naturally arises, what is this faith, this faith-knowledge, this God-faith, of which dogmatics is the science?

It is by no means easy to unify all Professor Kaftan's descriptions of, and allusions to, these points. Indeed, were I not restrained by the presumption that a theologian of such repute must know what he is about, I should be disposed to affirm that they cannot be unified. I will, however, do my best to represent him fairly.

Faith and revelation, he says, are so closely connected that to understand one the other also must be understood. But as faith lies nearer to us, and is immediately given, it is necessary to begin with it. Now faith is present wherever a man experiences what is involved in the two facts of reconciliation and the kingdom of God. These experiences bring knowledge of God, of His nature and will. In faith, therefore, these experiences, which denote a revolution of the inner life, and this knowledge are combined, though the experience is the primary element. Revelation corresponds. It neither presupposes nor consists in a communication of doctrine; else doctrine would be the object of faith. Whereas God, God too as He acted for man's redemption, that is, for man's reconciliation and the establishment of His kingdom in the leading of Israel, in the mission of Jesus and in the out-pouring of the Spirit, is the constitutive element of revelation. In and with it truth is communicated—not otherwise. Where faith is awakened, *i.e.*, where men let themselves be reconciled and called to the kingdom of God, knowledge also is bestowed.

This knowledge, however, does not rest on the objective apprehension of the actual, that is, of God, and the working up of the impressions thence derived, but on an inner personal living experience of a peculiar kind, in an inner practical rela-

tion to God. Hence it is termed faith, not *Wissen* or reasoned knowledge.

Yet it not only includes knowledge, but *is* knowledge in the strict sense of the term. It is knowledge in the sense of appropriating or forming judgments with the accompanying assumption that they are true, *i.e.*, that they correspond to an actuality which is given (*gegeben*) outside the knower. A believer takes for granted that his faith is full and proper knowledge. Religion itself would perish were this uncertain.

“The object of the knowledge which faith gains is not the inner (experience and) life of the believer, but God—God the most objective of all realities. The paradox of faith is that whilst it rests on the most inward and therefore most subjective experiences of the personal life, it asserts, yea, justly asserts, its object to be the most objective of all objects and therefore to be objective, world-embracing truth.” The knowledge enclosed in faith is knowledge of God, and as such the highest and most comprehensive knowledge possible to man. Few will quarrel with Kaftan's application of the word paradox to faith, if this be faith.

The fuller appreciation of this paradox may be aided by a brief exhibition of his theory of knowledge and certitude in general, to which, as the key to his system, he himself calls special attention.

There are two great species of knowledge, the one the knowledge of nature set forth in the *Naturwissenschaften*; the other the knowledge of mind (*Geist*) set forth in the *Seineswissenschaften*. *Knowledge of Nature* becomes ours through the senses and by experience which things force on us. As it can be tested by experiment, and is subject to mathematics, it claims rigid objectivity. *Knowledge of mind*, whether in other men or in history, becomes ours only in a limited degree through the senses, so far, namely, as it embodies itself—for example, in language. A subjective factor always enters into it, quite foreign to natural science. This subjective factor grows, moreover, with the growth of the importance and inwardness of the life-sphere which is the object of knowledge.

Its influence culminates in the domain of ethics and religion.

But the greater the scientific objectivity, the greater the relativity and the less the confidence of the knowledge; for as Goethe puts it, "ins Innere der Natur dringt kein geschaffener Geist". Whereas the greater the subjectivity, the less the relativity and the fuller the confidence of our knowledge. For in such knowledge, that is, in the knowledge of man and his history, we know ourselves.

"Science cannot pursue its course through the kingdom of the actual to the end without arriving at the point where it touches on, nay, enters the domain of personal conviction. And this is the link of connection between it and personal faith with its knowledge of God, that knowledge in which all knowledge is consummated."

Considered in itself the knowledge of God must, of course, be the final and highest knowledge possible to man. Such is the knowledge of God attained by and in faith.

In a word, faith being rooted in an inner practical experience of an altogether peculiar kind, is characterised by *subjectivity* in the highest degree; and yet it is, or contains, knowledge of the most *objective* of all possible objects—namely, God; and is the most certain of all forms of knowledge, nay, more, is marked by such absolute conviction that everything relative disappears.

If this be the case, and Kaftan reiterates it in a bewildering variety of ways, the tables are turned with a vengeance on agnosticism and scepticism. For, as he says, "knowledge is always knowledge," though every kind of knowledge is attained under different conditions.

Often as Professor Kaftan recurs to the subject thus very briefly touched on, he does not seem to me to make at all clear what it is to *know God* in faith, to have faith-knowledge, as distinguished from knowing God through the inner experiences which He works in us in response to faith, that is, when we fulfil the practical conditions which are summarily denoted by the word faith. Nay, more, there seems to me to be an element of exaggeration, of mystical paradox, in many of his statements which may possibly supply disciples with *Schlagwörter*, but will scarcely minister to true edification.

Many, very many other points, both in the Prolegomena and in the body of the work, well deserve notice, partly in the way of dissent, partly in that of agreement; but I must now restrict myself to one.

This is the unclearness of the position assigned to Scripture. Whilst he says that dogmatics is as bound to and determined by Scripture as any kind of real knowledge is bound to and determined by the object to which it relates, yet no proposition is allowed to be drawn directly from Scripture because faith intervenes between it and Scripture; whilst Scripture is represented as "the only and proper *principium cognoscendi* of Christian dogmatics, because it is the only authentic documentary record of the historical revelation of God," yet criticism must be allowed a free hand in dealing with almost everything that Scripture contains. If the Scripture representations of the Divine dealings with man are as affected by fancy, mistake, colouring for party purposes, forgetfulness, exaggeration and so on as criticism maintains, how can they act as a revelation of God, unless it be in some magical, mystical way that is independent alike of intelligence and conscience, truth and right?

The second is recognition of the service done by the school of Ritschl in general and by Kaftan in particular in opposing the *doctrinalism* which has been such a hindrance to Christianity and asserting the claims of experience and life as a true and trustworthy source of the knowledge of God.

His work, let me add, is unquestionably stimulating and suggestive, though difficult not so much to read as to grip. Its warmth of tone, ethical elevation and fulness of assurance with regard to God as revealed particularly in Christ, will doubtless make it helpful to many who either cannot grasp its teaching as a whole, or whom that teaching, if understood, will scarcely satisfy.

D. W. SIMON.

The Philosophy of the Christian Religion.

By A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., LL.D., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902. 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 583. Price 12s.

THIS is a great book on a great subject by one who is an acknowledged master in theological science, and who has already earned the gratitude of all interested in the progress of religious thought by the valuable contributions to theology that have come from his pen. The work forms the fitting crown of Principal Fairbairn's past labours in the elucidation and defence of Christian truth, and contains the result of a lifetime's reflection, experience and study. It is by no means easy reading. It is packed with thought expressed in language which, while always dignified and worthy of the subject, is often severely technical. The very fulness of the author's mind leads him to analyse and expand and illustrate the thought to an extent that is apt to obscure the course of the argument. And the reader becomes weary in the effort to catch the sense of the balanced antithetic clauses and the compact generalised forms of statement that are characteristics of his style. But it is almost ungracious to refer to these matters when there is spread before us so rich a feast of good things as this volume contains. If it is difficult, it is also most stimulating reading. The author discusses a multitude of topics and has something fresh to say about every one of them. We know no book published in late years that can be compared with it for wealth of thought, extent of learning and original insight as well as largeness of view and sustained brilliancy of exposition. The author is equally at home in the handling of great principles of truth and in the marshalling of details and facts that bear on their illustration.

The book may be regarded as a continuation of the author's last work on the *Place of Christ in Modern Theology*. Its object is to restate the doctrine of the Person of Christ in terms that exhibit and justify, "the place He holds and the functions He has fulfilled in the life of man, collective and individual" (p. 17). "The secret of such a Personality," he says, "is not explained when historical science and literary art have combined to tell the story of the life He lived, or of how He was conceived in ages of imaginative faith and metaphysical enthusiasm; but only when such a coherent conception of Him is reached as will show Him in organic relation to the whole system of things" (p. 17). The principle underlying the entire discussion is that "the conception of Christ stands related to history as the idea of God is related to nature, *i.e.*, each is in its own sphere the factor of order, or the constitutive condition of a rational system" (p. 18). The aim of the author then is to establish such a conception of Christ as illustrates the supreme place He fills in the life of man, the universal function He discharges, the completeness with which He answers to the idea of One who is to be the Founder of a universal religion.

This is a most fruitful field of enquiry, and one to which the best thought of our day is turning. The defects of the old formulated statements of the Person of Christ are well known and have often been set forth. What is needed is a restatement of the doctrine based on a fresh interpretation of the Person on such lines as are suggested above, that will, from a different point of view and with the aid of new conceptions, do the same justice to that sense of the infinite worth of Christ that is rendered by, though imperfectly expressed in, the metaphysical formulæ of the early Councils.

It is impossible in a brief notice to convey a proper idea of the vast field covered by this book. I can only indicate the main course of the argument. The volume consists of two parts. The first, occupying one half of the book, deals with "Questions in the Philosophy of nature and mind which affect belief in the Supernatural Person".

Starting from the presupposition of Christian theology that

Jesus is a supernatural Person, the author is met at the outset with the question, whether the idea of the supernatural is compatible with the scientific view of nature which "admits no miracle, knows no supernatural". An idealist in philosophy, Dr. Fairbairn has no difficulty in showing that there is a transcendental element involved in our view of nature and man. Thought, reason, mind is prior to nature. Again, will in man is a moral cause and is not to be measured by nature but transcends it. "But the transcendental in philosophy is the correlate of the supernatural in theology". The philosophical analysis of personality thus discloses the reality of the supernatural; and this element in man it is that gives to personality in every sphere its creative power. "It is consonant with man's nature and God's method of forming and reforming it that He should send a supreme Personality as the vehicle of the highest good to the race. If a Person has appeared in history who has fulfilled this function, how can He be more fitly described than as the Son of God and the Saviour of the race?"

As far then as the *formal* elements of the Person of Christ are concerned, these are conceived by the author to be the same as those of any other person, the difference being the fulness in Him of that ideal or supernatural element which enters in measure into every personality. This is the assumption of the argument all through the book. The term *supernatural* is here used in the philosophical sense, not as the antithesis but as the complement of the natural, "the causal existence, the Permanent Reality that binds man and nature together and determines the ideas that govern men" (p. 30). Dr. Fairbairn declines to discuss the miraculous as distinguished from the supernatural so defined and understood. The religious or ideal significance of miraculous events so-called is alone of interest to him. This, the view-point of the idealistic philosophy, is maintained throughout the volume.

The chapters following, on the "Problem of Evil in its bearings on the Religious Question," are amongst the most interesting and helpful of all, and glow with that moral passion that makes the book as a whole most impressive

reading. While vindicating the goodness of God in creating the world and in maintaining the conditions that allow moral evil to come into the world and continue in it, the author holds we are not to shrink from affirming the responsibility of God to His creatures for the system under which evil has been introduced, the Incarnation and the continued action of God in grace pointing to this as a root-conception of the New Testament.

This brings us to the chapter on the "Philosophy of History". In history we see the continued creative activity of God at work in the world, seeking to realise in men the ideals that make for freedom and righteousness. God carries on this work by the influence of ideas that have power to master the impulses of nature, and also through individual men who embody these ideas. And if the question arises, whence have ideas the power to take possession of men's minds and to incorporate themselves in man's conduct, the answer is, Religion. To understand man and the powers that move him to a higher life, we must understand religion.

We are then conducted to the deeply instructive chapters on the "Philosophy of Religion" which occupy the rest of this division of the book. Here the reader feels he is on ground that Principal Fairbairn has made in a pre-eminent sense his own. His familiarity with every phase of thought in which men have set forth their religious ideas, and every sort of practice associated with the worship of the Deity, is indeed remarkable. He illustrates very strikingly and at length the supreme place of religion in the life of the world. "It is the organising idea of society," "the commanding idea of human conduct," "the imperial idea of our thinking," "the force which holds the whole social system together" (p. 192). "It is in his religion that man knows himself man, and through it he realises his manhood." "He who can create its most perfect form is a supreme benefactor" (pp. 197-199).

Religion has a common and single root. But if so, how have we such a multitude of religions? The author mentions several causes which work for variation. But chief of these must be recognised the action of personalities, men of creative

genius. This leads to the discussion of the historical religions which are distinguished from those that are spontaneous, or due to the action of the common reason, by this mark, that they go back to historical personalities as their founders.

It is interesting now to note what in our author's view is necessary that a historic personality be the founder of a religion. He must be a creative genius, "in whom there is such a transcendence of local conditions as cannot be explained by the completest inheritance of the past, a personality that so embodies a new ideal as to awaken in man the imitative passion and the interpretative imagination" (p. 263). The founder is distinguished from the reformer. What changes the reformer into the founder is not so much his own act as his people's, "the creative action of his personality on their imagination forcing them to invest him with Divine functions and attributes". The founder must not only have a *historical* value for the religion. He must have also an *ideal* value for it, embodying for man the ultimate truth it concerns him to know. His position as a founder is, properly speaking, due to the act of the society by whom the historical personality has been idealised and made the "interpretative and normative term of the highest religious ideas" (p. 265). A founded religion thus may be defined as a religion whose "ultimate truth is an historical person speculatively considered" (p. 265). There are but three founded religions, Buddhism, Mohammedanism and Christianity. And in each of these it is the *ideal* significance of the person that determines the essential value of the founder to man and religion, the supreme relation in which he is conceived by the worshipper to stand to God, and to the ends of human life (p. 287).

We have now reached the second part of the book—on the "Person of Christ and the Making of the Christian Religion". This, in accordance with what has been said is divided into two sections, the Person of Christ *historically* considered, and the Person of Christ *interpreted*, or the "creation of the Christian religion through the apostolic construction of Jesus as the Christ". The result of the whole is summed up in

the concluding section on the "comparison of the elements and ideas in this interpretation with those most constitutive in the ideal of religion as conserved and exemplified in the historical religion".

First, we have a discussion at length of the historic Figure of Christ as presented in the Synoptic Gospels, in which, from various points of view, the author seeks to illustrate the perfect unity of the natural and supernatural elements in the Person of Christ that characterises the Gospel picture. All here is admirable and suggestively put. But the argument is over-weighted by the redundancy of detail in the author's references to Gospel incident and fact. We often cannot see the wood for the trees. The teaching of Jesus is summarised in a few pages of great beauty; but it is urged with great force that, however original and impressive, that teaching alone could not have created Christianity. It was not as a teacher that Jesus founded His religion. The significant claims He made for Himself while representing a sovereignty that only a singular relation to the Father could justify, are of themselves insufficient to explain the founding of His religion. "Claims which are to rule the mind and the conscience must have as their ultimate basis not a spoken word, but an idea which appeals to the reason and satisfies the reason to which it appeals." It is then the later or higher teaching in the New Testament, which contains that interpretation of the Christ, which may be described as the creation of the Christian religion.

We come then to the important chapter on the apostolic interpretation of Christ. Our author does not state very definitely what that interpretative idea of Christ is that is common to John, Paul, and the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, who are mainly responsible for what is known as apostolic doctrine. It may, however, be said in general, that these writers agree in ascribing to Christ a divine dignity and pre-eminence in virtue of which He is to them the central term in a theology or system of religious thought, and the source of a new world of ideas about God and man that became the basis of universal religion. By this interpre-

tation of the transcendental element in the Person of Christ, the historical individual was transformed into a universal, *i.e.*, an absolutely supernatural and creative Personality.

The conclusion to which we seem to be brought by Principal Fairbairn's reasoning is that we must regard the *apostles* as, properly speaking, the founders of Christianity, inasmuch as we owe to them that interpretation of the historical Christ that accounts for the supremacy which belongs to Him in the Christian religion. If inquiry is now made as to the *origin* of the apostolic idea, the author proceeds to show that it cannot be the product of any one mind, still less can it be the result of a mythologising process. The source of it, he contends, is the "mind of Christ. He is the logical premise of the Epistles. . . . In His teaching lie the principles they develop" (p. 425). The brief statement of the author on this important part of his subject will not command the assent of all. It is difficult, if we go by the synoptists alone (and our author excludes the Gospel of John from consideration here, for he regards that Gospel as interpretation rather than as history), to deduce from the teaching of Christ the intellectual conception of Him that rules the epistles. We must here, it seems to me, fall back upon the Christian consciousness, the inward experience of the power of Christ and reflection upon that experience, as the source of the exalted conceptions of His Person in the apostolic literature. Nor will it be disputed by any who hold to the identity of the Christian consciousness with the spirit of Christ, that such a source of truth is as authoritative as the other. In this connection we must also take into account current conceptions that naturally formed the mould into which the apostolic thought ran.

Dr. Fairbairn concludes this part of the subject by an instructive and most valuable chapter on the apostolic interpretation of the "Death of Christ and its bearing on the new conception of worship that the Christian religion embodies". Apostolic thought, interpreting the death of Christ on the one hand by Levitical categories (Epistle to the Hebrews) substituted for the Temple and its sacrifices

the sacrifice of Christ as the divine institution for drawing near to God. Interpreting it, on the other hand, by Rabbinical law, apostolic thought (Paul) read in the death of Christ the deliverance from the old law that made obedience impossible, and the sanction of a new law for the government of human conduct—that principle of love to Christ that has proved itself adequate to inspire the highest obedience to God and the most self-denying service of men. The exegesis of New Testament passages in this chapter will be disputed; but the truth of the principles laid down in it, and their value for the understanding of the essential meaning of the Christian religion, will carry conviction to all minds.

In the last part of the book on the "Religion of Christ and the Ideal Religion," we have the answer to the question, What are the claims of the religion in which Christ occupies the supreme place to be the ideal and universal religion? Amongst other points the following are insisted upon: the perfection of the social idea enforced and embodied by Christ, His method, by teaching men to be like Himself, for securing the realisation of that ideal, the significance, as the basis of a universal religion, of Christ's idea of God, the emancipation from local cults and institutions Christ secures for religion by making His own Person the sole institution of worship. These chapters exhibit a fine insight into the genius of Christianity.

No room is left for critical remark on this scheme of thought as a whole. Dr. Fairbairn is a writer who by the boldness and originality of his ideas provokes thought, and there may be a good deal to dissent from in this book. But it is impossible after a careful reading to withhold one's admiration of it as a splendid effort to vindicate on philosophical grounds the supreme place of Christ in the Christian religion. It is the fashion of the day to oppose the historic Christ to Christological dogma. Literary criticism labours to get back to the actual Historic Figure which the Gospel records, it is alleged, conceal as well as reveal. But here is a writer who shows us that it is the supreme worth of the *ideas* of God, man, human life, of which the Historic Christ

is to faith the exponent, that is the true supernatural in the Person of Christ, and that alone accounts for His sovereign position in the world of humanity. We are grateful to one, who, with so sure a grasp of the ideal side of religion, emphasises once more the value of a true Christology and its importance for the understanding of the religion of Christ. This noble volume should form a useful and much-needed corrective of the excessive prominence given at present to the literary and historic criticism of the Gospels, or at least, of the exaggerated estimate taken by many of its results.

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

The World's Epoch-makers : Origen and Greek Patristic Theology.

By Rev. William Fairweather, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. + 268. Price 3s.

ORIGEN, a dazzling name with a halo clouded by unjust obloquy, was really the first of the "schoolmen," as well as the first founder of textual criticism, of exegesis and of parenetics in the Christian Church. Read "Aristotle" for "Plato," and transpose his mental attitude to the latter by a millennium, and we find that attitude reproduced, of course with modifications due to epoch and environment ; but much more to the fact of his intense and noble personality—his openness of soul and buoyancy of native genius, by virtue of which he floats free and large in the empyrean of spiritual speculation. Accordingly he fills a niche in the series of "epoch-makers" of the world edited by Mr. Oliphant Smeaton. The present edition is by Rev. W. Fairweather, who has felt the fascination of his subject, and transmits it unimpaired to his readers.

Origen is one of the great men of whose mothers we know little or nothing. Jerome records (*Ep.*, xxxix., 1) the fact that she had a knowledge of Hebrew, whence it has been conjectured that she was a converted Jewess.¹ It is recorded also that when he was in the impetuosity of youth bent on sharing his father's prison and martyrdom, she circumvented his purpose by secreting his clothes. His own statement that when baffled by a Hebrew word, he turned for help to some "Jewish converts," might of course in that general phrase include herself.

The most Christ-like of the Fathers of the Church, early

¹ The question, however, is open whether this "Hebrew" was not a mere local *patois* current among Alexandrian Jews.

ripe and early busy in the things of "his Father," it may be said of him, more abused than any one of them in life and after death, that "when he was reviled he reviled not again". Athanasius passed a life of similar expulsions, escapes and sufferings, maledictions and calumnies, but all the world stood by his grave in admiration for the man whom one half of it had never respited from such persecution during life. Not so Origen: his works were proscribed and his "name cast out as evil" two centuries after his death by the virulence of faction and the mendaciousness of sycophancy. A later posterity has vindicated his memory until "over-speculative" is probably the only detraction to be made from the estimate of a soul and mind so nearly flawless.

In our own day what has most effected a revival of interest in the teaching of Origen is the popularity of the opinion of the unlimited possibility of salvation to the greatest sinners dying impenitent; through some occult process of redemption, renovation and pardon, to take effect presumably after this life. This gives occasion to remark that actual experience of man as a moral agent is not in favour of such a change. What we find is that human beings tend to fix themselves in a definite type of character under the force of habit, and that a comparatively short space of time suffices for that result. Thus a few years seem capable of producing an effect on the inner man which remains, for good or for evil, distinct and final, so far as our observation can follow it. What seemed once responsive and plastic has become fixed and set. We ground our own estimate of a man as sober or the reverse, continent or sensual, trustworthy or fallacious, precisely upon this known law of everyday experience; and society, not all at once, but after experience adequately prolonged, passes its verdict upon its own members for its own purposes in all the relations of life. Nor, so far as one can see, is that verdict often in error, nor do sufficient grounds often arise for reversing it. Of course there are rare and exceptional cases of the opposite kind. But they are too rare and exceptional to frame an opposite social theory upon. The comparative shortness of the period which suffices for the self-determining

process of the moral creature, and the often protracted period during which its results display themselves when the character is established, often indeed with a cumulative accretion as years roll on, are surely facts of a momentous character. They suggest an argument from analogy, which, applied in the spiritual sphere, is not favourable to the view of final rescue and eternal salvation either for all or for the great majority of impenitents, *i.e.*, assuming their existence indefinitely prolonged. Indeed the whole idea of "probation" seems to imply that such a definite result is reached. Otherwise we continue the period of proof indefinitely, with, of course, the consequence that nothing is ever proved. And if a short portion of an average human lifetime yields such a definite result, what reason is there for supposing that a repetition of the process would be other than confirmatory of that result, even though prolonged through as many millennia as we please to assume? Of course to the Divine Mercy and to the Holy Spirit's unsearchable workings, no barrier of the impossible can be placed. But it surely demands a very clear and definite revelation to enable us to set aside so strong a presumption of human analogy against that optimism of hope which pleads the great name of Origen in its favour. Of course, Origen coupled with that view the belief in the pre-existence of souls, which might conceivably form a basis for modifying that presumption. But this *pace tanti viri* is really launching into the Unknown; and few, if any, of those who plead him for the larger hope in modern days share that view of his. But beyond all this, his "allegorical method" enabled him in effect to read into Scripture whatever he had preconceived, say, on philosophic grounds, as to be found in it; but here again, his latter-day disciples would reject his premises, while they claim his conclusions. And here we venture to qualify our author's remarks in "Prefatory Note," p. ix., that Origen "never failed to distinguish between his own opinions and the rule of faith as contained in Holy Scripture"; because unlimited allegorisation converts it into "a leaden rule" by an unconscious subjective process.

We notice with pleasure the painstaking impartiality of our author in dealing with a memory, and even it might be said a personality, than which none of foremost rank has ever probably suffered more, alike from its enemies and its friends. Origen himself complained that a forged account of his disputation with Candidus the heretic was circulated in his lifetime. Jerome is cited for the statement that his genuine writings were corrupted similarly; while his friend and patron Ambrosius, by indiscreet haste in publishing what he never meant for publication, seriously compromised him. His great work, *de Principiis*, is preserved only¹ in the Latin of Rufinus, who took violent liberties of excision. Rufinus and Jerome between them freely "doctored" other writings to bring them up to a reputed orthodox standard; believing that they had been corrupted by heretical depravity, and perhaps with reason (pp. 55 and note, 52 and note, 125). But most unfair of all was the falsification of his entire mental attitude in certain discussions, founded doubtless on the dialectic method of the Platonic dialogue in which questions are freely discussed without any deliberate result being reached or only a provisional solution given. Athanasius says that he sometimes wrote *ζητῶν καὶ γυμνάζων* only (*Def. Nic. Fid.*, vi., 27), an important testimony which the author has not recorded. There is only one point of defective erudition which we have struck upon, in the note on p. 121, where we read, "The word usually rendered 'for the chief musician' he (Origen) renders 'to the end'." But the rendering, *εἰς τὸ τέλος*, appears everywhere in the LXX text where the Hebrew word occurs in the title of a psalm, and therefore is *not* Origen's rendering. It gives us a startling measure of the poor equipment of the LXX translators for their task, being in fact a confusion of לְמַנְצֵחַ with לְנֶצַח (*cf.* Ps. lxxiv. 1, Isa. xxxiv. 10).

¹ Except a few excerpts from two books out of thirty.

HENRY HAYMAN.

Samuel and His Age.

A Study in the Constitutional History of Israel. By George C. M. Douglas, D.D., Joint Principal of the United Free Church College, Glasgow, and formerly Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis there. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1901. Demy 8vo, pp. xxiii. + 276. Price 6s.

THIS book, in the words of the author, "deals with history pure and simple. The aim has been to begin by taking the account of Samuel given in the Bible as being what it professes to be, and to discuss it with willingness to do justice to the statements, yet at the same time to put their reasonableness and verisimilitude to the test of close examination" (p. 250). It is written throughout in the spirit of loyalty to the evangelical teaching and the supernatural character of the Old Testament which distinguishes all Principal Douglas' works on Old Testament Scripture. Like Kuenen, at the beginning of his *Religion of Israel*, Principal Douglas states his point of view. It is unnecessary to say that it is at the opposite pole from that of the great Dutch critic. "For us," says Kuenen, "the Israelitish is one of those (the principal religions), nothing less, but also nothing more." Dealing with the view that there is a specific difference between Israel's religion and its sisters, he says—"Without a shadow of a doubt, we deny the existence of such a difference".¹ Dr. Douglas says—"Till the contrary is proved I shall assume that these books are a history that is true, and worthy of our belief; for my own part I accept them as nothing less than the inspired word of God" (Preface, p. xiv.).

The exposition of the history given by the Principal is mainly confined to the first half of 1 Samuel. Attention

¹ *Religion of Israel*, Eng. Trans., 1874, pp. 5, 10.

is directed to the appearance, in the history of Israel, of four pairs of eminent men : Moses and Joshua, Samuel and David, Elijah and Elisha, Ezra and Nehemiah (pp. 2 ff.). Further, in the chapters of 1 Samuel specially examined, the number *three* has a prominent place which does not escape the eye of the Principal. Three signs are given by Samuel to Saul, (pp. 167 ff.), on three occasions Saul is made King (pp. 160 ff.), probably at the three places at which Samuel acted as judge (pp. 188 ff.); and the conjecture is thrown out that these three places were connected with the three great religious festivals of Israel (p. 193) [*cf.* also Saul's three great offences (pp. 198 ff.)]. All this reminds us of Nöldeke's examination of what used to be known as the Elohist document (now P or PC). Nöldeke regarded a series of important figures in the document as an evidence of untrustworthiness.¹ Dr. Douglas thinks that Samuel desired to bring together the people, and the young king about to be appointed, at the three centres from which he conducted the administration of affairs in the belief that there he might "most naturally and easily transfer his authority to the king with the consent of all the parties" (p. 172).

The Principal expresses the hope that his work may contribute to belief in the unity of the narratives in Samuel (Preface, p. xv.). On many points critics will not agree with him; but it does not follow that the Principal is wrong. Attention is properly directed to a defect in the critical argument, the circular reasoning which lies at the heart of the proposed reconstruction of Old Testament history (p. 21). In certain cases it may be impossible to avoid circular reasoning; and the history of Israel may furnish such a case. However that may be, the fact is that the critical reconstruction of the history of Israel still proceeds in accordance with Graf's assumption that the book of Deuteronomy was prepared about the beginning of the reign of Josiah (if the latter part of the reign of Manasseh is preferred the argument is not affected). That assumption is substantially the working hypothesis of the critics, and, in accordance with it,

¹ *Untersuchungen*, etc., 1869, pp. 110 ff.

a certain conclusion is arrived at regarding the early history and legislation of Israel, the first four books of the Pentateuch forming the chief sources of information. When that conclusion has been reached and recorded, the same books are re-read, and whatever is found inconsistent with the result already arrived at is set down as unhistorical. It may be all right; but the circular reasoning is obvious. Suppose a critic started with the assumption that Deuteronomy belongs, as it professes to belong, to the Mosaic period, and read the first four books of the Pentateuch in accordance with that assumption—would the procedure be less scientific than that of the critics who follow Graf? That question raises another which must be answered on the square, *viz.*, Which of the assumptions best suits the age to which it is assigned? According to Grafian critics, Deuteronomy belongs to the early period of the reign of Josiah, and forms the basis of the Reformation carried out by that king. If that view is correct it is fair to presuppose that the legislation *peculiar* to Deuteronomy will be *reformatory* in character. Space does not allow a detailed reference to that legislation. But it may be said that a portion of the laws cannot be regarded as reformatory, in any proper sense, while others, whose reformatory character may be admitted, are as applicable to reforming effort, prior to Josiah's day, as to the earnest enterprise which characterised his reign—even the law centralising worship should be presupposed as the basis of Hezekiah's Reformation. So far then as the special legislation of Deuteronomy is concerned, the working hypothesis of Grafian critics can scarcely be said to suit the circumstances of the time to which it is referred. Other matters point in the same direction, such as the use of the name of Moses, by an unknown prophet, in the case of so important a message, while Jeremiah, a contemporary, followed prophetic precedent and spoke in the name of Jehovah; the extermination of the Canaanites (chap. vii. 1-5, and chap. xx. 16-18) and the Amalekites (chap. xxv. 17-19), while Assyrians had already, for a century, occupied the northern kingdom, and Babylon was about to occupy Judah. These and other points

of detail require further consideration than they have yet received before the Grafian view of Deuteronomy can be accepted with confidence as a working hypothesis for the reconstruction of the history and legislation of Israel. And therefore the kind of circular reasoning to which Principal Douglas refers still lacks justification.

Principal Douglas refers to another matter which should be laid to heart by earnest-minded laymen. The critics are experts, and the Principal appeals from them to the jury. "It is the jury," he writes, "who have to determine the weight to be attached to the opinions of the witnesses; and in . . . public trials it is often the opinion of experts which is handled with greatest severity by the good common sense of those who take cognisance of it" (p. 20). There is good reason for this observation by the Principal. The critical question at present is largely historical. The translation of the Old Testament in the Revised Version is sufficiently accurate for such a discussion. The jury whom Dr. Douglas has in view is the Church. And it will be a fatal mistake—a course of action quite unworthy of our Protestant position—if the Christian laity should leave the settlement of the grave historical questions now under discussion to a comparatively small number of experts in Hebrew. Mr. Gladstone was wont to contend that, on a certain class of questions, the instinct of the masses was more trustworthy than the arguments of the classes. In present biblical discussions, questions arise from time to time, for the settlement of which the instinct of the Christian people is more to be relied on than the psychology of the critics. The Bible is the people's book, and is true to human nature. It is impossible to say so much for the psychology of many of our critics. And if this volume should have the effect of rousing our Christian laymen to make this question their own, it will serve a purpose of high value for the future of Biblical study.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

The World before Abraham.

According to Genesis i.-xi., with an Introduction to the Pentateuch, by H. G. Mitchell, Professor in Boston University. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. Pp. 296. Price \$1.75 net.

Hebräisch und Semitisch.

Prolegomena und Grundlinien einer Geschichte der Semitischen Sprachen, nebst einem Excurs über die vorjoshuanische Sprache Israels und die Pentateuchquelle. Von Eduard König, Professor an der Universität Bonn. Berlin: Verlag von Reuther und Reichard; London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 128. Price 4s. net.

Die Alttestamentliche Schätzung des Gottesnamens und ihre Religionsgeschichtliche Grundlage.

Von D. Fr. Giesebrecht, Ord. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Königsberg. Königsberg i. Pr.: Verlag von Thomas und Oppermann, 1901. Pp. 144. Price M.4.

Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan.

Historisch-kritische Untersuchungen von Lic. Theol. Dr. Carl Steuernagel, Privatdocent der Theologie in Halle a. S. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. Pp. 131. Price 4s. net.

PROFESSOR MITCHELL'S work on Genesis, the first instalment of which is before us, has been undertaken for the purpose of supplying the demand indicated by frequent requests such as the following which appeared in a popular religious weekly: "Kindly give the name of some book on Genesis which treats it from the view-point of modern scholarship". Professor

Mitchell says that thus far little has been done in England or America to meet this widespread demand. "Dillmann's work, which, though very valuable to those who are able to appreciate it, is too large, too learned, and too expensive for most students of the Bible. This state of things ought not to continue." The first part (67 pages) of Professor Mitchell's book is devoted to a discussion of the Pentateuchal question, in which "the law of Moses" is recognised as "a composite work, the growth of the entire period from Moses to Ezra". A lucid account is given of the trend and results of criticism; and this is followed by a translation of Gen. i.-xi., in which the various strata of narratives are indicated by different types. The proper names, being presented in the exact Hebrew, not the ordinary English, forms—'Adham, Hebhel, Qayin, Tubhal, Saray, etc.—give the translation a somewhat forbidding look, and one may doubt the advantage of this relentless accuracy in a book which is intentionally popular. The commentary which follows (pp. 95-284) is admirable. One notes that in Professor Mitchell's view the Serpent of Eden is not Satan but a real animal; that "a local inundation was the common foundation of the three accounts of the Flood; and that the people referred to in the blessing, "May God enlarge Yepheth (Japheth)," is not, as Wellhausen thinks, the Philistines, but, as Budde believes, the Phœnicians.

No one has done better service in the department of Hebrew grammar and syntax than Professor König. The purpose of his latest booklet, which he says he sketched out twelve years ago, is "to show the real historical order of the Semitic languages". Down to the time of Ewald (inclusive) it was believed that Hebrew had the greatest relative antiquity among the Semitic tongues. It is now generally recognised that Arabic stands in closer relation to the original Semitic language, and preserves its grammatical forms more intact, than any of the other branches—Hebrew, Aramaic, Ethiopic, Assyriac—of the Semitic stem. "In a historical account of the origin of Hebrew grammatical forms we must proceed

from the corresponding forms of Old Arabic, Ethiopic, Assyriac, and not conversely from Hebrew to Old Arabic, etc." Arabic, shut up in its native deserts, was less affected by outside influences than any of the other branches. "That the Arabs themselves were proud of their noble language, and that their grammarians found the light by which they illuminated the darker and more problematical parts of their linguistic treasure in the desert among the Bedouins, who preserved the nobler linguistic forms, depended no doubt partly upon their lofty national consciousness, but may at the same time have arisen from a true instinct of comparative philology." The latter part of Dr. König's book is devoted to an examination and refutation of Hommel's theory that from the time of Abraham to that of Joshua the Hebrews spoke a pure Aramaic dialect.

What is the meaning of the words, "in the name of Jahve"? This is the question which Professor Giesebrecht tries to answer in his latest brochure. The divine "name" is usually said to signify whatever has been revealed to man regarding God, whatever man knows about God. Giesebrecht examines the views—mostly to the same effect—of Schultz, Riehm, Dillmann, Cremer, Stade, Smend, and others, and is not satisfied with any of them. Another view has forced itself upon him. "For primitive mankind a name has a dæmonic character. It is the *double* of the bearer, be he God or man, and must be treated with the utmost caution." Skilfully used the divine name is the magical means of constraining the deity to obey man's behests. Search is made in the folklore of different nations for evidence in support of this theory. Giesebrecht admits that in the language of the prophets the "name" of Jahve has been completely ethicised, but contends that in the popular usage the old magical significance never ceased to make itself felt, and that this explains many things in the Old Testament. Here Giesebrecht seems as yet to stand alone. In the article on "Name" in the *Encycl. Bib.*, Professor Cheyne is content with the ordinary theory that "to

primitive man the name is the expression of the personality," and "the 'name' of a God is properly his manifestation".

"When the legend represents the twelve patriarchs as sons of one man (Jacob-Israel), this confessedly means that the corresponding twelve tribes are the subdivisions of a greater community, the people of Israel." This is the hypothesis on which Dr. Steuernagel bases an interesting discussion regarding the immigration of the tribes of Israel into Canaan. From the genealogical system he deduces the theory that the people of Israel at first consisted of the four tribes of Leah, Rachel, Bilhah and Zilpah, which were afterwards divided into the twelve tribes. This latter division was, he thinks, unknown until after the settlement in Canaan. "The tribes of Leah at the time of the immigration formed but a single tribe." The fact that Zilpah is called the handmaid of Leah means that "the tribes of Zilpah were only half-Israelitish". The Hebrews intermarried with the Canaanites and founded the new tribes which were half-heathenish. Hence the names of Zilpah's children, Gad and Asher, are the names of heathen gods. Further, the children of Leah and Zilpah were older than those of Rachel and Bilhah. This means that after the first immigration into Canaan there was a second from Syria, and the resulting fusion—the marriage of Jacob and Rachel—gave rise to the new tribes of Rachel (full-Israelitish) and Bilhah (half-heathenish). The statement that Joseph's younger son Ephraim was preferred to Manasseh the elder expresses the historical fact that first Manasseh and then Ephraim was the stronger of the two tribes. In every part of the family history Dr. Steuernagel finds a reflection of actual occurrences during or subsequent to the time of the settlement of the Hebrews in Canaan. In the second half of his book he endeavours to bring his theories into relation with the various strata of narratives in Numbers and Joshua. In the Jehovistic story he finds a good many phenomena which confirm his hypothesis; in the later narratives scarcely anything.

JAMES STRACHAN.

Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien.

*Von Dr. W. Wrede, o. Professor d. ev. Theologie zu Breslau.
Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht ; London : Williams
& Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. vii. + 291. Price 8s. net.*

THIS is an irritating book. It is written in a series of short, jerky paragraphs. The chapters have numberless subdivisions. Just when you expect to follow some sustained course of reasoning, you are hurried off to a new group of arguments, with the promise that those left behind will be resumed later on.

The main subject is the testing of the Gospel tradition of Jesus as the Messiah. Some sentences in the Preface tend to shake our confidence in the author's point of view. "History," he says (p. vi.), "teaches that after the writing down of the earliest Gospels, extraordinary alterations were made in the portrait of Jesus. Why it must have been otherwise *before* then, I cannot see." It scarcely requires much insight to reply that the nearer the tradition stood to the events, the more likely it was to be true to facts. Certainly Wrede does not attempt to conceal his presuppositions. He openly speaks of historical investigation as "not recognising miracles in the strict sense" (p. 48). "It is evident," we are told in another place (p. 87), "that Jesus cannot have prophesied the absolute miracle of an immediate return to life."

Assuming with most scholars that our Mark or a Gospel extremely like it lies at the basis of the other two Synoptists, and that therefore on Mark rests the main responsibility for the tradition regarding the course and development of the life of Jesus, Wrede sets that Gospel necessarily in the forefront of his investigation. Indeed, the sub-title of the book is "a contribution to the understanding of Mark's Gospel". He approaches his subject with the explicit purpose of correcting

certain defects which he finds prominent in contemporary criticism. This will be possible if various cautions are kept in view. We have to remember, for example, that the material presented to us in the Gospels is only the conception formed by a later narrator of the life of Jesus, and that this conception is not identical with the actual facts. Surely this is a most unwarranted assumption for a scientific investigator to *start with*. He may be compelled to that conclusion later on, but it is a begging of the whole question to begin at that point. Again Wrede considers that critics have shown a disposition to read into the narrative ideas which never occurred to the writer. Unfortunately no critic has afforded more numerous examples of this practice than Wrede himself. A further charge which he brings against his fellow investigators is that of "psychological conjecture". He sneers at some who "reveal such an intimate acquaintance with the inner life of Jesus that one might doubt whether he was listening to a close friend of Jesus or reading a novel" (p. 3). This distrust is a most convenient weapon. And it is constantly used by Wrede, who, when he wishes to get rid of an interpretation inconvenient for his theory, describes it as "a mere judgment of taste" (e.g., p. 61). But surely psychological conjecture is quite indispensable for the interpretation of history. And when the history is that of the most marvellous spiritual movement known to the human race, psychological conjecture may be merely a disparaging name for that spiritual sympathy which is, after all, the safest clue to the problems of the Gospels. Here again, we find our author repeatedly falling into the dangers against which he warns. He speaks, e.g., of "an idea which Jesus could not have hit upon" (p. 49). In commenting on the phrase *ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων* (Mark i. 22) in the interests of his theory, he affirms that by these words Mark *cannot* have meant the mighty, overpowering impression of the preaching of Jesus, as we should naturally interpret them. In fact, he is always ready to suggest the lines which the Evangelist's thoughts must have followed. His own *dictum* applies literally to the method which he employs: "It appears to me urgently

necessary that in this matter (*i.e.*, psychological conjecture) we should get rid of subjective judgments" (p. 3).

Perhaps it will tend to clearness, if we begin by stating the results which Wrede reaches from his investigation of Mark. "We find in Mark," he says, "two conceptions. (1) So long as He is on earth, Jesus keeps His Messiahship a secret. (2) No doubt He reveals Himself to the disciples in contrast to the multitude, but even to them, for the time being, He remains in His revelations unintelligible. Both conceptions, which often pass over into each other, have for their basis the view that the real knowledge of what He is begins with His resurrection. This conception of the concealed Messiahship has in Mark a notable expansion. It controls many sayings of Jesus, numerous stories of miracles, and in effect the whole course of the historical narrative." How has this astonishing position been arrived at? Obviously, the narrative, as it has come down to us, must be severely handled, in order to admit of such an interpretation. Our author is aware that critics of all schools have professed to find in Mark the genuine historical course of the life of Jesus. This, he believes, is the supreme obstacle to the right comprehension of the Gospel. "A multitude of things must be read between the lines of Mark, if one wishes to prove in him a really intelligible development. Why does Jesus stately forbid them to speak of His Messianic dignity and His miraculous deeds? Why is He silent in presence of the disciples? The motive that He desires them to reach the true attitude towards Him from within outwards is not hinted at and is not self-evident" (p. 13). It is precisely at this point that most unprejudiced critics will join issue with Wrede. This purpose of Jesus is the most self-evident thing in the Gospels. Our author may call it a "judgment of taste". To the majority of reasonable students of the narrative it will appear a judgment based on facts. Wrede continues: "In the same way we are asked to conjecture that Jesus points to His sufferings in order to purify the Messianic faith of the disciples from Jewish dross. Might we not expect occasionally a hint of such motives?" We



fail to see any reason for such hints. The evangelist was writing for early Christians who would probably find little difficulty in grasping the situation, and not for twentieth-century critics with pet theories to establish. The method adopted by Wrede to justify his hypothesis proceeds on the following lines. First, he examines the knowledge of Jesus as Messiah exhibited by the demoniacs in the Gospel of Mark. These narratives are pronounced to be unhistorical, largely because they are not *psychologically* intelligible. Here we have psychological presuppositions applied as tests to certain facts, the very procedure against which we are warned at the outset. The author deals next with the commands of Jesus regarding secrecy. He postulates a common explanation for all the separate instances. Of course he is aware of the usual solution of the problem, namely the desire of Jesus to avoid all political complications or any course which might appeal to the national hopes of the multitude. We can find nothing unsatisfactory in this hypothesis. The chief objection Wrede brings against it is the behaviour of Jesus on His last entry into Jerusalem. Why does He then allow Himself quietly "to be made the object of a Messianic ovation?" (p. 40). Surely it is obvious that by this time there was a complete revolution in popular feeling. He could readily judge by the signs of the times that there was not the slightest probability of a national up-rising in His favour. A further support for his theory is found by Wrede in the parabolic teaching of Jesus. Here he rests his case on the admittedly difficult utterance of our Lord in Mark iv. 12. But is not this quotation from Isaiah used by Jesus in the spirit of the prophet, feeling poignantly that his most zealous efforts to instruct his fellow-countrymen in the spiritual truths of the kingdom of God would often be in vain, and hence, in his grief because of failure, representing himself as sent to make ears deaf and eyes blind? But Wrede concludes from this passage that Mark "separates between an esoteric and an exoteric teaching of Jesus". "The expression *παραβολή* is for Mark entirely equivalent to enigma" (p. 55). He rejects the only credible explanation of the words, "Unto you is

given the mystery of the kingdom of God," which is, of course, that the disciples by their adherence to Jesus had already proved that some understanding of the nature of the kingdom had been given them. This explanation is corroborated by ver. 25: "He that hath, to him shall be given," etc. Wrede holds that Mark concluded from the parabolic form of the teaching of Jesus that He intended to communicate something mysterious (p. 60). Surely he forgets that to a man of Jewish descent, instruction by means of parables was no novel phenomenon. On the hypothesis that Mark regards the parables as vehicles of esoteric doctrine, he assails the historicity of the book as a whole, inasmuch as this view of the evangelist's proves how little he understood the historical life and teaching of Jesus.

We have no space to follow in any detail the remaining sections of the discussion. There is an elaborate examination of the predictions of Jesus regarding His sufferings, death and resurrection, which aims at showing that these also were regarded by Mark, from his theological standpoint, as belonging to the secret of the Messiah which the disciples failed to understand (pp. 81-101). In no part of the book is there a more arbitrary handling of the narrative to suit an artificial theory. A notable instance is the treatment of viii. 32 ff., where Peter rebukes his Master for the announcement of His death. Wrede admits that the scene is life-like, but the fact that Peter seems, in one sense to understand the words of Jesus, and yet, in another, to fail in grasping them, to have a mind for the things of men (*φρονεῖν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*), and not for the things of God, is enough to stamp the incident as a product of Mark's reflection. A verdict like this is surely most significant in its bearing on the author's power of estimating a spiritual situation.

We have confined ourselves in this notice to the first division of the book, that dealing with Mark. The second division briefly examines Matthew, Luke, and John in the light of the hypothesis which we have described. The third contains an attempt to grasp the idea of the concealed Messiahship in its historical setting. The following quotation from this closing

section is typical of the whole discussion, as revealing the author's curious lack of sympathy with the inner side of the historical development unfolded in the Gospels. "An essential difficulty for the assumption that Jesus proclaimed Himself as the Messiah lies in the fact that one cannot easily specify what He meant by it. If the thought of a Messianic proclamation in the political, patriotic-revolutionary sense is excluded, what then is the meaning of the Messianic claim?" Characteristic for the situation is the answer which Wellhausen has given. Jesus put aside all Jewish conceptions of Messiah. He directed His hope and longings "toward another ideal of a higher order. Only in this sense can He have named Himself the Messiah: they were to look for no other. He was not the Messiah whom they desired, but He was the true Messiah whom they ought to desire." "I confess," says Wrede, "that I cannot form any conception of this. A Jewish man who lives and works in the midst of his people substitutes for the firmly established idea of Messiah something which does away with all its peculiar characteristics, he transforms a theocratic-eschatological notion into one which belongs to spiritual religion, such as was foreign to any Jew" (p. 220). An investigator who stands so far apart from the central things of the Christian revelation as these words would indicate ought surely to occupy himself with a more congenial subject than the life of Jesus.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

Predigten.

Von Dr. Friedrich Loofs, ordentlichem Professor der Kirchengeschichte an der Universität Halle. Zweite Reihe. Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer. Pp. viii. + 316. Price M.3.

DR. LOOFS' second volume of sermons will receive a hearty welcome from all who are familiar with his writings. They are "academic" inasmuch as they were, for the most part, preached from the Halle University pulpit, but even when the students of the University are directly addressed we hear the voice of the pastor rather than of the professor. Difficulties are never shirked, but there are no detailed discussions of critical questions to remind his audience of the lecture-room. The preacher is far more anxious to put his youthful hearers on their guard against spiritual perils than to suggest a solution of the problems which disturb the schools.

The first of the thirty sermons was preached at the funeral of the author's father, and strikes the keynote of the volume: "This world and all that is in the world cannot give rest to a restless soul that feels its sin. . . . This Saviour, full of grace, is not Himself a part of this poor, sinful, fleeting world, but the Lord from heaven, sent by the Father into the world that He may raise us, poor sinners, from this fleeting world to the living, holy and eternal God." It is because the studies of Dr. Loofs—a foremost representative of the critical school—have not robbed him of "The Sinner's Saviour," that he can preach from 1 Tim. i. 15 at the burial of his father—an esteemed village pastor of the older Lutheran school. Is not the son right in maintaining earnestly that the reconciliation of theologians now ranged in opposing camps would be hastened, if those who belong to the different groups would take heed to the advice which his father gave him, when he

left home for the university: "In times of doubt, hold fast to this—'I am a sinner and need a Saviour,'—and you will always find your way back to the right path"?

A special characteristic of these sermons is the absence of any prejudice against the supernatural combined with the most unhesitating recognition of the rights of criticism. Those who find a stumbling-block in the miracles of the Gospels are told that the words of Jesus and not His wonderful works are of chief importance; nevertheless, the old dilemma is confidently re-stated: either Jesus Christ rose from the dead or our faith is vain. "The old gospel—the gospel of the Apostles, the gospel of the Reformation—stands or falls with the resurrection of the Lord." In his treatment of this fundamental article of the Christian faith Dr. Loofs is quite independent of, and surely more scientific than Dr. Harnack, to whom he has often acknowledged great indebtedness and of whom he often reminds us in his fervour of spirit and grace of style. He has an open mind for all suggestions which aim at distinguishing the words of the Lord from the words of the Evangelists, but he is more conscious than many critics of the difficulty of separating the kernel from the husk. "The Gospel is God's message to men, the history is a narrative of the biblical writers. . . . We can draw a distinction between the Gospel and the history, but we cannot separate them. For the Gospel itself is glad tidings of what God has *done* for our salvation."

As studies in homiletics these sermons deserve attention. Dr. Loofs displays great skill in relating different themes to one central principle, his divisions are often exceedingly happy, whilst his illustrations are numerous and always apposite. The Gospel for the 10th Sunday after Trinity (Luke xix. 41-48) suggested to older writers an earnest call to repentance, but it furnishes to Dr. Loofs a suitable topic for an appeal on behalf of the work of deaconesses. The three pictures—Jesus weeping over Jerusalem, Jesus driving the traders out of the temple, Jesus persecuted by the high priests and scribes—set before us three different classes who were alike in their refusal to allow Jesus to help them. The

theme, therefore, is "Love that would help resisted," and the three divisions show that for such love there is (1) a time for weeping, (2) a time for reproving, and (3) a time for suffering. In all these ways deaconesses are called to imitate their Lord.

To many readers the apt poetic quotations will prove an additional charm. Paul Gerhardt is most frequently drawn upon, but Philipp Spitta, Rückert and other less-known authors are represented, some of the most telling extracts being taken from the "Poems of Carl von Fircks" now out of print.

J. G. TASKER.

Bible Characters—Stephen to Timothy.

By Alexander Whyte, D.D. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1901.

THOUGH the title of this volume indicates that many Bible characters, from Stephen to Timothy, are dealt with, it is pre-eminently Dr. Whyte's manifesto on Paul. Of the 294 pages in the book upwards of 160 are devoted to the Apostle of the Gentiles. Paul as a student, Paul as apprehended of Christ Jesus, Paul in Arabia, Paul's visit to Jerusalem to see Peter, Paul as a preacher, Paul as a pastor, Paul as a controversialist, Paul as a man of prayer, Paul as a believing man, Paul as the chief of sinners, The thorn in Paul's flesh, Paul as sold under sin, Paul's blamelessness as a minister, Paul as an evangelical mystic, Paul's great heaviness and continual sorrow of heart, Paul the aged. It is worth any man's while to read Dr. Whyte on themes like these. The preaching is all so characteristic, so strong, so sympathetic, so broad, so intense and searching, so wholesome. It may be questioned whether Dr. Whyte has ever done anything better than this singularly fine "appreciation" of Paul. And the style is so strenuous. I doubt if Dr. Whyte's style, for its clearness, its nervous energy, its manifest roots in all great English classics, has ever had full justice done to it. He writes supremely as the preacher, and his sermons bear translation to the page of print without the alteration of a word, successfully. This, and his *Newman* taken together, constitute a rare contribution to Pauline literature. Of course Dr. Whyte here, as everywhere, shows the defects of his qualities. There is emphasis which becomes exaggeration, yet no man would dare to question the preacher's utter sincerity. And, while one would not make too much of it, Dr. Whyte's preaching has gained unspeakably from his recent devotion to Paul. It has become more objective. The morbid anatomy has been restrained.

The Gospel which Paul called "my Gospel" has never been more powerfully presented. In the chapter on "Paul as a Preacher," there is a passage which reads like a confession. He is speaking of "that greatest of all Paul's doctrines of grace". And he asks, "Why was that blessed doctrine so long in being preached by some right divine to me? Why was I, myself, so long in learning and in preaching this first principle of the doctrine of Christ?" No one, save Dr. Whyte himself, would have thought of accusing him of any neglect of truth which is so distinctively Pauline as pardon through God's free grace. Yet this confession has been treated as if the minister of St. George's were entering on a new era in his ministry. One must not forget Dr. Whyte's large style, and the way in which a thought possesses him for the moment to the exclusion of every other. The chapters on Paul's ministry are admirable beyond all praise. Who, but Dr. Whyte could speak so finely about Paul as a controversialist? The entire Church is indebted to him for this beyond most of his former "appreciations". It is his most characteristic book.

DAVID PURVES.

1. Studien über das Schrifttum und die Theologie des Athanasius auf Grund einer Echtheitsuntersuchung von Athanasius *contra gentes* und *de incarnatione*.

Von Karl Hoss. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig und Tübingen : J. C. B. Mohr ; London : Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. viii. + 130.

Athanasiana : Litterar- und Dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchungen.

Von Alfred Stülcken, Pastor in Lübeck. Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs ; London : Williams & Norgate, 1899. [Texte und Untersuchungen, N. F. iv., 4.] 8vo, pp. viii. + 150. Price 5s. net.

2. Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien. Zusammengestellt und zum Teil übersetzt.

Von Lic. Theol. Wilhelm Riedel, Privatdocent an der Universität Kiel. Leipzig : A. Deichert, 1900. 8vo, pp. iv. + 310. Price 7s.

3. Die Pfaffschen Irenaeus-Fragmente als Fälschungen Pfaffs nachgewiesen, U.S.A.

Von Adolf Harnack. Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs, 1900 ; Edinburgh and London : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 148. Price 5s.

4. Titus Von Bostra : Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien.

Von Joseph Sickenberger, Dr. Theol. Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs ; London : Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. viii. + 267. Price 8s. 6d.

1. IN both of these excellent discussions the critical investigations of Dräseke with reference to the genuineness of certain works which have been attributed to Athanasius of

Alexandria are dealt with in a very thorough and satisfactory way. The main conclusions reached by both scholars agree. Dräseke's destructive criticism is shown to be excessive and indiscriminate. The most valuable positive result is a convincing demonstration of the genuineness of *contra gentes* and *de incarnatione*. The importance of having the Athanasian authorship of these treatises put beyond question will be admitted by all students of Patristic theology.

Both Hoss and Stülcken are agreed in rejecting the *Expositio fidei*, the *Epistola ad Antiochenos* and the *Sermo major de fide* as spurious. Both agree that they are of Antiochean origin, and that none of them can have appeared much earlier than A.D. 400, a full generation after the death of Athanasius. The spuriousness of the so-called *Fourth Discourse against the Arians* and the two books against Apollinarius is also proved convincingly by both. As to the *De Incarnatione et contra Arianos*, Hoss thinks that he can prove it spurious, while Stülcken thinks he can only describe it as dubious, but as certainly belonging to the Fourth Century.

The summing up of Hoss as to the result of the discussion, with regard to the literary history of Athanasius, will suitably describe Stülcken's results as well. While Athanasius gains possession of some literary works which were doubtful before, he loses some that were confidently ascribed to him; but what remains to him as a sure possession is amply sufficient to enable us to form a picture of his personality, his significance as a party leader, as a theologian, and as a writer, and this picture has the advantage over earlier portraits that it is clearer and more consistent. In both these treatises, but especially in that of Stülcken, we have very valuable discussions on the doctrinal, and particularly the christological, views of Athanasius. The discussions as to the genuineness of the writings ascribed to Athanasius are intended to prepare the way for the determining of the characteristic doctrines of this notable champion of the Nicene faith, which he had done so much to formulate.

2. While large attention has been given to the Christian literature in the Syrian, and even in the Ethiopic and Coptic languages, little has been done in the way of bringing into notice the stores of similar literature in the Arabic language. The Syrian and Ethiopic Didaskalia, the Syrian and Ethiopic Canons of the Apostles, have been published, but not the Arabian versions of these works. One reason for this is that the Syrian, Ethiopic and Coptic literature is purely Christian, beginning only with the Christian era, and as such has attracted the attention of Christian scholars; whereas the Arabian literature is partly Mohammedan, and the study of Arabic has been closely associated with that of Islam. Herr Riedel has done an important service to historical, and especially to literary historical, theology, by his collection and translation of early Christian documents as they appear in Arabic versions. These renderings came to be made in the Egyptian Church after the Coptic Church had lost its political significance, and when the supremacy of the Arabs had been established throughout the land. The *Theological Encyclopædia* of Abū'l Barakāt, with an account and summary of which the collection opens, shows that this old Christian Arabian literature embraced all departments of theology, translations of commentaries on Holy Scripture, legends of the Apostles, a Martyrology or Synaxarion, Church histories, and various dogmatic, liturgical and legal works. It is with documents referring especially to Church law and constitution that the present work deals. In the first part, embracing §§ 3-17, pp. 89-155, we have translations and summaries of certain collections of canons, such as those of Macarius and of the Malakites, Jacobites and Maronites. In the second part, §§ 18-55, pp. 155-310, we have the particular list of canons given in the previously described collections, partly arranged according to the subjects dealt with, partly in chronological order—Apostolic pieces, Canons of Synods recognised by the Greeks down to the Synod of Ephesus, then Canons of Greek Fathers down to Severus of Antioch. Next are given such canons as cannot with confidence be ascribed to any particular author, but are not of

later origin than the end of the tenth century (§§ 41-45), and finally, the Canons of the Alexandrian patriarchate in the times of the Kalifate down to Cyril III. in 1243 (§§ 46-52). The editor suggests that a knowledge of this literature will prove useful to those English, American and German Protestant missionaries who are now working in Egypt, by giving them a clue to many of the peculiar views of the Copts.

3. This is one of the volumes of the well-known *Texte und Untersuchungen*, and as such is the third part of the fifth volume of the new series. The first sixty-nine pages are occupied with the story of the Fragments published by Pfaff as portions of the writings of Irenæus, and then about eighty pages are given to miscellaneous notes on various passages in Patristic documents.

The tract on Pfaff is interesting and easily read. It gives a clear account of the publication of these remarkable Fragments by Pfaff in 1715 and of the controversy that immediately arose as to their genuineness. This controversy Harnack shows is not properly settled yet. The question has occupied the attention of all the most eminent Patristic scholars of the day—Bryennius, Harnack, Zahn, Loofs, Funk—and in one or other direction they all come to different results. According to some all, according to others some, of the Fragments are unguenine. According to some the doctrinal teaching is Alexandrian, according to others Antiochean, and according to others Asiatic (of Asia Minor). Harnack gives a full text of the Fragments, with notes of parallels, as indicating possible or probable sources. This is followed by a critical examination of the contents of the Fragments. They are not, as some have supposed, of separate origin and authorship, they contain much that is in the style of Irenæus and calculated to suggest him as the writer, but careful investigation brings out statements and views which make it impossible that Irenæus could have written them. The author assumes the Pauline authorship of Hebrews as Irenæus did not. He makes up his paragraphs of centos of

New Testament passages, whereas Irenæus is distinguished for the careful manner in which he makes his quotations. He assumes the present New Testament with the Epistles of James, Jude, Hebrew, 2 Peter, as only an Alexandrian could have done before the fourth century. Hence Harnack concludes that not only are the Fragments not writings of Irenæus, but also that Irenæus' name did not come by accident to be associated with them, but that they are forgeries. The suggestion that the forgery might have been a *semi-bonâ fide* one by an Alexandrian Christian of the third century is discredited by the impossibility of assigning any motive for such proceeding.

A careful examination of the Fragments with Pfaff's notes awakened in Harnack the suspicion that they were a fabrication of Pfaff himself. Certainly Pfaff's own conduct does not impress one favourably. No one but himself ever saw the manuscripts, no one had ever heard of them, the original transcripts of the documents with their contexts were never shown to any. Even the Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Turin Library which he is said to have possessed, and which should have contained these Fragments, has never been produced. But apart from these suspicious circumstances, Harnack finds internal evidence in favour of the Pfaffian origin of these paragraphs. He shows in detail, for example, how theological statements in these pretended Irenæan writings have been coloured by controversies and modes of thought prevalent in Pfaff's days, and in a way favourable to the views of Pfaff and his party. A large number of words and phrases, modes of thought, modes of expression, are such as no Greek could ever have used. By a careful examination of the Fragments in detail, this indictment is proved. Harnack concludes with a sketch of Pfaff's career in order to show that he was just the sort of man likely to commit such an offence in order to gain fame. A young man of three and twenty, ambitious in the highest degree, and, though inclined to Pietism and Unionism, yet distinctly "worldly," a tempting opportunity presented itself to him when he obtained access to a library like that of Turin sup-

posed to be rich in manuscript treasures of which nobody knew anything. Altogether the outward history of the man gives occasion for suspicions which confirm the damaging conclusions reached from a study of the documents themselves. There can be little doubt that Harnack is right in characterising the Fragments, not only as forgeries, but as the compositions of Pfaff.

4. This work, which had originally appeared in the Roman Catholic *Quartalschrift für Christliche Alterthumskunde*, is now issued as one of the parts of Von Gebhardt's and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen* (N. F. vi., 1). The first part deals with critical questions with reference to the works, and especially the exegetical works, of Titus. It opens with a few pages of biography in which is gathered together all that is known of Titus as bishop and writer from 360 to 378, followed by a summary account of his controversial treatise against the Manichæans. In his Apologetical-polemical work he shows himself pre-eminently a scripture exegete, so much so that a reader of his Anti-Manichæan treatise might confidently expect to find him also the author of commentaries or homilies on holy scripture. As a matter of fact, many fragments of such a work are extant. In chap. iii. (pp. 16-41) a very full account is given of the manuscripts and fortunes of the Pseudo-Titus commentary on Luke, of which a Latin translation was published in 1580 and the Greek text in 1624. It is found to be a compilation of the sixth century, mostly from Cyril of Alexandria, but partly also from Titus himself, Origen, Chrysostom, etc. The fact of this commentary having been so widely ascribed to Titus shows how high his reputation as an exegete must have been; and, indeed, it so happens that the various Catenæ on the Gospel of Luke contain many fragments from the bishop of Bostra. These fragments are discussed in detail, and their genuineness examined in two important chapters of the work before us (pp. 41-108). Our author concludes that the fragments in these Catenæ are mostly genuine, and that the Luke-homilies from which they are taken are the work of Titus. Practical

applications, too, are found in these homilies, as represented by extant fragments, against Manichæism, just such as we might expect from Titus, and which form interesting parallels with passages in his controversial work.

In the second part of the work (pp. 140-249) we have all the Fragments carefully gathered and sifted, and a critical text formed out of what is approved as genuine. The whole treatise is a model of careful editing of cautious and scholarly criticism. A word of praise should also be given to the very full and accurate indices of subjects, manuscripts and Scripture passages, which greatly add to the convenience and usefulness of the volume.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

The Church and its Social Mission.

By John Marshall Lang, D.D., Principal of the University of Aberdeen. Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood & Sons, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. + 364. Price 6s. net.

THIS volume contains the series of six addresses delivered as the Baird Lecture of the Church of Scotland for 1902. The lecture form, however, is wisely abandoned and the matter is distributed over a series of fifteen chapters. The subject selected is opportune, and the author is in sympathy with the social trend of the thought and the activities of the present day. The book is written, therefore, with the force and warmth that come from a living and hearty interest in the great questions brought under review. It is also clear and popular in its style, and takes us pleasantly and profitably over a very extensive field crowded with matters long and largely debated.

The volume falls into two main divisions occupied respectively and in the main with the past and with the present. The first part, consisting of seven of the fifteen chapters, goes back to our Lord's teaching and the view of the Church and her vocation embodied in it, and proceeds to trace the course taken by the Church in the fulfilment of her mission from the earliest times down to the latter half of the nineteenth century. The second part addresses itself to the condition of things under which we ourselves live, the grave and intricate problems which confront us in every department of our social existence, the answers of very different kinds that have been given them, the various remedies which are offered for the ills of society, and the contribution which the Church has made or ought to make to the settlement of these questions and the cure of these maladies. There is much good and helpful matter in both divisions of the book.

The first part leads naturally up to the second and the interest comes to a point there.

Dr. Lang looks at things from the standpoint of a loyal son of the Church established by law in Scotland and a firm believer in the utility of State Churches generally. But he takes no narrow view of what the Church is. He takes the word "Church" in its least controversial sense, comprehending under it, with Richard Hooker, "Every such politic society of men as did and doth in religion hold that truth which is proper to Christianity". He reviews the history of the spiritual society or Church as thus defined in its aggressive social action. He touches here on a multitude of questions—the collectivism of the primitive Christian community, the contact of Christianity with the Roman Empire, the cause of the persecutions, the position and the achievements of the Church at the period of the Edict of Constantine, its religious and social condition at the beginning of the tenth century, the state of things in the Dark Ages, the climax of the Papacy, the work of the religious orders, the abuse of Monasticism, the awakening of Europe, etc. A brief, but vivid account is also given of the work of the Church of Scotland in particular, the catholicity of the Scottish Reformation, the great ideas contained in the Second Book of Discipline, and the action of the Scottish Church on social life from her first efforts as a Protestant Church till now.

The second part is remarkable for the large body of facts on which its argument proceeds. These are gathered from many different sources, and deal with the wealth of the country, the magnitude of the pauper population, the statistics of Mr. C. Booth, the charity organisations, the prevalence of intemperance, the housing of the poor, the experiments of Dr. Chalmers in Glasgow, the Bread and Chartist Riots, etc. A very good sketch is given of the various forms of socialism, and the socialistic movement as a whole is criticised in a very forcible way in respect both of its theoretical basis and the results it has yielded so far as it has been tried.

The book concludes with a clear and telling statement of what the Church is called to do and how her ministry is to

be made effectual in relation to the complex life and accumulating problems of modern society. The closing note is one of hope. The book will be found well worth reading. It is an informing book all through. For the Christian man, and especially for the Christian worker, it has its encouragements as well as its warnings.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Contentio Veritatis: Essays on Constructive Theology.

By Six Oxford Tutors. London: John Murray, 1902. 8vo, pp. ix. + 311. Price 12s. net.

THIS is an important book and one that has much significance. The ability with which it is written is by no means the only thing that commends it to attention. Its great interest lies in the theology which it outlines as the form of Christian thought which will hold the future, and which alone deserves the name of a Constructive Theology suitable to the mental atmosphere in which men now live. In this it is another indication of the changes through which all things are passing, and of the deep and far-reaching effects resulting in the world of religion and faith from the vast transformation of ideas in the world of science, philosophy and history. The essays are the composition of Oxford men, and it is but a little while since Oxford men were conservatives *par excellence* among theologians. Twenty years ago this volume would have created some sensation. Forty years ago it would have set the heather on fire. Now it will be received with equanimity, and perhaps with less attention even than it deserves. It is not a phenomenon like the *Essays and Reviews*. It will not even provoke the excitement stirred by *Lux Mundi*. Yet it is a book that demands serious consideration, and that ought to make an impression not only by the programme which it outlines, but by the qualities of gravity, sincerity, breadth of view, intellectual power, courage and sympathy which distinguish it in almost equal measure.

The essays differ in length. The shorter of them are not the least able. The essay on "The Church," *e.g.*, by Mr. Carlyle, is one of the most candid and scholarly, and contains much in moderate compass. The essay by Mr. Wild, the Vice-Principal of St. Edmund Hall, on the "Teaching

of Christ," has no special note of distinction, and seems to us to be the least adequate of the series. It gives disproportionate space to the consideration of preliminary questions, and has nothing very original to say. At the same time there is much in it that is informing. The paper on "The Sacraments" by Mr. Inge has several points of interest. For one thing it gives a series of parallels to the Christian Eucharist which are produced from the history and usages of non-Christian races. One wonders, however, at the uncritical readiness with which some of the statements are received. There is another paper by the same hand, on the important subject of the "Person of Christ". It is a competent and fair discussion, looking at things from the Ritschlian view-point, or one not easy to distinguish from that. It reviews the course of opinion on this question of questions, and meets the objections, philosophical and scientific, raised against the possibility of an Incarnation. It concludes that the Humanitarian theories fail, and that "belief in the Divinity of the historical Christ is still an essential part of Christianity". The grounds on which this conclusion is founded are these: the consideration that if Christ did not claim to be the Son of God in a sense peculiar to Himself, the Gospels are made untrustworthy, and the real Jesus is lost to us irrecoverably; the impossibility of consenting to the surrender of His sinlessness; the integral place which His voluntary humiliation has in Christianity, and the connexion in which His most distinctive teaching stands with His personal claims. This is all well put.

The essays by Mr. Burney on "The Permanent Religious Value of the Old Testament," and Mr. Allen on "Modern Criticism and the New Testament," are opportune and helpful contributions. There is nothing very exciting or out of the way in them. But they give excellent summaries of results, and show in a clear and convincing way how a just criticism cannot take from the spiritual worth of Scripture, but will make it more certain, and bring it home more clearly to the intelligence. These are essays which

ought to relieve perplexed minds and encourage faith. The most outstanding essay is the opening one by Dr. Rashdall on "The Ultimate Basis of Theism". It is a congenial subject, and Dr. Rashdall handles it in a conspicuously able fashion. He unfolds the idealistic argument for Theism at some length, analysing it and exhibiting the idea of God which it sustains—the idea of a God *for* whom the world exists, but not of a Creator by whom it is made. He deals next with the argument for Causality, showing for what it is valid and how it supplements the other. Meeting the objections usually urged at this point, he goes on to show how reason leads us to a conception of God which is in harmony with Christ's teaching and with the doctrine of the Trinity. There are many things in this very able essay that will carry assent and stimulate thought, though there are also some things that are left somewhat uncertain. It is a candid and critical re-statement of the idealistic argument, with additions and adjustments. It deals in a very capable way with the question of the Personality of the First Cause, and shows how the idea of a Personal God makes the idea of an Incarnation possible.

On some questions of fundamental importance the volume stops short of what we believe to be the necessary issue. The question of *miracles* is somewhat indeterminately dealt with; but the moral miracle of Christ's sinlessness has a central place, and it is admitted that there may be abnormal degrees of such mental control of natural processes as is seen in every act of will. Another matter of vital moment which seems to be left in some doubt is the value to be attached to the historical character of Christianity and in especial to its historical foundations. The mystical or the intuitional seems to be more than the historical to Mr. Inge. But with whatever measure of reserve or dissent some of the positions advocated may be taken, the book itself is meant to make for faith, a reasonable and enlightened faith, and it should be judged in the light of its obvious and praiseworthy purpose.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

A Dictionary of the Bible.

Dealing with its Language, Literature and Contents including the Biblical Theology. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M.A., D.D.; and, chiefly in the Revision of the Proofs, of A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh; S. R. Driver, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford; H. B. Swete, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Vol. iv. *Pleroma-Zuzim.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. Pp. xi. + 994. Price 28s.

Encyclopædia Biblica.

A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political and Religious History, the Archæology, Geography and Natural History of the Bible. Edited by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, D.Litt., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, and formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Canon of Rochester; and J. Sutherland Black, M.A., LL.D., formerly Assistant Editor of the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*". Vol. iii. *L. to P.* London: Adam & Charles Black, 1902. Pp. xv. + columns 2689-3988. Price 20s. net.

ALL students of the Bible will receive these two volumes with thankfulness. In the case of the second their sense of indebtedness will be tempered, it is true, by other feelings. But in both volumes there is so great a wealth of useful matter that readers of all kinds will find what meets their needs, and specialists in many different lines of inquiry, however strong their dissent from some things may be, will discover in both books much that will at once satisfy them and help them. Further experience of the two dictionaries deepens the impression that the first named is by far the

better and more reliable guide and comes much nearer the idea of what a Bible Dictionary should be. The unhappy peculiarities and ineptitudes which so largely diminished the value of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* in its former issues obtrude themselves again in this third volume. There is no abatement of the tendency to disappoint us where we want solid fact and the materials for forming our own judgment of things, and to put us off with a multitude of private opinions and thin speculations which have little or no basis in fact, but are in most cases flimsy and sometimes flippant. This, we are glad to say, does not hold true of the *Encyclopædia* as a whole. It is confined to a certain class of articles and to three or four writers. But there is vastly too much of it, and an examination of this new volume only sharpens the feeling of regret that it is there at all, and that it is there in such measure as to damage very seriously the scientific character of the work.

The publishers of the *Dictionary of the Bible*, the editor, the assistant-editor and the scholars (one of whom, alas ! is no more with us) who have given efficient help in counsel and in revision, are to be cordially congratulated on the completion of an undertaking of such magnitude. A supplementary volume is in preparation in which a place will be found for additions, not a few of them of great importance, which suggested themselves as desirable during the progress of the work. But the original scheme has now been overtaken, and the work in that sense is finished. It has been carried out with distinguished ability, unfailing skill, sound judgment, and admirable fidelity to the programme presented to the public when the announcement of the publication was first made.

There are many important articles in this concluding volume of the *Dictionary*, more indeed than we can deal with in any adequate way. The one which will probably be recognised to be the weightiest of all is that on "Prophecy and Prophets". It is by the late Professor A. B. Davidson, whose lamented decease means so great a loss to scholarship and so heavy a sorrow to many friends. This article shows the master-hand

in every paragraph, and makes a contribution of quite unusual value. Other Old Testament topics are handled by different scholars with conspicuous ability. It would be difficult to point to any treatise on the "Psalms" that will match the article by Professor Davison of Handsworth for concise, comprehensive statement and judicious use of the critical faculty. With regard to the question of the authorship of the Psalms, especially those assigned by tradition to David himself, Professor Davison agrees neither with the extremists who deny the Davidic origin of almost all the Psalms, nor with those who claim as many as forty-four for the King. His conclusion is that from ten to twenty, hardly more and possibly less, may be by David himself. Among these he would reckon iii., iv., vii., viii., xv., xviii., xxiii., xxiv., xxxii., and possibly ci., cx. As to Maccabean Psalms he thinks the number cannot be large, but that some such Psalms, *e.g.*, xlv., lxxiv., lxxix., lxxxiii., may have found a place in the Psalter before the Canon was closed. Professor Kennedy's articles on the "Tabernacle" and "Weights and Measures" are noticeable for the great mass of information, gathered from many different quarters, which they furnish, and for the independent way in which the questions are dealt with that are raised with reference to the historical character of the priestly narrative by the silence of the pre-exilic historical books. Count Baudissin's article on "Priests and Levites," Professor Strack's on the "Text of the Old Testament," Professor Bacher's on "Sanhedrin" and "Synagogue," Canon Driver's on the "Confusion of Tongues," Professor Nestle's on the "Septuagint," are all of high quality, and others might easily be named.

The New Testament books are also well handled, *e.g.*, those on the Epistles to the "Thessalonians," to "Timothy," and to "Titus," by Professor Locke, "Romans," by Principal Robertson, and especially "Revelation," by Professor F. C. Porter of Yale. The "Text of the New Testament" has been committed to the hand of Professor Nestle. It deals with the subject at considerable length, and with all the ability one expects from Dr. Nestle, though with an occasional tendency to theorise.

A considerable place is wisely given to matters of Biblical theology. Among the best examples of the kind of treatment proper to such subjects in a *Dictionary*, we may instance the papers on "Propitiation," by Canon Driver, "Predestination," by Professor Warfield, "Psychology," by Professor Laidlaw, "Regeneration," by Professor Bartlet, "Sacrifice," by Professor Paterson (a comprehensive and well-considered statement of the relevant data and the interpretations put upon them), "Salvation, Saviour," by Professor Adams Brown (a full and very instructive paper), etc. Here, too, special attention should be directed to the papers on "Son of God" by Canon Sanday, and "Son of Man" by Canon Driver, than which there is nothing better in the whole volume and nothing more satisfactory elsewhere on these subjects.

Not the least notable contributions to our knowledge will be found in some of the historical articles, especially one by Professor Gwatkin on the "Roman Empire". Nor should we omit to refer to such masterly papers on topics of a different kind as those on "Writing" by Dr. Kenyon, and "Zoroastrianism" by Mr. Moulton. But enough has been said to show that this volume is quite on a level with the former three in interest and in ability, and to warrant us to express the opinion that the book is likely to rank for long as our most valuable Bible Dictionary.

The *Encyclopædia Biblica* also contains many notable and useful articles. There is perhaps none better than that on "Names," an elaborate treatment of the subject under the different headings of Personal Names, Place Names, Divine Names, with detailed discussions on the structure of names, their meaning, their history, the phenomena of borrowed names, etc. It is the joint production of Professors Nöldeke, Buchanan Gray, Kautzsch and Cheyne. The book of "Leviticus" is dealt with by the very competent hand of President Moore of Andover, who also writes ably on "Numbers," "Nature Worship," and "Philistines". The book of "Proverbs" is handled by the late Professor Toy of Harvard, instructively but with little insight. There are excellent articles on the "Nile" by Professor W. M. Müller; the

"Parables" by Professor Jülicher; "Moab" by Professors G. A. Smith, Wellhausen and Cheyne; "Mesopotamia" by Professor Socin and Dr. Winckler; "Palestine" by Messrs. Socin, W. M. Müller, H. H. W. Pearson and A. E. Shipley (a very thorough and adequate article); "Persia" by Professors Tiele and F. Brown; "Passover," "Pentecost," etc., by Professor Benzinger; "Poetical Literature" by Professor Duhm.

The late Professor Robertson Smith is represented by articles on such books as "Obadiah," "Lamentations," "Psalms," "Malachi," and on such subjects as "Nazarite," "Levites," "Messiah," "Priest," "Proselyte". These articles are edited and supplemented by different hands. Of their worth it is not necessary to speak. It is more in point to notice the sobriety, the caution and the careful regard to the quantity and quality of presentable facts which make them stand out in striking contrast with a great deal that they are associated with in this volume.

When we turn to a certain class of articles, those subscribed, *e.g.*, by Professor Cheyne, Schmiedel, Usener and van Manen, we are indeed in a different atmosphere. We get into the land of marvels, where the conjuror dwells and waves his wand. His touch brings Paul to the vanishing point, and bids his Epistles be gone, dissolving even the great "quadrilateral" that Baur held impregnable. "With respect to the canonical Pauline Epistles," we are told, "the later criticism here under consideration has learned to recognise that they are none of them by Paul; neither fourteen, nor thirteen, nor nine or ten, nor seven or eight, nor yet even the four so long 'universally' regarded as unassailable. They are all, without distinction, pseudepigraphia." Here is a sweeping and self-assured pronouncement. On what grounds is it made? On such as these—that in Romans ix.-xi. the rejection of Israel is dealt with "in a manner that cannot be thought to have been possible before the fall of the Jewish State in 70 A.D."—a wholly mistaken conception of the real tenor of the statement. Or because "we never come upon any trace in tradition of the impression which the supposed letters of

Paul may have made—though, of course, each of them must, if genuine, have produced its own impression upon the Christians at Rome, at Corinth, in Galatia”. But what of Clement of Rome and the use of 1 Corinthians, to mention only one thing? Or again because we can infer from the contents of these epistles that their writers and readers “live in the midst of problems which—most of them at all events—when carefully considered, are seen not to belong to the first twenty or thirty years after the death of Jesus”. But what reason is there for asserting that such difficulties as those about the rise of the Sabbath, the continuing obligation of circumcision, the eating of meats offered in idol temples, and the like, could not have arisen so early as the years 50-65 A.D.? Are not these the difficulties most certain to have arisen at the very earliest period? And what becomes of the Pauline Epistles on van Manen’s theory? Is it more reasonable to take such a letter as that to the Galatians for what it seems *prima facie* to be—a letter coming straight from the heart of the man, instinct with his determination to vindicate his mission, throbbing as it surely does with the sense of a strong individuality, or to take it for a composition elaborately put together long after Paul’s death and sent abroad under his name with a view to certain theological or ecclesiastical objects? But there is little to be got by trying to follow the fancies of extremists of this type. We wish it were possible to say that this is a case that stands by itself. But it is far from being so. There is indeed worse than this. There are things in the articles on “Mary” and the “Nativity” which it is a pain to read. There are also some poor and inadequate articles, such as the one by Dr. Orello Cone on the Epistles of Peter. And there is also King Charles’s head. Our good friends Jerahmeel and the Jerahmeelites are always cropping up, and a place is made for them in the most extraordinary quarters by the help of smart conjecture and fine cutting and carving on the text. To meet them once or twice may be diverting. To have them so often pressed on our notice is fair neither to them nor to us. Let us get away from their scenic forms to something plainer and more substantial.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

THE May issue of the *Revue Néo-scholastique*, published by the Philosophical Society of Louvain under the direction of D. Mercier, contains informing articles on these subjects among others: Aristotle's idea of the soul and its faculties (by Clodius Piat), the Neo-Thomist Movement, etc., together with a long list of careful book-reviews.

In the *Methodist Review* for May-June we notice the opening paper by President Bashford of the Ohio Wesleyan University on "Prophecy," and an article on the "Origin of the Semitic Alphabet," by Professor W. M. Patton of Yale. There are readable papers also of a different kind, on "Wordsworth," by Dr. James Mudge, "Victor Hugo," by Professor Wilker, and "Robert Louis Stevenson," by Professor E. Mims.

New Testament scholars will read with interest the estimate of the "Literary Work of Joseph Henry Thayer," by Professor C. J. H. Ropes, in the April issue of the *American Journal of Theology*.

The third part of the third volume of the *Teologisk Tidsskrift* contains an important article by Professor C. H. Scharling on "Luther's Theology," on the basis of Köstlin's work.

In the April issue of the *Journal of Theological Studies* the Rev. G. H. Box writes on "The Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist". He finds "the true Jewish Antecedent" not in the Passover but in the *Kiddāsh*. The Rev. C. H. Turner has an elaborate discussion of "The Genuineness of the Sardican Canons". He grants that Zosimus and Innocent neither had the instincts of scholars themselves nor consulted scholars before they used the documents. But he concludes that the evidence of history is against the supposition that the Canons were forgeries or that the title given them was meant to deceive.

In the May-June issue of the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* we have continuations of two important studies—the one by Jérôme Labourt on “Christianity in the Persian Empire,” and the other by Joseph Turmel on “Augustine's Doctrine of Original Sin”.

The *Church Quarterly Review* usually makes good reading. The April issue contains the continuation of an interesting paper on “English Coronations”. The New Education Bill is discussed from the Church side, with a very imperfect apprehension of its defects and injustices. There are some extraordinary statements in a paper on “Some Tendencies of Modern Nonconformity,” as, for example, that the publication of Professor Bruce's article in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* “proves how adequately the up-to-date Presbyterian enunciates the Unitarianism of twenty years ago”. It is pleasant to set over against ignorant bursts of this sort the careful paper on the newly discovered fragments of *Ecclesiasticus*, in which the writer pronounces it premature to come to a positive conclusion, but suggests that “much that is set down to imitation may be only part of the common stock of the language, and that the presence of late forms and phrases may often have to be explained as due to glossators and interpolators”.

In the third issue of the *Revue de Théologie et des Questions Religieuses* for 1902 M. Neel concludes his series on “Les Conceptions actuelles de Royaume de Dieu,” and C. Bruston contributes a good paper on Suetonius and the Book of Acts—“Le Témoinage de Suétone et le récit du livre des Actes”.

We call special attention to an important paper by Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xxiii., I, on “Problems in Greek Syntax”. It sums up the results of the studies of many years on the use of the copula, the moods and tenses, the prepositions, the cases, the employment of the Absolute, etc. It contains much that is of moment.

We have also to notice another instalment of W. Muss-Arnolt's *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language* (*Assyrian*

—*English—German*),¹ bringing this important and well-conceived contribution to our knowledge of the ancient tongue down to *Sīmtu*; a short and interesting sketch of the career of *Francis E. Clark*,² the founder of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour, by W. Knight Chaplin; *Religions of Bible Lands*,³ by D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., Laudian Professor of Arabic, Oxford, an addition to the series of *Christian Study Manuals* edited by the Rev. R. E. Welsh, a volume giving in very concise form a useful outline of the knowledge we now have of the Semitic Religions, the Religion of Egypt, and that of Persia; *The Creed of an Evangelical Churchman*,⁴ by the Rev. H. Laurence Phillips, curate of St. Paul's Greenwich, a careful unpretentious statement in popular terms of the fundamental doctrines of the evangelical creed, showing considerable acquaintance with the literature of the subject, both ancient and modern; *Ein Original-Dokument aus der Diokletianischen Christenverfolgung*,⁵ an admirable and very acceptable publication which we owe to Professor Adolf Deissmann of Heidelberg, giving the text (together with full information about the history of the document and some acute suggestions as to the readings) of the interesting papyrus which preserves the letter of the presbyter Psenosiris to the presbyter Apollon his "beloved brother in the Lord"; *Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians*, edited by G. Currie Martin, M.A., B.D., another volume of *The Century Bible*, done with care and skill,⁶ one of the best of the series, giving brief, useful notes, touching on the main points of interest as far as the limits permit, and finding space also for concise and scholarly statements of the more important questions relating to the

¹ Part 12. Berlin: Reuther u. Reichard; London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 705-768. Price 5s. net.

² London: Andrew Melrose. Pp. 115. Price 1s. net.

³ London: Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. viii. + 132. Price 1s. net.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 168. Price 5s.

⁵ Tübingen u. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 36. Price 1s. 6d. net.

⁶ Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack. Pp. viii. + 192. Price 2s. net, cloth; 3s. net, leather.

origin and literary history of the writings; *Religio Laici*,¹ by the Rev. H. C. Beeching, M.A., Professor of Pastoral Theology at King's College, London, a series of studies addressed to laymen, lively and popular in their style, discussing a wide variety of subjects from "Christianity and Stoicism" (a very fair sketch) and "Isaak Walton's Life of Donne" to "Fallacies in the Ritual Controversy" (a somewhat boisterous performance) and the "Church and Elementary Education," all very readable, and containing some good remarks, but seldom penetrating beneath the surface of the questions in hand; *Notes Introductory to the Study of the Clementine Recognitions*,² a valuable course of lectures by the late Dr. F. J. A. Hort, edited by Dr. J. O. F. Murray of Emmanuel College, giving the results of careful and prolonged consideration of the difficult questions presented by these writings, furnishing an admirable summary of the doctrine of the Recognitions, and working out with great force the lines of evidence leading to the conclusion that the Clementine literature is of comparatively late date—the work of a Syrian Helxaite about A.D. 200; *Patristic Study*,³ by Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge—one of the volumes of the "Handbooks for the Clergy" series, giving in concise and attractive form much useful information about the Fathers, both early and Post-Nicene, which should quicken interest in their work and place the student in the proper position for appreciating their writings; *The Development of Doctrine from the Early Middle Ages to the Reformation*,⁴ by Professor J. S. Banks, a continuation of the studies begun in the author's *Development of Doctrine in the Early Church*, carrying on the history from Gregory the Great to Calvin and the Counter-Reformation, a good handbook, fitted to be of much use to students, scholarly, appreciative, carefully arranged, and

¹ London: Smith Elder & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 270. Price 6s.

² London: Macmillan & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 158. Price 4s. 6d.

³ London: Longmans, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. + 194. Price 2s. 6d. net.

⁴ London: C. H. Kelly, 1901. Small cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 266. Price 2s. 6d.

presenting the main points at each stage of the doctrinal process; *Lex-Loci, Social and Religious Life in the Highlands*,¹ by the Rev. Kenneth Macdonald, Applecross, a sketch of the condition of things in the Scottish Highlands from the earliest times to the present day, with special reference to recent religious movements—a book full of shrewd and racy observation, humorous and acute, explaining much that seems strange to a Lowlander, the work of a Highlander who is both appreciative and critical of Highlanders; *The Meaning of Homoousios in the "Constantinopolitan" Creed*,² an acute and learned essay by J. F. Bethune-Baker, B.D., containing some important discussions on the history of the terms *substantia*, *persona* and others, but directed specially and with much ability against the theory projected by Zahn and Harnack and accepted too readily by Gwatkin, Loofs, and others, that a new meaning was read into the Nicene terms by an assumed "new Nicene" party, the result being that while the word *Homoousios* was retained it was understood in the sense of *Homoiousios*, a theory so unlikely in itself as to require for its establishment much more convincing reasons than have yet been produced; *Purgatory, the State of the Faithful Departed, Invocation of Saints*³—a series of three lectures by Dr. A. J. Mason, which it is a delight to read both for their felicitous style and for their admirable spirit, making much more indeed of the intermediate state than in our judgment is justified by the New Testament, and open to objection in their interpretations of some important passages both of Scripture and of the Patristic writings (especially Clement), but generally sober in their conclusions, valuable for the historical matter which they present, and written from the standpoint of one who holds by the Anglican position

¹ Edinburgh: R. W. Hunter, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 319.

² Texts and Studies. Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, edited by J. Armitage Robinson, D.D. Vol. vii., No. 1. Cambridge: University Press, 1901. 8vo, pp. vii.+83. Price 3s. net.

³ By Arthur James Mason, D.D., Lady Margaret's Reader on Divinity at Cambridge. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvii.+170. Price 3s. 6d. net.

that no traditional doctrine or practice has a claim on our allegiance unless it can be shown to "represent the teaching of the Apostles and to have been received as such in the early and undivided Church"; *The Elements of Christian Doctrine*,¹ by T. A. Lacey, M.A., Vicar of Madingley—a volume giving a statement of "those fundamental truths which underlie theology as the facts of nature underlie the natural sciences," but including also not a little of *theology* and *dogma* in the stricter sense of the terms, containing much good and useful matter, keeping, however, in large measure within the limits of ancient authority, giving no evidence of sufficient acquaintance with modern theology outside the Anglican range, and constructed on the basis of the High Anglican view of the Church and the Sacraments; *F. H. R. v. Frank's Gotteslehre* ²—a contribution offered by Dr. Friederich K. E. Weber to the history of the philosophy of religion in the nineteenth century, and giving a careful statement of the main points of the late Professor Frank of Erlangen's doctrine of God and the presuppositions of that doctrine—a welcome guide to the study (by no means an easy thing) of the theological system of a great Lutheran master; *Ordination Addresses*,³ by the Right Rev. William Stubbs, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Oxford—a memorial volume of great interest, carefully edited by Mr. E. E. Holmes, Vicar of Sonning, formerly domestic chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford, discourses full of strong practical sense and deep thinking, distinguished by a large tolerance and a keen sense of the fitness of things, always forcible and sometimes pungent in style, in which much is wisely said on the Church, Scripture, the Diaconate, self-dedication, and kindred subjects.

¹ London: Rivingtons, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 318. Price 5s. net.

² Leipzig: Deichert, 1901. 8vo, pp. xv. + 76. Price M.1.60.

³ London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 337. Price 6s. net.

Record of Select Literature.

I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

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- KAULEN, F. Der biblische Schöpfungsbericht (Gen. i., 1 bis 2, 3), erklärt. Freiburg i. B.: Herder. 8vo, pp. iii. + 93. M.1.
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- PRESTEL, J. Die Baugeschichte des jüdischen Heiligthums u. der Tempel Salomons. Mit 7 Tafeln auf 2 Blätter. (Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes.) Strassburg: J. H. E. Heitz. Lex. 8, pp. viii. + 56. M.4.50.
- KRIEGER, H. Das Leiden des Gerechten im Buche Hiob u. im Lichte des Neuen Testaments, Progr. Leipzig: Buchh. G. Fock. 8vo, pp. 34. M.0.80.
- HOLZHEY, C. Die Bücher Ezra u. Nehemia. Untersuchungen ihres litterar u. geschichtl. Charakters. (Studien zur alttestamentlichen Einleitung u. Geschichte. 2 Hft.) München: J. J. Lentner. 8vo, pp. 68. M.1.80.
- ENGERT, Th. Der betende Gerechte der Psalmen. Historisch-krit. Untersuchg. als Beitrag zu e. Einleitg. in den Psalter. Würzburg: Göbel & Scherer. 8vo, pp. iv. + 134. M.2.
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Recent Work in Egyptology and Assyriology.

THE work of excavation is being pushed forward so rapidly in Egypt, Babylonia and other parts of the ancient Oriental world that it is somewhat difficult to keep pace with it. New and ever more startling results are constantly being announced, discovery treads on the heels of discovery, and the past history of civilised man is being disclosed to us in a way of which we little dreamed but a few years ago. The most striking result has been to re-establish the credit of the traditions which had come down to us from the past. Culture has been proved to be of vast antiquity, and the literary age of mankind has been thrown back for unnumbered centuries. Literary civilisation is immensely old—this is the main conclusion to which archæological research has led us; and literary civilisation implies contemporaneous annals and a trustworthy historical record.

In Egypt, Professor Flinders Petrie has completed his work at the royal tombs of the First Dynasty at Abydos, and has occupied the past winter in excavating on the site of the temple of Osiris, which may have been founded before the age of Menes. In the three volumes published by the Egypt Exploration Fund (*The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty at Abydos*, part i., 1898-99; *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, part ii., 1900-01; *Abydos*, part i., 1902) a detailed account of the work at the tombs is given, illustrated with photographs and drawings of the multitudinous objects found in them. Kings whose very existence had been questioned turn out to have been not only living monarchs of flesh and blood, but to have flourished in an age of high artistic and literary culture, when Egypt was already as fully organised and its civilisation as fully advanced as it was in the days of the Fourth Dynasty. The hieroglyphic system of writing, with its ideographs, its syllabic characters and its

alphabet, was already complete, and a cursive hand had even been developed out of it. When the united monarchy of Upper and Lower Egypt was founded by Menes, Egyptian culture was already old.

The tombs explored by Professor Petrie belong for the most part to the kings of the First and Second Dynasties. Some of the identifications of the royal names proposed by him have recently been disputed by Professor Naville (in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xxiv., pp. 105-117) upon philological grounds; it must be remembered, however, that Professor Petrie's arguments are chiefly archæological, and we are at last beginning to learn that historical conclusions cannot be drawn from philology, the province of which lies elsewhere. Those who like myself have been present at the excavations at Hieraconpolis and El-Kab can feel no doubt that Professor Petrie is right in placing Pharaohs like "Nar-mer" before Menes, and archæology equally forces us to see in the royal tomb discovered by M. de Morgan at Nagada the sepulchre of Menes himself. Professor Naville has changed his reasons for rejecting the reading of the name of Menes proposed simultaneously by Professor Maspero and Dr. Borchardt, but his new arguments against it are as unsatisfactory as his old ones even from a purely philological point of view. No archæologist can avoid agreeing with Professor Petrie in placing the Nagada tomb immediately before those of the First Dynasty at Abydos. Its architecture and the objects discovered in it alike prove the fact.

But it is not only the historical age of Menes and his successors which has been lighted up by the results of recent excavation; the prehistoric age of Egypt has also been so fully made known to us that Professor Petrie has succeeded in dividing it into periods distinguished by special forms of art and burial. In *Diospolis Parva* (London, 1901), where an account is given of the excavations conducted by him for the Egypt Exploration Fund in the neighbourhood of Hû, a provisional attempt is made to establish a chronology of the "prehistoric" age by the aid of the pottery and stone vases

that have been disinterred in the neolithic cemeteries of the country. Even the ivories, flint implements and slate "palettes" are found to fall into groups characteristic of the several periods to which the different classes of pottery belong. Once introduced, a type naturally lasted into later stages of development and was only slowly superseded by other forms of art. Counting back from the period of the First Dynasty to that of the earliest neolithic graves, Professor Petrie obtains five well-marked stages or periods numbered 30 to 80 in his scale of "sequence-dates". If we assume an average of four centuries for each of these periods, the oldest "prehistoric" interments would reach back some two thousand years before the time when Menes united the two kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt under one rule. What relation was borne by the neolithic to the dynastic Egyptian is still uncertain. Certain German scholars maintain that the civilisation of dynastic Egypt developed naturally out of that of the neolithic population. For my own part I believe that the native traditions were right in making the dynastic Egyptians a race of conquerors who brought with them a higher culture and a knowledge of the use of metals and were thus enabled to reduce the native tribes to a state of serfdom. Anthropology has shown that there were at least two races in Egypt, the amalgamation of which produced the Egyptian of history.

There is much to be said in favour of the theory which brings the dynastic Egyptians from Babylonia. Indeed there is one fact which seems practically decisive. This is the use of the seal-cylinder and of clay as a writing material in the early days of the monarchy. Both were out of place in Egypt, which is a land of stone, while the loamy soil, mixed as it is with sand, is eminently unsuitable for writing purposes. Babylonia, on the other hand, was the natural home of the cylinder and the clay tablet. It was a land without stone, where every pebble was precious, and where therefore the gem-cutter's art was cultivated from the first. It was, moreover, an alluvial plain the tenacious clay of which readily received an impression and retained it per-

manently after the clay was dry. The writing materials that were unnatural in Egypt were thus natural and obvious in Babylonia, and accordingly while they disappeared in Egypt before the close of the Old Empire they lasted in Babylonia down to the age of the Arsacid kings.

The Asiatic origin of the civilisation of dynastic Egypt becomes important in view of another fact that is being impressed upon us by archæological research. Egyptian culture, or rather the culture of dynastic Egypt, seems to have no beginning. The art and industries of the Egypt of Menes were as highly advanced as those of the Egypt of Cheops. We find no trace of the beginnings of its system of writing or even of the political and civil organisation of the country. As far back as excavation can carry us, dynastic Egypt is still the Egypt with which our museums have made us familiar. Indeed in some respects the further back we go the higher and more developed its art appears to be, the architecture is more grandiose, the bas-reliefs are more carefully finished, the statuary more lifelike and realistic. The hardest stones are carved into statues of exquisite perfection, and the delicate beauty of the jewellery discovered by Professor Petrie in what he regards as the tomb of the son and successor of Menes is worthy of imitation to-day. Egyptian art and culture seem to spring full-grown into existence like Athena from the head of Zeus.

An illustration of the fact has been afforded by the German excavations last winter at Abusir. Here, midway between Giza and Saqqara, they have found the remains of the temple attached to the pyramid of User-n-Ra of the Fifth Dynasty. The temple was built on a colossal scale and paved with huge blocks of black basalt. The walls were covered with bas-reliefs, the workmanship of which is equal to that of the finest products of the Twelfth Dynasty, while rows of granite columns supported the roof on either side. The columns were carved into the form of groups of four papyri tied together; the form has been made familiar to Egyptian travellers by the temple of Luxor, and has hitherto been supposed to be an invention of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The

supposition, however, turns out to have been due merely to the imperfection of the architectural record, and like most of the negative conclusions of Egyptology to have been the result of our own ignorance. In the days of the Fifth Dynasty the papyriform column had already attained its full development.

Are we, then, to look to Babylonia for the first essays of civilised man ; to that plain of Shinar, in fact, where the book of Genesis and Babylonian tradition placed the earliest cradle of post-diluvian culture ? The Americans who have been working for so many years on the site of Nippur in Northern Babylonia are inclined to answer in the affirmative. If their conclusions can be established, Babylonian civilisation can be traced back to a far earlier epoch than that of dynastic Egypt, and what is more important the earlier and ruder forms out of which the later culture grew, undiscoverable as they are in the valley of the Nile, can be pointed out in Babylonia. The proof of the conclusion is twofold. On the one side it is based on the development of Babylonian art and writing as represented at Nippur ; on the other side on the depth of the *débris* that has accumulated on the site of the great temple of Bel. Midway in the mound of ruins is a platform of bricks stamped with the names of Sargon and his son Naram-Sin, whose date according to Nabonidos was 3,200 years before his own time, that is to say, about B.C. 3800. Below the platform the excavators had to remove nine and a half metres of ruins before they reached the foundations of the temple, while above the platform the period ending with the Christian era was represented by eleven metres. As the *débris* had to be levelled before the brick platform was laid, the American explorers do not seem to be far wrong in estimating that the first builders of the sanctuary lived as much as seven or eight thousand years ago. And even at this remote period the pictorial hieroglyphs out of which the cuneiform characters developed were already assuming their later hieratic or cursive form.

In my forthcoming Gifford Lectures I have given reasons for believing that Nippur was one of the two religious centres from which radiated the primitive culture of Babylonia. The

other centre was Eridu, once the sea-port of the country, but left an inland town by the retreat of the Persian Gulf at least six millennia ago. While the darker side of Babylonian religion emanated from Nippur, its brighter and more humanised side was due to the influence of Eridu. The god of Eridu was the culture-god of Babylonia, and to him was ascribed the elements of art and science and the invention of writing. As he was a god of the water, it may be concluded that maritime trade and intercourse with other peoples had much to do with the development of Babylonian civilisation.

At Nippur a library, calculated to contain 250,000 clay tablets or books, has been discovered, which according to Professor Hilprecht was destroyed and buried underground at the time of the Elamite invasion in the age of Abraham. So far as the tablets have as yet been examined, they appear to relate to all the branches of learning that were studied at the time, and we may expect from them historical revelations of considerable importance. But the work of copying and translating them will necessarily be a long one.

Another library, of more than 30,000 tablets, has been found at Tello, the ancient Lagas, by the French excavator M. de Sarzec, whose untimely death last year is a grievous loss to science. The Tello tablets, however, consist for the most part of deeds and similar legal documents, inventories of goods, and stewards' accounts. Among them are plans of houses and estates, but little of a directly historical nature. But they throw a good deal of light on the social and economical history of Babylonia about B.C. 2700, the period to which most of them belong, and the dates attached to many of them are valuable for chronological purposes.

It is from the ancient Elam, however, that our chief historical surprise has come. Here M. de Morgan, the late Director of the Department of Antiquities in Egypt, has been working systematically at the mounds of Susa, and disinterring the remains of the city that stood there before the days of Cyrus and Darius. The results of his work are embodied in the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* (Paris, Leroux, 1900-1), of

which three volumes have appeared and three more are promised. The two volumes containing the inscriptions found by the excavator have been ably edited by Dr. Scheil. It turns out that Susa was originally a Babylonian city, governed by a satrap who owned allegiance to the imperial Babylonian government. It was not till a comparatively late epoch, when the Babylonian power was beginning to decay, that non-Semitic princes from Anzan gained possession of Susa and its territory and founded the kingdom of Elam. Babylonia, however, continued to claim suzerainty over its old province, and from time to time when Babylonia was in the hands of a strong ruler the claim was made good. Thus monuments have been found there of Khammurabi or Ammurapi, called Amraphel in the book of Genesis, as well as of several kings of the later Kassite dynasty. The ethnographical table in the tenth chapter of Genesis is right, after all, in making Elam a son of Shem.

While the Americans have been exploring Nippur and the French have been disinterring Tello and Susa, the Germans have also entered the field of excavation. Their principal work has been on the site of Babylon. Here they have discovered the palace of Nebuchadrezzar, which proves to be represented by the mound of El-Qasr "the Palace," as well as the great street along which the religious processions made their way to the temple of the god. The street was raised and paved with blocks of stone, bordered on either side by walls of glazed tiles on which lions and rosettes were painted. The Persian kings are thus shown to have only followed a Babylonian model in adorning their palaces with encaustic tiles. The explorers claim further to have discovered Ê-Sagila, the temple of Bel-Merodach, in the *tel* of 'Amrân ibn-'Ali to the south of El-Qasr. Dr. von Bissing, however, in a recent communication to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (27th June, 1902), has given reasons for questioning the claim until it can be substantiated by monumental evidence: the inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar seem to place the great sanctuary of Bel to the north rather than to the south of the palace, and nothing has as yet been found which obliges us to

identify the mound of 'Amrân with its site. In another group of mounds, usually known as Jumjuma, from which the famous tablets of the Egibi "banking-firm" were obtained, some four hundred tablets have been disinterred, one of which contains a litany in Sumerian and Semitic Babylonian which was chanted by the priests in honour of Merodach on the 11th day of Nisan when the image of the god was transferred from Borsippa to Babylon. In the same spot a temple of Nin-ip has been brought to light, with a long record of its restoration by Nabopolassar shortly after his successful revolt from Assyria. In this he describes himself as the "son of a nobody," "the little one who was not regarded among the people". Jumjuma represents the quarter of Babylon called Su-anna. While still continuing their work at Babylon, the German expedition is now preparing to extend its excavations to Abû Hatab and Fâra in Southern Babylonia. A new American expedition, moreover, under Dr. Banks, is about to attack the ruins of Kutha at Tell Ibrâhîm.

The work of excavation, in which England once took a leading part, has thus been handed over to other nations. English scholars have to content themselves with the results of French, American and German discovery, or with fresh gleanings from the rich harvest of tablets which have been brought to the British Museum in former years. While Professor Harper in America is going on steadily with the publication of his *Assyrian Letters* from the library of Nineveh, an English Assyriologist, the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, has been bringing out a truly monumental work on *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Deighton Bell & Co., 1898-1901). The work has been executed with a conscientious thoroughness which will prevent its ever being done a second time; it is difficult to find any point arising out of the texts, most of which are here published for the first time, which is not fully discussed. The texts naturally throw a large amount of light on the commercial and economical history of Assyria in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Assyrian law differed in many respects from Babylonian law, and Mr. Johns is doubtless right in

believing that the documents with which he deals do not record private transactions like the majority of similar documents from Babylonia but are connected with the affairs of the royal household. In spite of this, however, they are invaluable for a study of Assyrian law, more especially so far as it related to trading matters, as well as for the chronology of the period to which they belong and the social conditions of the people. Incidentally they cast light also on such subjects as the geography of the Assyrian empire or the proper names of both Assyrians and foreigners. Thus Raman appears in several proper names as the title of a god, proving that the Assyrian Air-god might be called Raman as well as Hadad (*cf.* Zech. xii. 11), and there is a long series of names like Au-bihdi, Au-yanu, Au-idri which make it plain that Au was the name of a divinity. Au-idri (Au-ezer) indicates that the divinity was Syrian, which is borne out by names like Au-Â "Au is Â" parallel to Nusku-Â "Nusku is Â". Au-bihdi so closely resembles the name of the Hamathite king Yau-bihdi as to suggest that Au is but another form of Yau in which scholars have long ago agreed to recognise the Biblical Yahveh. Many of the names found in the tablets are of Syrian or Mesopotamian origin, and Mr. Johns has been enabled by means of them to enrich the Syrian pantheon with the gods Azuzi, Khimuni, Kububi and Sikhur. One interesting document contains the two names Tarkhu-KHAL and Nakhiri which irresistibly remind us of Terah and Nahor, and make it probable that in Terah we have to see the name of the Hittite deity Tarkhu. Imâni-ilu, the Hebrew Immanuel, is also a name which should not be overlooked.

Still more striking are the references to the sacrifice of children by fire. It is one of the penalties denounced upon the violator of a contract, from which we may infer that it was an ancient custom which had passed away from ordinary use and was remembered only as a terror to evil-doers. The actual expression is: "he shall burn his eldest son," "he shall burn his eldest daughter," to "such and such a divinity". In one instance it is added that the daughter shall be burnt

"with two homers of sweet-smelling herbs". In another case the place of the verb "to burn" is taken by the verb "to bind," a euphemism similar to the Biblical one of "passing through" the fire. The goddess to whom the child was devoted was usually "the goddess of the desert".

Another fact to be gathered from the tablets examined by Mr. Johns is that while the 7th, 14th, 21st and 28th days of the month "do not show any marked abstinence from secular business," the reverse is the case with the 19th day, at the end of the seventh week from the first of the preceding month. The rest of the seventh-day Sabbath, therefore, cannot have been strictly enforced in commercial circles, at all events in the age of the second Assyrian empire.

Such are a few out of the many results for which we are indebted to Mr. Johns' publication of the Assyrian legal documents. Those who wish to know what light they throw on Assyrian metrology and official life must turn to his exhaustive chapters on those subjects. It is seldom that the reader feels inclined to differ from his conclusions. *Ramku*, however, is rather "the pourer out" of libations than "the sprinkled," and I should slightly modify Mr. Johns' translation of the technical term *'sartu* by giving it the signification of "loss". The word *arné* (or *arrané*) which he mentions as occurring in lists of furniture is "chests".

The progress of excavation and research is gradually bringing the whole of the ancient Oriental world within the circle and influence of early Babylonian and Egyptian culture. The marvellous discoveries made by Dr. Evans and the Italian explorers in the "Mykenæan" palaces of Knossos and Phæstos have shown that in the centuries immediately preceding the Mosaic age Krete was a centre of highly developed art and civilisation. The traditions of Heroic Greece have been proved to have had more than a foundation in fact. The culture of classical Hellas turns out to have been little more than a Renaissance like that of the fifteenth century in Europe. It was no sudden up-growth of spontaneous generation; there were not only heroes before Agamemnon, but sculptors and artists before Pheidias and

writing before the introduction of the Phœnician alphabet. Some of the engraved gems found at Knossos are equal to the best products of the gem-cutter's art of classical Greece. We now know also the source of that realistic art which has puzzled the Egyptologist at Tel el-Amarna: the elements of culture which had been given by Egypt to the islands and coasts of the future Greek world came back to the land of their birth in a new and developed shape. One of the most interesting discoveries made by Dr. Evans, however, was among the ruins of the earlier palace of Knossos above which the later "palace of Minos" was built. Here he found the alabaster lid of an Egyptian vase on which were inscribed the names of the Hyksos Pharaoh Khian or Iannas. As a lion bearing the cartouches of the same king has been discovered in Babylonia we may form some idea of the extent of Hyksos power and influence. Close to the alabaster lid the excavators disinterred a seal-cylinder of lapis-lazuli on which Babylonian art is seen passing into what is known as its Hittite phase. But for this and other details the reader must go to Dr. Evans's account of his last year's work in the *Annual of the British School at Athens for 1900-1* (vol. vii.).

Professor Orsi's excavations have brought Mykenæan pottery to light in Sicily, and thus verified the legends which connected Minos with that island. Dr. de Cara's two learned and elaborate volumes, *Gli Hethei-Pelasgi*, ii. and iii. (Rome, 1902), take up this side of the question and essay to show by the help of recent archæological research how the culture of Babylonia and Egypt made its way through Asia Minor and "Mykenæan" Greece to the distant West. The author marshals his facts skilfully and is thoroughly acquainted with the latest results of archæological discovery. He has made it clear that Italy once shared in the civilisation of the "Mykenæan" age and that the old traditions which described its connexion with Greece and the East were based on historical facts. Opinions may differ as to whether he has proved his contention that the Pelasgi of Greek story were the Hittites of Asia Minor and that in these "Hittite-Pelasgians" we must see the race which

brought oriental culture to the prehistoric west. A serious difficulty in the way of the theory is that the age and character of the "Mykenæan" civilisation are widely separated from those of the primitive "Bronze" civilisation of Western Europe, and that it is therefore necessary to assume the existence of two streams of "Hittite-Pelasgian" emigration, one contemporary with the Bronze age and the other with the Mykenæan. But the fact remains that archæology has now proved the extension of "Mykenæan" influences to Italy, if not to Spain, while it is becoming more and more evident that the introduction of the Bronze culture with its practice of burning the dead was coeval with the appearance of a new race upon the scene. The Hittite-Pelasgians of de Cara correspond with the "Alpine" race of Sergi, the brachycephalic "Celts" of the British and French anthropologists.

In Palestine also the excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund have brought to light "Mykenæan" remains at Tell es-Sâfi. This indeed is only what we should expect if Tell es-Sâfi is the site of Gath, as is usually supposed. Perhaps, however, the most interesting fact revealed by an examination of the pre-Israelitish pottery of Southern Palestine is the close resemblance of so much of it to the pottery found by M. Chantre among the ruins of the Hittite capitals of Boghaz Keui and Eyuk in Cappadocia. Dr. Belck, the most recent explorer of the latter sites, would assign the date of it to B.C. 2000-1500. The work just begun by Mr. Macalister on the site of Gezer will doubtless cast further light on this and kindred questions. Already the excavations conducted last spring by the Austrian expedition under Dr. Sellin on the site of Taanach have revealed the existence of "pre-Amorite" pottery, proving that the spot was occupied in what were probably neolithic days. If the pottery which characterises the Amorite age of Palestine was brought into the country by the Amorite race these days must have been remote. When Sargon of Akkad made Canaan a province of his empire in B.C. 3800 it was already known to the Babylonians as "the land of the Amorites".

A. H. SAYCE.

The Crown of Science the Incarnation of God in Mankind.

*By A. Morris Stewart, M.A. London: Andrew Melrose, 16
Pilgrim Street, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 221. Price
3s. 6d. net.*

THE author of these studies describes them in his Preface as "an attempt to indicate how one among the many seekers after unity of thought balances the two sides of his religious equation and relates his religious beliefs with those large ideas which are abroad in the secular thought of to-day" (p. x.). Mr. Stewart has familiarised himself with the ideas which modern science, physical and mental, has brought to the front; and by the help of these he succeeds in presenting Christian truth under fresh aspects, and in illustrating strikingly the unity of thought and life that pervades nature and revelation alike. The book is brightly and vividly written, and is interesting and thoughtful throughout. There is a tendency, indeed, observable in all such books, to translate religious ideas into the language of science under the idea that fresh light is thereby thrown on religious truth. But we do not gain much light on the nature of religion by being told that "it establishes nerve connexion between the individual and the centre" (p. 49). Nor are we made to see further into the mystery of evil when we think of it "in its secret beginnings in that suborganic stage, in which it opposes God in the rhythm of the impulses that come from the Will" (p. 25). And when we are assured that the "key to Instinct is the passivity with which it receives its quota of omniscience" (p. 35), we do not seem to be much further on in the understanding of that mysterious faculty. Such things as these occur here and there in the book, but they do not lessen our appreciation of the vigour and freshness of the

thinking and of the valuable contribution it makes to our knowledge of the subjects of which it treats.

Mr. Stewart's book reminds us a good deal of the work of the late Professor Drummond. He has approached Christianity through much the same discipline of mind. There is the same desire to find in the Christian scheme a further unfolding of ideas that science teaches, and the same aptness in presenting the truths of religion as the solution of problems that are raised by scientific thought. In the following passage many will detect an echo of a favourite thought of Drummond's: "The message of the Christ to-day is, that the Power of the Spirit of God is in the world, and is the present force which impels Humanity along the predestined path of its upward Evolution. Perhaps the Christian world, which seems to have moved far from its old place and attitude of Penitence for sin is just making ready for a new sense of need of the power of God, and a new understanding of its methods, and a new appreciation of its gift" (p. 117). In illustration of this he refers in his interesting chapter on the "New Heredity" to the dominance in the modern mind of the conception of Inevitable law, that may become the basis of a new sense of need of the Power of the Christ that "meets men in that level of their nature where habit rules" (p. 122).

In his suggestive chapter on the "Familiar Spirit of God," the author makes a happy use of that conception of a subliminal region of the mind on which modern psychology insists, the idea that there are "layers in our mental and moral character, and while we are only conscious of the topmost ones, others which are underneath may be a true part of ourself, even while we are not aware of them" (p. 106). He applies this view to the explanation of the whole subject of spirit-possession in the New Testament, and in particular to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, in a way that will be found helpful.

The chapter entitled "The Higher Biology" is of special interest. In it he brings the modern views on cell-life into relation with St. Paul's doctrine of the Church as an

organism. "If the apostle," he says, "had had the acquaintance of modern biology, with cells and protozoans, he would have seen the place of the individual Christian in the body of Christ as corresponding to that of the minute cell which is at the foundation of the human frame; living with the life of God, informed by His wisdom for humble but necessary tasks, surrendering independence of individuality in order to subserve the interests of the whole" (p. 153).

From what has been said it will appear that we have here a book thoroughly modern in its spirit and scope, a book that is not only interesting but most profitable reading. There is not a dull sentence in it, and it will be found most helpful to those who feel, as the author does, the intellectual necessity for correlating the ideas of science with the facts and truths of the spiritual life.

D. SOMERVILLE.

The Evolution of the English Bible. By W. H. HOARE, late of Balliol College, Oxford. Second Edition, Revised and Corrected throughout, and including Bibliography, with Portraits and Specimen Pages from Old Bibles. London: John Murray, 1902. Large Cr. 8vo, pp. 368. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Mr. H. W. Hoare, late of Balliol College, Oxford, gives us a volume on *The Evolution of the English Bible*. It is described as "an historical sketch of the successive Versions from 1382 to 1885". It is admirably printed, and is furnished also with some very good portraits and specimen pages from old Bibles. As frontispiece we have a striking portrait of John Wycliffe from an engraving by C. White. The book does not profess to be a critical history. It is a sketch of the story of the English Bible, giving in modest limits a general account of the various versions of our national Bible "with their historical setting". It endeavours at the same time so to "bring the history of the versions into relation with the main current of events as to associate the story of the national Bible with the story of the national life". The writer follows in the main Westcott and Eadie, and has succeeded in producing a very readable book that should meet a want long felt. In a series of well constructed chapters, he deals in succession with Mediæval England and the Bible, The Bible and Scholasticism, Wycliffe and the Bibles of the Fourteenth Century, William Tyndale and his Work, the Coverdale, Matthew, and Great Bibles, the Geneva, Bishops' and Douai Bibles, the Authorised Version, and the work of Revision. The whole is preceded by a very useful Chronological Table which gives the various events with their dates from the founding of Iona by St. Columba in 563 to the death of Shakespeare in 1616. A tabular view of the evolution of our English Bible is also given on a separate page.

Mr. Hoare's idea is an excellent one—to deal with the

story of our Bible as an integral part of our national history. He works out this idea, too, in a way that is generally interesting and effective. His sketches of men like Wycliffe, Coverdale, Tyndale, as well as of Biscop, Bede and others are well done. The same may be said of the brief accounts which he gives of the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Rushworth Gospels, the old prose Psalters, the Roman Catholic "Douai Bible," the Rheims-Douai New Testament, etc. He makes also some good remarks on the over-refinements of the Revised Version as well as on its conspicuous merits. He can also speak justly and appreciatively of Calvin, "the Saviour of Geneva," as Geneva was "the Saviour of the Reformation"; and of the small city-state in which, as he expresses it, "men saw the visible and active embodiment of a conviction which lay deep down in many a thoughtful mind; the conviction that there might subsist a political community without the Empire, and a Church of Christ without the Papacy".

On the other hand Mr. Hoare occasionally travels into regions not quite familiar to him. This is the case with parts of the chapter on Mediæval England, with what is said of Scholasticism; and with some occasional statements on the earlier translations. The Psalter, *e.g.*, which is described as by William of Shoreham, cannot now be so certainly attributed to that hand. Mr. Hoare also lets his style sometimes run away with him and become almost turgid. These, however, are comparatively small faults. The book is written with a real enthusiasm for the subject. It brings together a considerable mass of interesting matter, and it sets it out in a telling, instructive, and popular manner. Those into whose hands it comes—and we hope these will be many—will have their interest in the story of the English Bible deepened, and their appreciation of what it has been to the English people heightened. The volume has reached its second edition in a very short time, and in this revised issue it should be more welcome and more useful.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

The Twentieth Century New Testament. A Translation into Modern English made from the Original Greek. London: Horace Marshall & Son; New York and Chicago: The Fleming H. Revell Company, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 513.

Now that it is completed, this attempt to render the Greek New Testament into the English that now prevails, and to translate its ideas in terms of modern ways of thinking, makes a good impression. It follows the text of Westcott and Hort. It gives measures and coins as far as possible in their English equivalents, while it wisely declines to interfere with the forms of proper names and places with which we have been made familiar by the Authorised version and the Revised. The translators have been somewhat puzzled as to the best course to pursue in arranging the books. They have decided on retaining the usual grouping, but with the important qualification that within the groups the writings are placed in the chronological order which is most in favour with expert scholars. So the New Testament begins with Mark's Gospel. The Pauline letters to churches are arranged in the order of Thessalonians, Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians. The general letters are made to include Hebrews as the first in order, and after it James, 1 John, 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude. Philemon, 2 John and 3 John form a separate group of personal letters, and the Apocalypse comes last. Generally speaking, the rendering is free and popular, and suitable for the purpose in view. It seldom offends either against taste or against the real sense of the original. It has a tendency, however, which is natural in the circumstances, to adopt neutral or vague terms. On the very first page, *e.g.*, the translation "a baptism upon repentance *for* forgiveness of sins," by using the word "for" misses or obscures the real relation expressed between the baptism and the forgiveness. In Matt. xxv. 46 and elsewhere, the vexed term *aionios* is disposed of as = *enduring*. In 1 Peter iii. 19 a "then" is inserted ("His body died, but His spirit rose to new life, and it was then that He went," etc.), which goes beyond the professed

object of the translation, and commits the reader to a particular view of the exegesis. So the great Pauline phrase "in Christ" (e.g., in Eph. i. 4) becomes "in the person of Christ". But the work, as a whole, is done with a large measure of success. It keeps a safe course between a pedantic literalism and a loose paraphrase, and brings many of the great passages, especially those of a doctrinal import, nearer the common understanding of English readers of the present day.

Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament. Bearbeitet von Professor Dr. H. J. HOLTZMANN in Strassburg, etc. Erster Band. Dritte gänzlich umgearbeitete Auflage. Erste Abtheilung. Die Synoptiker, bearbeitet von H. J. HOLTZMANN. Zweite Hälfte. Die Evangelien nach Matthäus und Lucas, Titelvogen und Sachregister enthaltend. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. Large 8vo, pp. xviii. + 428. Price of the volume on the Synoptics, M.6, during the issue of the third edition; separately M.7.

Professor Holtzmann's commentary on the Synoptical Gospels has been prepared mainly on the basis of his academic lectures. Its form has naturally been influenced somewhat by this. It gives some place in particular to notes dealing with matters of antiquarian interest, with questions of textual criticism, with points belonging to lexicography, etc. To most readers this will be an advantage. The present edition differs from former issues in giving more of the details of the exegesis, and also in adopting a new arrangement of the matter. The plan of attempting to construct an inclusive commentary taking the three Gospels in one view is given up, and we get now three commentaries, dealing with Mark, Matthew and Luke separately and in succession. Mark has been handled at considerable length in the first part, and the work is completed by the publication of Matthew and Luke in the second part. On this follows the exposition of the Acts of the Apostles, which book was embraced within the scope of the first volume of the *Hand-Commentar*. The text followed is Tischendorf's

last, as it appears in the Tauchnitz issue edited by O. v. Gebhardt. All care has been taken to work in the results of the most recent literature on these Gospels, so far as is possible under the limitations of the *Hand-Commentar*. But it has not been possible to give much attention to the questions regarding Semitic originals or models, the practicability of translating the words of our Lord back into Hebrew or Aramaic, etc., which have been raised by Wellhausen, Resch, Meyer, Dalman, Nestle, Zahn and others. Professor Holtzmann wisely contents himself with the exposition of the Greek text which does exist and can be handled, and does not attempt to deal with a Semitic text which no one has seen. He indicates that his own opinion, however, is that in all probability the collection of Aramaic Logia to which antiquity bears witness in the case of Matthew was known to the Synoptists in a Greek version. Professor Holtzmann's volume should be more useful than ever in this new form.

Addresses on the Acts of the Apostles. By EDWARD WHITE BENSON, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. London: Macmillan & Co., 1901. Pp. xx.+669. Price 21s. net.

Some time ago the representatives of the late Archbishop Benson published a volume by him on *The Apocalypse*,¹ which he had hoped to finish after the completion of his book on *Cyprian*. In that volume the results of an almost life-long study of the Revelation of St. John were given. It was not intended to be more than an introductory study, but it dealt at considerable length with the structure of the Apocalypse and the fundamental principles of its interpretation. There were some things in it that were fanciful and somewhat apart from historical exegesis, but there was also much suggestive and fruitful matter in it of various kinds. It furnished a careful translation, bestowed much attention on the form of the book and the relations in which the most

¹ London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. Large Cr. 8vo, pp. xx.+177. Price 8s. 6d. net.

characteristic parts stood to each other, and gave a series of essays on the framework of the Apocalypse, its peculiarities in grammar, etc. The present volume on Acts is of a different order. It consists of a series of popular addresses, which were never fully written out, but were delivered from notes in an easy, colloquial style. There are seven groups of addresses. Of these fifteen are given to the Church of Jerusalem, five to the Conversion of St. Paul, seven to the Acts of Peter, six to the Building up of the Church, ten to Christ and the Great Towns, six to the Journey to Jerusalem, and seven to the Journey from Jerusalem to Rome. They do not grapple very firmly with the difficult problems of the book. They speak with a divided voice even of such questions as demoniacal possession, the case of the Pythoness, etc., and they are sometimes quite naïve in their Churchly spirit. They are addresses very suitable, however, for the occasions and the audience, and they contain many wise and edifying observations. The volume is a large and sumptuous one, beautifully printed, with wide margins, and having a running analysis on the side of the page.

Old Testament History. By G. WOOSUNG WADE, D.D.,
Lecturer in Hebrew at St. David's College, Lampeter.
London: Methuen & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 532.
Price 6s.

A Short History of the Hebrews to the Roman Period. By R.
L. OTTLEY, Rector of Winterbourne Bassett, Wiltshire;
sometime Student of Christ Church and Fellow of Magda-
len College, Oxford. Cambridge: University Press.
1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 324. Price 5s.

These are two volumes on the same subject, differing somewhat in scope and treatment, but each useful in its own way. Both are written from the critical standpoint, and in the spirit of the newer learning, and both supply, though not quite in the same way, the kind of history that has been needed for some time for two great classes of readers.

Dr. Wade's book is an excellent book for students. It goes more into scholarly detail than the other, and attempts

a larger, fuller presentation of the history. There is a good Introduction in which a critical account is given of the Old Testament writings—their origin, character, purpose, and their worth as authorities. There are valuable Appendices, dealing with the analysis of the Pentateuch, the Moabite stone, weights and measures, names and order of the months. There are also some good maps. The history proper is prefaced by an interesting chapter on the pre-historic period, which gives a summary of the results both of modern science and of recent inquiry into the legendary lore of ancient peoples as bearing upon the opening chapters of Genesis and the foundations of Hebrew history. The Patriarchal period, the Exodus, the Mosaic age, the Judges, the Monarchy, the Return from the Exile, are then taken up in succession, the story of each being well told, its sources stated, and the contested points discussed with much care. Instructive chapters are introduced from point to point on the state of religion in the several periods, which add much to the value of the book. There is also a considerable body of useful notes, illustrating and elucidating the history. The whole is done in a reverent spirit and with welcome sobriety. There is no attempt either at fine writing or at dashing speculation. The subject of prophecy is ably handled, the predictive element receiving more attention than it often gets. Questions of the text are judiciously treated, the evidence of the LXX being discreetly used and conjectural emendation being ventured on only when all else fails. The book is very correctly printed. There are some slips, such as Karkor for Karkar on page 338, but they are neither many nor serious. Dr. Wade has given us a good constructive sketch of Old Testament history, which will be of great use to many, and which ought to help the uncertain to understand how the critical reading of the Hebrew records is not inconsistent with faith in the Divine leading of Israel and the Divine authority of Scripture.

Mr. Ottley's volume is less elaborate and complete, and more popular in form. Its chief defect is the lack of any statement of the religious development of the people on the

growth of the religious ideas. It is written, however, in a pointed and attractive style and with considerable pictorial effect. It has the qualities which should win for it many readers. It gives the history in large and vivid outline, true to fact, as we now read the records, and entirely appropriate to the object in view.

Roman Law and History in the New Testament. By the Rev. SEPTIMUS BUSS, LL.B., Rector of St. Anne and St. Agnes, London, E.C. London: Rivingtons, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 480. Price 6s. net.

Mr. Buss distributes his matter over four books, which bear these titles—*The Gospels, The Acts, The Trial of St. Paul, Later Events*. The reasons for this scheme of arrangement are not very obvious, but a great deal of information is given nevertheless in a handy and usable form, beginning with what is suggested by "Herod and the Nativity" and ending with "Titus and Jerusalem," "Domitian and Patmos," and a collection of the Latinisms which occur in the Greek New Testament. The volume has evidently been compiled with much pains and patience and with an anxious desire to secure accuracy and completeness. But it is defective in some important respects. It relies too much on authorities that are now somewhat old and require to be brought up to date. In dealing with the question of the Nativity, for example, no account is taken of Professor Ramsay's *Was Christ born in Bethlehem?* Only one or two of the more recent books on St. Paul are noticed, nor is there any evidence of acquaintance with Mommsen, Schürer, and other authorities of the first rank.

The Bible: Its Meaning and Supremacy. By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Canterbury. Second edition: re-issue. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. 8vo, pp. xv. + 335. Price 6s. net.

The first edition of this book appeared in 1897, and was noticed at the time in this journal.¹ It was reprinted that same year. It is issued now in a new and cheaper edition.

¹Vol. vii., p. 369.

It deals in an eloquent way with the general features of the Bible—its variety and unity, its non-homogeneity in its ethics, its antitheses, etc., and also with its difficulties, the misinterpretations to which it has been subject, the untenable methods of exegesis which have been applied to it, the things it has suffered by the wresting of texts, etc. Dean Farrar writes with a glow and an enthusiasm worthy of his subject. His book does not profess to go into the deeper and more serious questions connected with the growth of the Bible, the relation of one part to another, the function of the whole. But it will be useful in commending the broad claims of Scripture, in reminding us of what men have owed to it from age to age, and in dispelling some mistaken conceptions of its character and its purpose.

The Christian's Great Interest. By WILLIAM GUTHRIE.
London: Andrew Melrose, 1901. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 251.
Price 2s. 6d.

Mr. Smellie has done well to include this book in the series of *Books for the Heart* which he edits. In an instructive introduction he speaks of the period of the Second Reformation as a time in which Scotland was "rich in great and deep thinking men," and justly claims for Guthrie a conspicuous place among them "in virtue both of his intellectual gifts and of his spiritual endowment". He has himself a great regard for the book. "From its opening to its ending," he says, "the little book is fashioned of the fine gold of the heavenly country; and its value is not impaired, nor its lustre dimmed, because two centuries and a half have gone past since the cunning hand and the gracious heart of the craftsman moulded it into shape." He has taken advantage of the assistance of others well versed in the history and the literature of Guthrie's time, and has carefully collated no less than twenty-six editions of the treatise which were put at his disposal. He has done his work lovingly and faithfully, sparing no pains in the preparation of this admirable and attractive edition. In this tasteful form the volume should win many readers.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

1. The Minor Prophets.

*By Rev. John Adams, B.D., Inverkeilor. Bible Class Primers.
Edited by Principal Salmond, D.D. Pp. 111. Price 6d.*

2. The Great Saints of the Bible.

*By Louis Albert Banks, D.D. London: C. H. Kelly.
Pp. 351. Price 5s.*

3. The Grammar of Prophecy.

*By Canon Girdlestone, formerly Principal of Wycliffe Hall.
London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, H.M. Printers. Bible
Student's Library. Pp. 192. Price 6s.*

4. Papal Aims and Papal Claims.

*By E. Garnet Man. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd.
Pp. 299. Price 5s. net.*

5. Vision and Authority.

*By Rev. John Oman, B.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
Pp. 344. Price 7s. 6d.*

6. Redemption According to the Eternal Purpose.

By the Rev. W. Shirley. London: Elliot Stock. Pp. 363.

1. This is an excellent addition to the series of Bible Class Primers. Mr. Adams has more than justified his selection for dealing with the Minor Prophets. The background is sketched in well for the prophets and their work. There is movement in the story. The stream runs clear. Illustrative matter is judiciously used and is always interesting. Hosea in particular, as the most delicate portion of his

subject, is wisely and skilfully treated. It is in fact just the kind of handbook one would wish in going over the period with a Bible Class.

2. It is a long time surely since sermons like these were given to the world. Who looks in a volume of sermons for a catching of the breath, ripples of laughter, the welling up of tears, the quick sympathy with intense moral purpose? There is uncommon humour, unconventionality, and spiritual directness withal in these discourses. A sprinkling of Americanisms may not please the classic taste; the American manner too is often apparent; but it is difficult to imagine that the reality and freshness of parallel and illustration can fail in interest and even admiration. For a publication like this to make the reviewer of them long to go and preach sermons virile and fearless and timely as these, and at any rate to set to work and do one's best, is perhaps the most significant commendation one can pass upon the volume. Some of the sermon headings may be mentioned: "The Pioneer Saint"; "The First Man Who Thwarted Death"; "A Saint with a Crooked Past"; "The Second Violin"; "The Five Wise Virgins of the Old Testament"; "The Man He Might Have Been"; "A Bright Man Who Needed Making Over"; "A Politician Who Lost His Infidelity"; "The Power House of the Soul".

If the companion, *Great Sinners of the Bible*, is at all equal to the present work, then there are two volumes by this author well worth a place on many a minister's table for stimulus to mind and heart.

3. "It is natural that each age and country should see itself figuring largely in history, and the men who are conspicuous in its eyes are looked for in the prophetic page" (p. vii.).

"It is remarkable that none of the names for a prophet signify either prevision or prediction. All rather point to communications from the spirit-world prompting to the utterance of what is felt or seen" (p. 34).

"While dealing with these important subjects, the conviction, entertained for many years, has been deepening in the writer's mind, that prediction is an essential element in revelation and that we lose a great blessing if we disregard it" (p. 171).

The book is written with restraint and ability. It cannot be said however to add to our knowledge or to clear up the situation to any considerable extent. Useful appendices are given of leading dates, of names and subjects, and of texts.

4. The author of this work explains his purpose in these closing sentences. "It is not against the Roman Catholic laity or the hard-working Roman Catholic priest that I write: I number friends in both classes. But it is against that hidden unscrupulous power in the papacy which exploits the charity of the good sisters, the trusting devotion of the laity—the superstition of the ignorant—the Holy Father himself, in furtherance of political ambition and temporal supremacy" (p. 299).

There is much that is excellent in the book; but there is much that is unnecessary. It is unnecessary to reargue all the positions, and make what should be a brochure of the hour a Church history monograph. Some problems have been settled in history and do not demand a fresh discussion at the hand of every controversialist. The result is that in reading the work before us we desiderate the discussion of the modern, present-day issue. This is not altogether overlooked. The present Cardinal Archbishop and the late Professor St. George Mivart are cited and to good controversial purpose. It is the disproportion of the argument that flaws the serviceableness of the work.

5. Mr. Oman has written an able work. The subject is a seasonable one, and it is worthily discussed. The thought is strong and sinewy. The freshness of originality is a pleasure to the reader. In places the discussion is diffuse, somewhat sermoniac in form—may be betraying the original form of the

argument. But the occasional diffuseness is readily forgiven for the strength and freshness of the thought. His parallel between the delicate optic nerve and the faculty of vision has been much commented on; and certainly exception taken to Vision on the ground of its tenuity and precariousness may be aptly met by this parallel. The main divisions of the work are Internal and External Authority; the Church's Creed and her Organisation.

6. This is a re-setting of truth in the light of the evolutionary hypothesis. It is an earnest and sustained discussion. Its aim is fairly expressed in the following sentence: "No attempt to be dogmatic will be made in these pages. If arbitrary lines of demarcation appear to be drawn at any place, it will have been done for the sake of clearness, not in presumption nor pretence of more perfect knowledge" (p. 52).

In the effort at clearness dignity is sometimes sacrificed. "God to the fallen man was as 'Dr. Fell' to the pupil" (p. 254). There is sometimes a precariousness of thought as well as of terms. The author's statement of the Trinity is a case in point (p. 252), where we have more fancifulness than freshness. The author's collocation of the Flood, the Law, and the Incarnate Christ as a triple redemption is suggestive. The book is stimulative even where it provokes to disagreement.

W. B. COOPER.

**1. Das Passah-Mazzoth-Fest, nach seinem Ursprunge,
u.s.w., untersucht.**

*Von Rudolf Schaefer, Lic. Theol. Gütersloh : G. Bertelsmann ;
London : Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. vii. + 348.
Price 5s. 9d. ; bound, 7s. 6d. net.*

**2. Beihefte der Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft, V. :
Eine jakobitische Einleitung in den Psalter, in Verbin-
dung mit zwei Homilien aus dem grossen Psalmen-
kommentar des Daniel von Ṣalah, zum ersten Male
herausgegeben, übersetzt und bearbeitet.**

*Von Lic. Dr. G. Diettrich, Pfarrer der deutschen evangel. Gemeinde
zu Sydenham, London. Giessen : J. Ricker, 1901. 8vo, pp.
xlvii. + 167. Price M.6.50.*

**3. Elohim : eine Studie zur israel. Religions- und Litera-
turgeschichte, nebst Beitrag zur Religionsphilosophie
und einer Pentateuchtable.**

*Von Hellmuth Zimmermann, Ph.D. Berlin : Mayer & Müller ;
London : Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. viii. + 83.
Price 2s. 6d. net.*

4. A Short Account of the Hebrew Tenses.

*By the Rev. R. H. Kennett, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of
Queens' College, Cambridge University Lecturer in Aramaic.
Cambridge : At the University Press, 1901. Small 8vo, pp.
viii. + 104. Price 3s.*

5. Die metrischen Stücke des Buches Jeremia reconstruiert.

*Von Dr. C. H. Cornill, Professor an der Universität, Breslau.
Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs ; London : Williams & Norgate,
1901. Small 8vo, pp. xiii. + 41. Price M.1.50.*

1. The author of *Das Herrenmahl* (1897) intends his present
investigation of the *Passah-Mazzoth-Fest* to serve as the basis



of his former work. The Lord's Supper he holds to be unintelligible except from the standpoint of the Passover, and hence the origin, signification, and development of the latter are invested with much importance. He deals first with the question of a pre-Mosaic basis of the Passah-Mazzoth, and then passes on to the Feast as it appears in the Pentateuch: (1) in the Book of the Covenant, (2) in J, (3) in the historical work JE, (4) in D, (5) in P, (6) in H, (7) in Pg, (8) in Ps. He considers that the attempts to discover a nature basis for the Feast have failed, and in general that *the theory of the Graf-Wellhausen school* [is there any justification for such an expression?] is untenable. While assenting to the succession JE, D, P as true to the literary origin of the Pentateuch, he thinks that the dates of these sources should be placed earlier than it is the fashion to do. And he adds quite unnecessarily that the conclusions reached by literary criticism prove nothing as to the age of the Passah-Mazzoth regulations. The merest tyro in the school of Wellhausen could have told us that. The least satisfactory element in Dr. Schaefer's argument is his use of what we believe to be quite illegitimate harmonising methods. But, while we cannot profess to consider him successful in many of his principal contentions, we would warmly commend the book for its laborious, painstaking character, for its freedom from all intentional unfairness to opponents, for the valuable light it throws on various points in the History of Religion, and for the decided help it gives to the understanding of the Passover institution.

2. Dr. G. Diettrich has supplied a felt want by his publication of this Syriac Introduction to the Psalter. The character of the work, and of the MS. from which it is taken (Harris, No. 65, written in the year 1754), are fully described in the preface. The Introduction is by a Monophysite who wrote some time between the tenth and the twelfth century A.D. As is usual with such works, it contains much from Greek writers, like Hippolytus, Athanasius, and Chrysostom, and it treats of the contents of the Psalter, its origin, inspiration (of which the author takes a very mechanical view),

etc. Both the Introduction and the accompanying two Homilies of Daniel of Şalah contain a great deal whose intrinsic value is of little value for the scientific study of Scripture, but whose importance for the history both of dogma and of exegesis is very great. Dr. Diettrich's work will take its place as one of the most valuable contributions to a somewhat obscure department of knowledge.

3. Zimmermann's tractate deals with a subject that is of interest and contains some correct views regarding the development of religious ideas in Israel. We are quite convinced, however, that the author fails entirely to make out his main contention, namely, that *Elohim*, at first an epithet = *θεῖον*, and bestowed indifferently upon Jahweh and other gods, came to be a *nomen proprium* for Israel's God through the activity of a school of glossators. This Elohist school is supposed to have been still at work on the books of the Old Testament as late as B.C. 300.

4. Mr. Kennett's *Short Account of the Hebrew Tenses* will prove most serviceable to Hebrew students, particularly those who have not yet reached the stage of using the well-known and admirable treatise of Professor Driver on the same subject. Our author explains very clearly and successfully the distinction between the *state* (perfect, *i.e.*, complete, or imperfect) and the *time* of an action, the first of these being the important point to the Hebrew mind. The uses of the perfect and imperfect (including the Cohortative and Jussive) are illustrated by well-chosen examples, and a lucid and logical explanation is given of the sequence of Tenses (Waw consecutive). The uses of the Participle and the Infinitive (both Construct and Absolute) are also carefully examined. We venture to predict a very successful career for Mr. Kennett's treatise.

5. In this little work Dr. Cornill publishes, without notes critical or exegetical, all the passages in Jeremiah which he considers to be metrical. These amount to some 500 distiches,

and are arranged in what our author believes to be the chronological order. The preface explains why the text, which will form the basis of the translation in the *Polychrome Bible*, comes to be published at the present time, and how it is meant to supersede the text already furnished by the same author for the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*. The name of Dr. Cornill will secure due attention for this work, especially in view of the fresh interest that has been given to Jeremiah by the recent publication of Duhm's commentary.

J. A. SELBIE.

1. **Das Pseudotertullianische Gedicht *Adversus Marcionem*: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Litteratur, sowie zur Quellenkritik des Marcionitismus.**

Von Lic. Theol. Hans Waitz. Darmstadt: Johannes Waitz, 1901. 8vo, pp. viii. + 158. Price M.5.60.

2. **Der christliche Gottesbegriff im Sinne der gegenwärtigen evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche.**

Von Dr. Georg Schnedermann, a. o. Professor der Theologie in Leipzig. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1901. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 225—499. Price M.3.60.

3. **Étude sur les Gesta Martyrum Romains.**

Par Albert Dufourcq. Paris: Ancienne Librairie, Thorin et Fils. Large 8vo, pp. viii. + 441. Price Fr.12.50.

4. **La Controverse de l'Apostolicité des Églises de France au XIX^e Siècle.**

Par A. Houtin. Deuxième Edition, Revue et Augmentée. Paris. A. Fontemoing; Laval: A. Goupil, 1901. 8vo, pp. 136.

1. A Latin poem in five books against Marcion was published by Fabricius in 1564, but unfortunately the one manuscript known to exist from which that edition was printed was soon afterwards lost. We have, therefore, only this printed edition, in which the editor made many corrections where the vocabulary and metre, judged by classical standards, seemed to require it; but later scholars have done what they could to restore the original text. Several critics, among them Harnack, regard Rome as the place of its origin, but Oxé and others, working with a Vatican manuscript of a poem ascribed to one Victorinus, in which large pieces of this Anti-Marcionite poem are incorporated, and from which they have endeavoured to produce a corrected text, have

reached the conclusion, accepted by our author, that not Rome, but Africa, was the place of its origin. Its date is variously assigned by Oxé to the fourth century (from 360 to 380), by Hilgenfeld to the third century, and by Manitius to the fifth or sixth century. After a most elaborate investigation our author comes to the conclusion that it most probably belongs to the third century. He finds that the departures of the writer from the classical *ars poetica* are not greater than we find in Commodian. An examination of the sources which the author of the poem has made use of shows that he was well acquainted with the writings of Virgil, and that of early Christian authors he used the Shepherd of Hermas and the Epistle of Barnabas, that he seems to have known the works of Irenæus and Tertullian, and possibly those of Cyprian, but that it cannot be shown that he has used any later Latin literature. After several hypotheses as to the authorship have been discussed, Waitz proceeds to inquire whether Commodian himself may not have been the author. That poet lived in the third century in Africa. Our author quotes passages from the poem against Marcion and from the acknowledged poems of Commodian to show that in both there is the same sort of descriptions of the heathen world, the same views of the Church and its institutions, and generally the same religious and theological attitude. He also shows in detail how their views and their mode of expressing their views about particular doctrines—monotheism, the resurrection, eschatological beliefs, Christological and soteriological theories—are in striking agreement. They use the same sources, show a preference for the same figures of speech, have the same peculiarities of syntax and vocabulary. The conclusion reached is that Commodian is the author of the poem against Marcion, and that as he composed his *Carmen Apologeticum* against Jews and heathens during the Decian persecution, so this poem was composed in the subsequent period, during the second half of the third century.

A careful examination of Herr Waitz's argument enables one to say that he has made out an exceedingly good case

for the conclusion which he reaches. If continued study of the points raised by him confirms this conclusion, we shall have in this poem as a work of Commodian, written soon after the middle of the third century, a most valuable addition to the literature of the Marcionite controversy.

2. This is the second part of a system of theology which the author means to complete in six parts. The first part, consisting of an Introduction, appeared in 1899, and the author expects in a year or two to issue the third part on the World, Man and Sin, which will complete the first of the two volumes of which the work is to consist. In the introductory volume he had dealt with the questions usually discussed in the Prolegomena to a system of theology. In that volume the author had described the subject of his whole treatise as—Our Fellowship with God through Jesus Christ. Starting with this view of his subject, he proceeds to divide the systematic treatise into eight parts: on God, on Man and the World, on Sin, on the Restoration through Christ, on the Appropriation by the Individual Believer of the new Fellowship, on the Appropriation by the Believing Community of the new Fellowship or the Doctrine of the Church (these two latter sections embracing the doctrines of the Holy Spirit, Predestination and the Holy Scriptures), on the Last Things, and finally, on the Holy Trinity.

In the part of the work now before us the author treats of the Christian Doctrine of God according to the view of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of to-day. In his treatment of his subject, he avoids as far as possible the use of technical terms and the scholastic method, and appeals to the cultured members of the Christian Church as his audience. This purpose of aiming at popular treatment has, it would seem, somewhat injuriously affected our author's consideration of the nature of God, and led to the omission of certain points in the discussion which are important scientifically, but whose introduction might militate against the popular effect of the work. In five chapters he deals successively with the fundamental utterances of the Christian consciousness, of the

Christian community, of Holy Scripture, of Jesus Christ and of all these sources combined, with regard to God. In all these chapters popular expression is given to well-known and generally accepted truths, but it cannot be said that anywhere in them we have any very fresh or striking re-statement of the old familiar doctrines. In the last chapter, Dr. Schnedermann undertakes to set forth a full and systematic statement of the doctrine of the nature and attributes of God. The exposition of both of these doctrines is necessarily meagre and ill-proportioned. In many respects, in regard both to excellences and defects, the work in so far as it goes may be compared to Dr. W. N. Clarke's *Outline of Christian Theology*. The work is written in a fine evangelical spirit, and is calculated to be useful to a large circle of readers.

3. This is the eighty-third volume of a series issued under the auspices of the French Ministry of Public Instruction as the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Français d'Athènes et de Rome*. The purpose of the work is carefully described by the author in his preface. His subject is the stories of the Roman martyrs, and he undertakes to determine the characteristics, the causes and the consequences of these legends. He analyses the *Gesta Martyrum* in order to discover their philological and moral character, he then seeks by a critical analysis of the traditions to sift and set forth the particular facts, and finally, to consider the influence these legends have exerted on the ideas, worship, literature and art of successive ages. The work is thus well laid out, and the particulars are treated with great accuracy and in full detail.

Our author describes in a clear and interesting manner the gradual growth of calendars of the martyrs and martyrologies. In 598 Gregory I. wrote to Eulogius, Bishop of Alexandria, describing a calendar of martyrs used in the Church of Rome, containing only the names of martyrs, and the days and places of their martyrdom. The books of martyrs in highest esteem in early times were those of Eusebius and Jerome. Subsequently details giving in-

cidents in the lives, miracles and amplified accounts of the sufferings of the martyrs were added, and this led to successive interpolations for purposes of edification. These redactions of the stories were made after the persecutions were over, and when no longer eye and ear witnesses of the alleged events survived. For the most part the legends date from the Ostro-Gothic period, and lie between the establishment of what is called the Bas-Empire at the death of Theodosius in 395 and the death of Gregory of Tours in 594. This position as to the date of the legends generally is supported by particular inquiries as to the dates of the several traditions (pp. 293-321).

The character of some of the interpolations and redactions enables us easily to trace these changes to their source, and to determine the sect from which they proceeded, and the time and place of their origin. During the fifth and sixth centuries Manichæism spread to an alarming extent in the West. In Africa, Rome and Spain, we find Augustine, Leo the Great and other orthodox champions treating it as a danger which seriously threatened to corrupt the purity of the faith of the Church. The influence of this Manichæan revival is seen in a peculiar colouring given in certain redactions of the legends of the martyrs. Toward the end of the fourth century the traditions about Peter and Paul, and those about the flight of Peter, were re-edited by Manichæans who infused into them their own views. This Manichæan movement within the Christian Church made its appearance in a yet bolder form in legendary apologies of Simon Magus, Basilides, Mani and Montanus. As the redaction of the traditions went on it gave rise to the constructing of new legends. M. Dufourcq gives us specimens of those new fabrications modelled upon the older ones in respect of style and contents. The legend of St. Lucia and St. Gemini-anus may be given as a specimen of the later romancing stories of the sufferings and deaths of martyrs. In the thirteenth year of Diocletian and Maximian an aged Christian woman, named Lucia, was denounced by her son Euprepus and brought before the assessor Gebal. She

refused to sacrifice and was therefore tortured. Her sufferings were avenged by an inundation of the Tiber which destroyed Diocletian's palace. While being led out to punishment, she converts the pagan Geminianus, not far from the tombs of St. John and St. Paul. The executioner Pyrrhopogon is crushed. Finally, Lucia and Geminianus are transported by angels to Sicily, and after other marvellous adventures Lucia dies a natural death, while Geminianus is massacred in attempting to get out of a cavern. After reading such a story, which is a very fair specimen of the average legend, we shall readily agree with M. Dufourcq (p. 75) that the psychology of these traditions is infantine, and that they have a *tendency* character, that a whole world, an infinity, separates the soul of the martyr from that of an ordinary being. He claims, indeed, that what he regards as the *authentic* acts of the martyrs should not be subjected to ordinary historical and literary criticism. One who does this, he says, wants the literary taste and the Christian sense. Such a dictum, however, might be used as a plea for any amount of irrational credulity.

A very interesting and useful part of the work is found in the last four chapters, which deal with the influence of the legends on the ideas and worship of the seventh and eighth centuries, and on literature and art from the eighth to the fifteenth century. The veneration of martyrs had been on the decline, and at last in the beginning of the ninth century Pascal I. transported 2,300 bodies of martyrs to Rome and distributed them as relics among the churches. The legends proved powerless to keep the tradition alive or to prolong the cult of the martyrs at Rome beyond the eighth century. Our author shows what use has been made of these legends in literature, even so recently as by Anatole France, Cardinal Wiseman, and the author of *Quo Vadis*. Interesting details are also given of the influence of the legends on art both in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance.

The whole treatise is most thorough and accurate in its scholarship, and the collection of materials is abundant. No serious student of the subject will be able to dispense with

this work, which easily holds the first place in its own department.

4. M. Houtin tells in an interesting manner the story of the persistent attempts of French priests, and especially of members of the Benedictine order, to rehabilitate the legendary histories of the origin of the churches of France. The various local church histories have sought to establish the local traditions. Some of these are works of enormous size, written in a most pretentious style, with the assumption of a critical method, and with a seeming abundance, if not a superfluity, of historical details. All these writings received the warm approval of the celebrated ultramontane, the Benedictine Gueranger, and are referred to in the most absurdly flattering terms in the French reviews and newspapers in the service of the Pope. Our author shows how all the best and most independent French historical students have disproved and repudiated the legends by means of which the apostolicity of the several churches are sought to be established. Tillemont, Fleury, Dupin, Launoy, Baillet, had all given conclusive evidence in opposition to the traditional views. Notwithstanding these exposures the champions of this legendary history have boldly embarked upon a reactionary movement, and they still continue, with the most extraordinary audacity, to give forth as historical what had over and over again been most convincingly proved to be utter fables. The story of Denys, as Dionysius the Aeropagite, founding the Church of Paris, as a missionary of St. Peter, is retold in all detail, in defiance of all historical evidence, and the writing attributed to the Aeropagite, though long ago conclusively shown to be a forgery, is, with a boldness which in the circumstances can only be called impudence, claimed to be the veritable work of that apostolic man. M. Faillon had maintained that Mary Magdalene was the founder of the churches of Provence, and had described very particularly her journey to and her work in that district; but this story had to be abandoned by later writers of the same school. The author, however, of the history of the origin of

the Church of Mans maintains, on equally weak grounds, that St. Julien, the traditional founder of that Church, had been sent by St. Peter or St. Clement. In his history of the origin of the Church of Angers, M. Chambord maintains that the world received the Christian faith from the mouth of the Apostles and their immediate disciples, and that the diffusion of Christianity and the organisation of the Churches in Gaul can be traced back to the Apostolic times, even to the first century, through St. Trophymus, the disciple of St. Paul. Even in 1900 M. Bellet in replying to a volume of the *Fastes épiscopaux*, published in the previous year, in which historical truth is set forth, repeats unblushingly all the absolutely unfounded legends reported by early unscientific writers. These stories, according to M. Houtin, were accepted in the end of the nineteenth century as the public opinion of Catholic France. In conclusion, however, he expresses his conviction that already truth is beginning to prevail, and that the uncritical reaction shows signs of enfeeblement, and that it is being more and more surely discredited.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

The Varieties of Religious Experience ; a Study in Human Nature.

By William James, LL.D., etc. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 8vo, pp. xii. + 534. Price 12s. net.

IT is a significant fact that the most recent volume of Gifford Lectures should have come from our foremost psychologist, and that the discussion of "Natural Religion" should have become "A Study in Human Nature". The significance does not lie simply in the entrance of science into a field which philosophy has long regarded as her own. With this we are already familiar through the numerous attempts at an anthropological treatment of religious phenomena which the last generation has produced. To many, these attempts have only a limited value, because of their so frequent reduction of religion to its lowest elements, or accompaniments, in the religion of a savage, and their failure to explain the noblest development of all, the religion of Christ. Professor James' book is to be clearly distinguished from such attempts. His examples are chiefly drawn from Christian experience, and he is concerned with acknowledged types of a high personal piety. The method of study is the same as that of the professed anthropologist, *i.e.*, the patient classification of facts. This method, of course, belongs to the movement of critical thought as a whole, and its reluctance to utter broad generalisations about eternal truth, till the thinker has more closely examined the "narrow bank and shoal of time" on which such truth for us must rest. We must know better what man is, as a religious animal, before we can measure the worth and truth of the religion which lifts him above the animal. But those who know the author's earlier writings do not need to be told that the use of empirical methods has not made him an empiricist. He plunges into the forest of

fact determined to see the wood as well as the trees, and in the conviction that his path will ultimately emerge into the clear daylight. He writes avowedly as a psychologist rather than as a philosopher, and believes "that a large acquaintance with particulars often makes us wiser than the possession of abstract formulas". But there is undoubted philosophic significance in the volume, as the argument of a scientist claiming the freedom of faith from the tyranny of the conclusions of many present-day scientists.

Few men could come to such a task with a better equipment than Professor James, and fewer still would have carried out the analysis of faith's secrets in a spirit so sympathetic with the believer, and so reverent for ultimate truth. That the book is vigorous and fresh and provocative of the liveliest interest goes without saying for those who know anything of the author. The large amount of quotation and condensation from classical autobiography is especially valuable, and will send many to explore for themselves new hills and valleys of religious experience. But beyond lively treatment and interesting matter, we believe this book will have a real value for the thoughtful student of the problems of faith. One may regret that the Gifford bequest has not provided for the cheaper publication of Gifford Lectures, but we do not think that even those to whom the price of a book is an important question will regret the purchase of this.

The value to any reader of a classification of facts will depend on his acceptance of the principle of the classification. How does the classifier approach his facts? The reason for the choice of a particular method of classification is necessarily involved in this approach. We are all suspicious of smoothly written pages which owe their cogency to the undefined prepossessions of the writer. The equation may look well enough till we begin to ask about the unknown x in it. Perhaps we have all sometimes felt the desire to compel our philosophic teachers to stand and deliver the x of their faith in the currency of common usage. What is the x in the case of Professor James? The best statement of it is given in a sentence of Pascal's, quoted by him in his

earlier volume *The Will to Believe* (p. 21), "le cœur a ses raisons que la raison ne connaît pas". This might have stood as a motto on the title-page of the present book. It is a plea for personality. In connection with the author's work on behalf of the Society of Psychical Research, he had already told us (*The Will to Believe*, p. 321), "The result is to make me feel that we all have potentially a 'subliminal' self, which may make at any time irruption into our ordinary lives. At the lowest, it is only the depository of our forgotten memories; at its highest, we do not know what it is." But in another place in the same book (p. 62), he went further, and told us that in this subliminal life is "our deepest organ of communication with the nature of things". The present book is the working out of this thesis. The author considers that the most important advance in psychology in his own time "is the discovery, first made in 1886, that in certain subjects at least, there is not only the consciousness of the ordinary field, with its usual centre and margin, but an addition thereto, in the shape of a set of memories, thoughts and feelings, which are extra-marginal and outside of the primary consciousness altogether, but yet must be classed as conscious facts of some sort, able to reveal their presence by unmistakable signs" (p. 233). To apply this discovery to the psychology of religion is the author's contribution to the subject. In doing this, he claims to be showing us a spiritual doorway into the soul, at which spiritual truth *can* knock; he claims to show, not only the existence of this doorway, but its actual use, by a purely empirical study of the phenomena of religious experience; and he challenges the empiricist to explain in any other way the presence of these phenomena. If to the idealist philosopher these claims seem to take us only a very little way, even should they be granted, one may remember that modesty of claim has not seldom been one of the marks of truth, and that a molehill of truth is better than a mountain of error. Let us look, then, at the actual classification of the facts which results when they are so approached.

The first two lectures deal with necessary points of intro-

duction, and of the definition of the field itself. Religion is defined, for the present purpose, as "the feelings, acts and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine" (p. 31). This purely empiricist definition was necessitated by the manner of approach, and must not be taken as expressing the author's own ultimate conclusions. We are warned against prejudice as to the value of any fragment of religious experience, arising from analysis of its psychological origin, or its physiological accompaniment. Existential and value judgments are distinguished, and illustrated by the difference between critical and devotional study of the Bible. From this standpoint, "medical materialism" is shown to be illogical in thinking it has undermined the spiritual authority of, say, Paul, "by calling his vision on the road to Damascus a discharging lesion of the occipital cortex". So with genius. It may be, and often is, pathologically conditioned, but we still admire and value the works of genius. If any one objects to the use Professor James intends to make of abnormal states, he contends—we think rightly, from his standpoint—that these "isolate special factors of the mental life" and enable us the better to study them.

These generalities of introduction are dismissed by the author with an evident feeling of relief as he invites us to tread the firmer ground and enjoy the clearer view of definite fact. These he groups under the following heads: "The Reality of the Unseen," "The Religion of Healthy-mindedness," "The Sick Soul and Divided Self," "Conversion," "Saintliness," "Mysticism". It may be useful to notice as briefly as possible the point of view in each case.

The impression left by the discussion of "The Reality of the Unseen" is not very definite; perhaps this was unavoidable from the nature of the subject, but the section certainly seems less successful than those that follow. The point is that some at least are capable of perceiving the existence of a reality outside themselves, not cognisable by any of the ordinary senses. This experience is convincing to those

who have it. Rationalism, demanding articulate reason for our beliefs, makes its appeal only to the surface of our mental life; "if you have intuitions at all, they come from a deeper level of your nature". The evidence offered ranges from hallucinations to mystical or semi-mystical experiences of a Divine Presence, but no opinion is given at this stage as to the objective truth of the belief created.

The emotional colour of such an experience may vary within wide limits. The second group of phenomena contains those to which the optimistic attitude belongs, and these are classed as "The Religion of Healthy-mindedness". Examples are found in Theodore Parker and Walt Whitman, among others. But the practical expression of this attitude to life is chiefly illustrated from the contemporary mind-cure movement. This is discussed with considerable detail; some will think with a too tolerant sympathy. Professor James regards "mind-cure as primarily a religious movement" (p. 105), and is struck by its psychological similarity to Lutheran and Wesleyan experiences. "It is but giving your little private convulsive self a rest, and finding a greater self is there" (p. 111). From a non-American standpoint, one cannot help thinking that a disproportionate space, *viz.*, 32 pages, is given to the subject of mind-cure. The chief conclusion drawn is "that the world can be handled according to many systems of ideas . . . and will each time give some characteristic kind of profit" (p. 122).

"The Sick Soul" designates him for whom a natural optimism is impossible. The "healthy-minded" attitude may be reached, as by Luther and Molinos, after the evil of the world has been faced. But the thought struggle is severe; the prevalent inmost consciousness is of failure. Phases in the lives of Tolstoy and Bunyan are chosen as types of religious melancholy. The conclusion drawn in this section is "that healthy-mindedness is inadequate as a philosophical doctrine, because the evil facts which it refuses positively to account for are a genuine portion of reality; and they may, after all, be the best key to life's significance, and possibly the only openers of our eyes to the deepest levels of truth".

The unification of a self so divided (*cf.* Augustine) is what Professor James regards as "Conversion". Emphasis is laid on self-surrender as the indispensable element. "One may say that the whole development of Christianity in inwardness has consisted in little more than the greater and greater emphasis attached to this crisis of self-surrender." Instantaneous conversion is, psychologically, the more complete. At this point in his descriptive work, the author offers us his theory of subconscious influences to which reference has already been made. As is expressly stated, this theory does not exclude the operation of the Divine Spirit; what is claimed is that "sudden conversion is connected with the possession of an active subliminal self". A Christian, accepting Professor James' theory, might hold that the Holy Spirit acted on the soul through this subliminal self. The chief importance of the conversion experience is said to consist in its showing to a human being "what the higher-water mark of his spiritual capacity is".

Five lectures are devoted to "Saintliness" and its value. These are of the greatest interest, and none is likely to read them without seeing many old truths in a new light. It is, of course, impossible even to mention the various points raised in the discussion of Asceticism, Strength of Soul, Purity and Charity. (The preacher is likely to find suggestive illustrations from the numerous quotations.) In regard to the value of saintliness, the author thinks one ought not to demand from men uniformity of type; there may be "different functions in the organism of humanity allotted to different types of man" (p. 333). "Economically, the saintly group of qualities is indispensable to the world's welfare" (p. 377). The practical conclusion is that we cannot all be saints, but we ought to be if we can.

The last group of experiences to be noticed is of those classed under "Mysticism". The qualities of this state are given as Ineffability, Illumination, Transiency and Passivity. But "consciousness of illumination is for us the essential mark of 'mystical' states" (p. 408, *n.*). Mysticism is the reverse of pessimistic. Mystical states are rightly authorita-

tive for the subject of them, but not for others. They break down the authority of the purely rationalistic consciousness, for "they open out the possibility of other orders of truth" (p. 423). Professor James is evidently inclined to think "that possibility and permission of this sort are all that the religious consciousness requires to live on" (p. 429). One is reminded throughout of the philosophy underlying Browning's *A Death in the Desert* :—

God's gift was that man should conceive of truth
And yearn to catch it, catching at mistake
As midway help till he reach fact indeed.

Considerable space has been given here to the outline of the descriptive part of this book, because this part is central to its purpose and gives it a real value to the reader, whether or not he may accept the author's philosophic point of view. The full treatment of the latter is postponed to another volume, but, meantime, three lectures and a postscript are devoted to the philosophic questions involved. The conclusions must be stated in the briefest possible form, and are already familiar to readers of *The Will to Believe*. The arguments for idealism are reviewed and rejected. We are thrown back on religious experience itself for any real evidence of religious truth. At the same time the author pleads for the reality of the prayer-consciousness, "that *something is transacting*" (p. 465). "In prayer, spiritual energy, which otherwise would slumber, does become active, and spiritual work of some kind is effected really" (p. 477). It is left an open question whether this work is subjective or objective. Religion, if stated in its lowest terms, is an uneasiness and its solution; the sense that "there is something wrong about us" and that "we are saved from the wrongness by making proper connexion with the higher powers".

Professor James offers us, then, the subconscious self as a scientific link between our religious experience and the particular faith each may have in the Power to whom it is ascribed. Here is the essential point of his contribution, in his own words: "Whatever it may be on its *farther* side, the

'more' with which in religious experience we feel ourselves connected, is on its *hither* side the subconscious continuation of our conscious life" (p. 512). The book is therefore a contribution to the psychology of religion rather than to its philosophy or to theology. The scientist might, of course, accept the theory of the subconscious self as the immediate source of the phenomena classified. But he might also refuse to admit that this step further back carried us beyond the limits of the individual. The theologian, on the other hand, might say that Professor James has done what science does in general, when it speaks of secondary causes as primary; and that, in any case, he has only called attention to an unnoticed link in the chain connecting us with God. For he still leaves the question of the reality of God to the answers of personal belief or disbelief, or, as he says himself, to "over-belief," any faith that passes beyond reason. These two obvious criticisms suggest themselves as soon as the purport of the book is grasped. We imagine that the author's reply to them would be something like this: to the empiricist he offers the challenge of the facts themselves, which receive no adequate explanation if supposed to originate in the single life; whilst to the idealist he would readily admit that he had done but little, yet would claim that to show the presence of a pathway by which help (power or grace) *might* come into the soul would be so far presumptive evidence that help *did* so come, for a student seeking to explain the world of religious experiences. To the writer of this review, these contentions seem to be justified. If so, we can sum up the elements in the contribution made to thought by this book, as follows:—

1. *Scientific*.—By the author's clear statement of some of the chief phenomena of religious experience, and by the evidence of these he presents, we are certainly helped towards the attainment of truth. Pure fact we cannot obtain in the realm of psychology; we cannot separate interpretation from the phenomenon recorded. The "challenge of facts" referred to above is, after all, a challenge of interpretation, of more or less put into the facts by Professor James and by an empiricist respectively. The only remedy is for each to scan

facts as closely as possible, and to try to interpret as faithfully as possible; towards these ends the book certainly helps.

2. *Philosophical*.—So far as we are justified in claiming that this book makes a philosophical contribution at all, it lies in the attempt to meet a naturalistic empiricism by empiricist methods. Every age needs its own method of defending truth or assailing error. It may fairly be claimed that this is a contribution to a new apologetic needed to meet the empiricism of the present day.

3. *Theological*.—Here again we must recognise the limits assigned to his work by the author himself. It would be unfair to criticise the book in whole or in part from the standpoint of particular dogmas or "over-beliefs". We are not helped at all to a theology proper, for we are left practically free to link on to our own subconsciousness any "over-belief" about God we prefer. But, at the same time, the book renders a service to religious truth by confirming our faith in the value of religious experience, and offering us a doorway into the eternal and unseen. Insufficient as it may seem to many, yet so far as it goes it is a helpful and refreshing book, and we do not think any one who is in touch with the thought of the present age can read it without being strengthened in whatever faith he holds as to the reality of God, and of His work in the heart of man.

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

**The Credibility of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles :
Being the Hulsean Lectures for 1900-1901.**

*By Frederic Henry Chase, D.D., President of Queen's College,
and Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. London :
Macmillan & Co., 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. + 314. Price 6s.*

THIS course of Hulsean Lectures may be regarded as a most helpful and pleasurable introduction to the Commentary which Dr. Chase is preparing for the International and Critical Series. It not only furnishes us with a strong defence of the traditional authorship of Acts, but it also throws fresh light upon many passages in the text of that book. After duly emphasising the importance of Acts, which stands alone as an authority for a period unique in the religious history of mankind, and after a few cautious words as to the ultimate issue of the controversy about the so-called "Western" text, and as to the value of archæological research, we have an indication of the main points which make for the Lucan authorship, and a very just reminder that counter theories are weighted with far greater improbabilities (p. 9 ff.). The external evidence is briefly summarised, and in connexion with the crucial question as to whether the "We" sections bear marks of identity of authorship with the rest of the book, attention is drawn to the minuteness and care with which Sir John Hawkins in his *Horæ Synopticæ* has investigated this question. In dealing with this subject of language Dr. Chase is not forgetful of another English book, Hobart's *Medical Language of St. Luke*, and he remarks that although it has been published nearly twenty years it has, he believes, remained unnoticed by the assailants of the traditional view of the third Gospel and Acts. The only direct notice of which we are aware is contained in Dr. Schmiedel's recent article "Luke" in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. iii.,

where he remarks that "a medical language" was discovered by Hobart in the third Gospel and in Acts, but this is all the notice which he vouchsafes, and no attempt whatever is made to gauge the value of Dr. Hobart's argument, which has received the warm endorsement of Dr. Zahn, and still more recently of Dr. Belser, and of Dr. P. Ewald in his article "Lukas der Evangelist" just published in the new edition of Herzog. In his estimation of Hobart's work Dr. Chase is, however, by no means forgetful of the fact, so carefully considered by Dr. Plummer, that many of the "medical terms" may be attributed to St. Luke's acquaintance with the LXX, but he also agrees with Dr. Plummer in the conclusion that, when all deductions have been made, there remains a body of evidence which he does not hesitate to describe as irresistible.

The problem of the "Sources" next engages the reader's attention (p. 14 ff.). And here Dr. Chase again emphasises the fact that the attempt to discover the written documents out of which Acts was thought to have been elaborated has hitherto completely failed. His own experience in the investigation of such an attempt will be read with interest, and he now naturally asks what "sources" are really available? "Can we, with certainty or with real probability, point to St. Luke's having been brought into contact with those whose testimony taken together will cover the whole field of the Acts?" Among these "sources" Dr. Chase has no hesitation in naming St. Paul himself as the most obvious and important witness, and he refers also to the likelihood of information being gathered from John Mark, or St. Philip, or St. Barnabas, whilst he throws out the further interesting suggestion that the writer of Acts may have met and conversed with St. Peter at Rome (p. 22). Here, to a great extent, Dr. Chase follows on the same lines as those indicated by Zahn and Blass, and the fact that these eminent scholars have no hesitation in deferring to such "sources" may well afford matter for the consideration of those critics, who appear to think that every book connected with St. Luke's writings is to be valued by the number of fancy documents which the author can discover in them.

At this point (p. 26) Dr. Chase is brought face to face with the question as to the relation between Acts and St. Paul's Epistles, and he first notices, as Zahn also notices, the important fact that Acts contains no reference to the composition of any of St. Paul's letters, and shows no sign of their influence, a fact which is in itself strong confirmation of an early date. But, at the same time, he is not concerned to deny that there are discrepancies between the Acts and the Epistles, which perhaps cannot be formally and completely reconciled, while their presence may be fairly explained (p. 27). Reference is made, in the succeeding pages, to two other matters of primary interest, before the text of the book is discussed: (1) Acts i. 8 (pp. 29 and 49) contains, in Dr. Chase's view, the aim and plan of the author. (2) St. Luke (unlike a modern historian) concerns himself primarily with men, a point so strikingly elaborated amongst recent writers by Mr. Rackham, and thus notices of time are often perplexingly indistinct—a point noticed with so much care by Dr. Plummer and Professor Ramsay. Even in the *Agricola* of Tacitus we have to wait for the last chapter before any note of chronology is given us.

The fulfilment of our Lord's promise of the Spirit naturally finds a foremost place in a book written with the aim just noticed. Here are two points in Dr. Chase's pages which are undoubtedly open to criticism. First, the contention that the words "they were all together in one place" on the day of Pentecost refer to the Temple. Dr. Chase makes out a strong case, but the more we emphasise the important significance which would attach to the Temple as the place where the supreme gift of the Spirit was given, the more strange it becomes that St. Luke does not mention that the place was the Temple. But a more serious question is raised by Dr. Chase's interpretation of ii. 3. He thinks that the manifestation of fiery shapes in the semblance of tongues diffusing themselves on the heads of the Apostles would be a wonder of a different order from the miracles of the New Testament; it would stand alone (p. 34). No doubt; but "a supreme crisis of revelation," as Dr. Chase himself calls it,

had been reached, and the more notable the crisis, the more notable might be the manifestation. Space forbids us to discuss the subject further, but we may add that a most interesting suggestion is made by Dr. Chase as to the utterances of the Apostles on this birthday of the Christian Church. It may well be that we may picture them, like Zacharias, breaking forth into "benedictions" such as we find in the rich liturgical store of the Jewish Church, as, *e.g.*, in the *Eighteen Benedictions* (p. 29).

The second lecture deals with the expansion of the Church, and the question is raised as to how far the record of this expansion satisfies reasonable tests of truthfulness. On the one hand we have the explicit commands of the Lord as to the ultimate goal of the Gospel; on the other hand we have the fact of the silence of these commands as to the action which the Apostles should take in the immediate future (p. 58). At all events we may say that the Apostles could not have fully understood Christ's commands, for after He had spoken "the things concerning the Kingdom of God," they ask: "Dost thou at this time restore the Kingdom to Israel?" (Acts i. 6). The historian then must have either truthfully narrated facts which he had been careful to ascertain, or he must have followed an imagination which had no prophecy or current interpretation to guide it, as these were far too vague and indefinite to be of service. But in St. Peter's first words in Acts Dr. Chase urges that there is nothing to show that his horizon is wider than that of the prophets; he is still preoccupied in the narrow sphere of national hopes: "the promise of the blessing through Abraham's seed to all the world prefaces the assurance 'unto you *first* God having raised up His servant sent him to bless you'". In all this we may note the signs of a true and faithful portraiture. It may be possible, we venture to think, to circumscribe St. Peter's meaning too much, but the argument presented here is full of force, as we shall have occasion again to remark.

Further, the history of the expansion is noteworthy; its apparent casualness, its fragmentariness, afford a strong guarantee of substantial truth; the turning point comes in

a difficulty connected with the charity organisation of the Church; this leads to the clothing of Stephen with the authority of office; he marks indeed a transitional state of things, but it is evident that with his witness and death an inward and an outward change comes over the Church; the disciples are exposed to the hatred not only of the aristocratic and unpopular Sadducees, but also of the party which enjoyed the special reverence of the people (p. 63); and all this stands out in such absolute contrast to the peaceful relations of the first chapters of the book that we find an assurance of the writer's truthfulness in this earliest part of the record.

When, as the result of persecution, the Church is scattered abroad, we have twice mentioned the same word *διεσπάρησαν*, a word Dr. Chase regards as deliberately chosen, to indicate that the regenerate Israel becomes in the providence of God what the unfaithful Israel was meant to become, a Dispersion—among “the nations”. As to the peculiar force of this verb in this connexion, to which Dr. Chase thus directs attention, we may compare the remarks of Dr. Zahn (*Einleitung*, i., p. 71).

Again in this dispersion through the sword, in this second period of the Church's history, the marks of credibility are carefully noticed. The Church becomes the Church of Palestine, but not as we might expect by the chief part in the drama being assigned to St. Peter or at least to an Apostle, but to the obscure Philip; to him too is assigned a further and more significant work, the decisive step of baptising, so far as our knowledge goes, the first Gentile Christian, the Ethiopian eunuch.

We must confess to a feeling of disappointment that in a note (p. 67) Dr. Chase should intimate that the words “the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip” (viii. 39), do not imply a miraculous disappearance. The strong verb *ἥρπασεν* is scarcely satisfied by reference to an inward impulse, and as Meyer-Wendt notes, it is a very different form of expression from that in v. 29 of the same chapter.

One other event of unique importance, which falls within this same intermediate period, the conversion of St. Paul,

receives careful, although necessarily brief, treatment, and Dr. Chase may justly refuse to attach any importance to the variations in the three different accounts of the conversion, in face not only of the judgment of Dr. Blass and Professor Ramsay, but of Dr. Holtzmann (*Apostelgeschichte*, p. 71, 3rd edition).

The second division of the book closes, ix. 31, with an emphatic and solemn notice of the peace and growth of the Church in Palestine after Saul's conversion, and the third division opens with what Dr. Chase describes as one of the simple commonplace phrases with which St. Luke sometimes hints at an important background of history, ix. 32 (p. 75); the Apostolic College is broken up, the Christian Dispersion needs guidance and help, and so we are now prepared to follow the movements of St. Peter. The significance of St. Peter's work in Joppa and Cæsarea is graphically emphasised, and with the episode of Cornelius the "Acts of Peter" cease just before the work of Paul commences. St. Luke no doubt knew more, as Dr. Chase reminds us, of St. Peter's ministry, but his purpose in writing is not predominantly biographical, or he would have told us more; he is concerned with the expansion of the Church, and St. Peter in admitting under God typical Gentiles into the Church reached the limits of his characteristic work in the Kingdom (p. 86). We may perhaps venture to supplement these remarks with a passage in Professor Ramsay's *St. Paul* (p. 378) where he shows that it is obvious that St. Luke has selected facts which bore, not on the expansion of the Church in its entirety, but "on a narrower theme, *viz.*, the steps by which the Church of Jerusalem grew into the Church of the Empire, and the position of the Church in the Empire. Egypt, Ethiopia, and the East and South are therefore excluded from his narrative."

We have before noticed how keenly Dr. Chase is alive to the scarcity of chronological data in Acts, and this is the case, not only with the scarcity but also with the relative uncertainty of this chronology (see note, p. 67). But, however this may be, no one who carefully peruses these earlier pages

of the book before us and those which follow (p. 81 ff.) can fail to see how clearly Dr. Chase enables us to mark the chief turning points in the development and growth of the Faith.

From Cæsarea, the Roman capital of Palestine, we pass to the Syrian Antioch, so soon to become the mother city of Gentile Christendom, and it is but natural that we should ask if that Church was a Gentile Church from the first. Here we come to the only question of textual criticism with which Dr. Chase proposes to trouble us (p. 81).

Are we to read in Acts xi. 20 "Ἑλλήνας or 'Ἑλληνοιστάς? Certainly the weight of authority seems to be in favour of the latter. But it is urged that "Ἑλλήνας is alone in harmony with the context as antithetical to the previous 'Ιουδαῖοι. This, however, is not necessarily conclusive, for not only is the real turning point in the mission to the Gentiles marked later, in xiii. 46, but it is possible that the word 'Ιουδαῖοι may be used in a narrow sense exclusive of Hellenists, as in other passages of the book, and this would be quite consistent with the retention of καί "unto the Grecian Jews *also*". Dr. Chase suggests, however, that St. Luke wrote or intended to write as in ix. 29 "they spake and disputed with the Grecian Jews" and that a word has dropped out here as in some other passages in Acts. The similarity of the phraseology between ix. 29 and the verse before us had been pointed out by Dr. Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 59), but whilst allowing that πρὸς may have an adversative sense here as in ix. 29, he regards this explanation as less likely than others, because of the absence of any further indication of opposition on the part of the Hellenists. We venture to think that the textual problem is not so simple as Dr. Chase's solution would make it.

The acknowledged success of St. Paul's preaching to the Gentiles in the first missionary journey (Acts xiv. 27), brings us face to face with the great controversy of the Apostolic age as to the terms of Gentile admission to the Church. Dr. Chase apparently has no hesitation in identifying the account of the Council (Acts xv.) with Gal. ii. (although in future we shall have to deal not only with the arguments of Professor

Ramsay, but with those of Dr. Weber of Würzburg as against this identification), and he gives some thoughtful reasons for adopting this position (p. 92), as, *e.g.*, that St. Luke as a Gentile would be essentially unable to enter into what may be called the inwardness of the conflict, while as an outsider he would be able at a later date to write a calm summary of the dispute. Some further noteworthy remarks follow on the genuineness of the letter of the Council, and Dr. Chase sees in its wording a confirmation of the assumption which he does not hesitate to make, that the writer of Acts was known to St. James, and that consequently he would have had ready access to information from the Church in Jerusalem. Dr. Chase warmly advocates Professor Robertson Smith's reference of the difficult words "blood" and "things strangled" to rites current among heathen Semites. These rites are specially prohibited because of their prevalence in Syria (the letter being addressed to Churches in Antioch and Syria), and because of the abhorrence in which they were held by the Jews. We thus have, Dr. Chase further urges, a natural explanation as to any lack of reference to the letter, when St. Paul is answering the questions raised by his Corinthian converts. But the words under discussion are of course open to other interpretations, and Dr. Hort's view of them (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 68) will still find favour with many inquirers. In his brief summary of the closing scenes of Acts, it is of interest to note that Dr. Chase justifies his explanation of the expression "the uttermost part of the earth" (i. 8) by Rome with a reference to *Psalms of Solomon* viii. 16, and that in the final word of the Apostle of the Gentiles, preserved by his friend, "they will hear," he finds a prophecy of the Gospel among "all the nations" (p. 100). It will thus be seen that while Dr. Chase does not touch upon the view of a possible "third treatise," a view which has commended itself to no mean authorities, he recognises that the history of Acts is complete in bringing Paul to Rome, and the two books of St. Luke cover the whole ground as he conceived it, of the history of the origins of Christianity—the Acts of Jesus Christ, the Acts of the Apostles (pp. 52, 53).

The two last lectures are devoted to a most scholarly and interesting examination of the teaching of the two great Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and possibly to many readers they will present themselves as the most valuable part of the book. Before examining their wording in detail Dr. Chase fitly asks how the speeches of the two Apostles may have been obtained. In this inquiry it will be noticed that while writing from a conservative standpoint, Dr. Chase does not hesitate to lay great stress upon what he calls the editorial work of St. Luke. As to some of the later speeches, Dr. Chase has some acute remarks on the probability of the method of their transmission. Some kind of shorthand was undoubtedly practised amongst the ancients, and Dr. Chase throws out an interesting suggestion in connexion with a passage in Galen that St. Luke may himself have gained the power of shorthand writing in the course of his medical training (p. 112). The remarks on the probability of St. Peter's knowledge of Greek (p. 214) call for careful attention, and when read in connexion with Mr. F. C. Conybeare's article "Hellenism," in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, it would certainly seem that a strong case may be made out for a widely diffused knowledge of Greek in Palestine in New Testament times, a knowledge by no means confined to the aristocracy or to the rich. It is of course evident that St. Luke had not the same obvious authority for St. Peter's speeches as for St. Paul's, but whilst Dr. Chase acknowledges that he does not wish to lay too much stress upon the similarities between the reported words of St. Peter in Acts, and his written words in his First Epistle, he thinks that the parallel at least suggests that St. Luke's authority for, or his version of, the Petrine speeches passed through St. Peter's hands, and he again refers to the strong probability that the Evangelist and St. Peter may have met at Rome (p. 121). In the pages which follow, the remarkably Judaic setting of St. Peter's words is illustrated in detail. The forms of address, the phrases of appeal, in these speeches may well be instances of the homiletic formulas of the synagogue, and we have expressions which occur in the *Kaddish*, in the

Eighteen Benedictions, in the *Psalms of Solomon*. So too the language of these early addresses, like that of the address of St. Paul in Pisidian Antioch, is shown to be closely connected with the current ideas and language of the Messianic hope, and in this connexion two remarkable titles of our Lord Himself naturally come under discussion, and the full significance of the phrase "the Holy and Righteous One" (Acts iii. 14, iv. 27, 30) is strikingly illustrated. The next few pages closely examine another title "the Servant of the Lord," and whilst its connexion with current language, its difference of interpretation among Hebrews and Hellenists, and its adoption in early Christian literature, are not forgotten, its use as a pre-Christian Messianic title is rightly described as most primitive. As we read the carefully balanced judgment of Dr. Chase on the undoubted early and remarkable employment of these various titles we remember that even Dr. Schmiedel was constrained to write: "It is hardly possible not to believe that this Christology of the speeches of Peter must have come from a primitive source" (*Encycl. Bibl.*, i., 48). We are glad to note that Dr. Chase finds room for an examination of the testimony borne by Acts to the historical facts of our Lord's earthly life (p. 141). This has of course been often done with reference to the relation between the New Testament Epistles and the facts of the Gospels, but it is well that recent writers like Dr. Chase and Mr. Rackham should emphasise the connexion between Acts and Gospels in this respect. Here Dr. Chase notes that Acts ii. 22, x. 38, contain the only references in the New Testament outside the Gospels to our Lord's ministry of miracles, and he makes a good point in reminding us that the appeal in this first speech on the day of Pentecost to those who had themselves seen these wonders and signs is full of significance, when taken in connexion with the silence of the other New Testament writers elsewhere: "the naturalness of it here is emphasised by the very absence of anything like it elsewhere". One other point may here be noticed, *viz.*, the conception of a suffering Messiah, and St. Peter's insistence upon it, which Dr. Chase graphically

illustrates, in spite of its strangeness, its shamefulness, in spite of the fact that it was so audaciously new. We are so familiar with the conception that we forget its novelty and its offensiveness: "no Jew," says Wernle, "before Jesus had explained Isaiah liii. of a dying Messiah".

What inference does St. Peter draw from the historical facts not only of the Passion and Death, but of the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ? The answer is to be found in the solemn charge with which he closes his Pentecostal sermon, "God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified". Both these titles too had a history in the past. But whilst it may be said that the term Lord has its exact shade of meaning determined by the context, here the context undoubtedly raises the ancient title above the sphere of the human and the earthly (p. 157). This part of the book concludes by an apt reminder that St. Peter's addresses differ widely from any one of the Apostolic Epistles (except perhaps that of St. James), inasmuch as they give us an immediate interpretation of the facts of the Christian Creed addressed to Jews at Jerusalem, many of whom had cried "Crucify Him" and had watched the death "upon the tree," whilst the Epistles give us a more matured apprehension and exposition of these facts; here again it is plain that such addresses could not be the invention of the Gentile author of the book, familiar with the fuller teaching of St. Paul, and writing when the peculiar circumstances and the phases of thought which the addresses presuppose had long passed away (p. 159).

The last lecture deals with the witness borne by the speeches of St. Paul. In turning first to the Apostle's witness to Israel, Dr. Chase makes an important point in drawing attention to the fact that whilst in St. Paul's Epistles we have exhortations and arguments specially addressed to Jews (although, of course, as in Romans and 1 Cor., there are passages in which the Apostle addresses now Jewish and now Gentile converts, a fact which might well be remembered by hyper-critics like Van Manen), yet we have no distinct and detailed example in his writings of the way in which the Apostle preached the Gospel to his fellow

countrymen. The Epistles therefore supply no model on which a romancer could construct a Pauline sermon to Jews (p. 173). Dr. Chase starts from St. Paul's use of the title "Son of God" (Acts ix. 20), and finds here another current and Messianic title invested by St. Paul with a deeper and fuller meaning, and his remarks in this connexion remind us of Dr. Sanday's treatment of the same words in his article "Son of God," *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, vol. iv. An attempt has recently been made to show that St. Paul was influenced in his use of the term by pagan associations, but it should be remembered that it is not at Athens before Stoics and Epicureans that he calls Jesus the Son of God, but in the synagogues of the Jews. In the speech at the Pisidian Antioch Dr. Chase adds another to the subtle connexions traced by Professor Ramsay between this speech and the Epistle to the Galatians (pp. 181, 182), and here again, although from an examination of a different verse, he shows with Professor Ramsay that the speech is completely in harmony with the subsequent declaration of Gal. iv. 4. Not the least valuable part of the examination of the Pisidian Antioch address is the way in which Dr. Chase briefly discusses St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith (Acts xiii. 39), as the issue of Christ's redemptive work and as an answer to the cravings of sinful man for peace with God. So far from this verse presenting itself as an unauthorised addition to the speech (as some critics would fain regard it), it is rather remarkably in keeping when addressed to a Jewish audience, inasmuch as it solves the problem which had so often perplexed the pious Israelite. In all this naturalness of expression Dr. Chase rightly sees a proof that we have before us a very close report of St. Paul's own words, and his remarks upon the pseudepigraphical and apocryphal books of the Jews may well be read in connexion with Dr. Charles' recent editions of some of these books, in which he shows us how sorely the teaching of St. Paul was needed in connexion with this same doctrine of justification before God.

In St. Paul's witness to the pagan world Dr. Chase, like Professor Ramsay, duly emphasises the fact that from be-

ginning to end there is not a single word in the speech at Lystra which stamps it as Christian, and he well reminds us that the speaker's aim for the moment was not to evangelise, but to prevent an act of idolatry (p. 204). But no one can read the narrative in Acts, and the subsequent notice of Lystra, without seeing at the same time that the converts made there were fully instructed in the Christian Faith.

In dealing with St. Paul's visit to Athens Dr. Chase is at issue with Professor Ramsay as to the site of the Apostle's address to those who would know more of his new teaching. But although Dr. Chase argues with great force against the supposition of a formal religious tribunal, we may venture to think that he goes somewhat too far in a counter direction, and that he does not dispose of the difficulties which Professor Ramsay enumerates as attaching to the supposition that the speech was delivered on the summit of the Areopagus, and not before the Court in the *Stoa Basileios*. In this connexion we may note that a controversy has arisen over the interpretation given by Dr. Chase to the words *ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους*; he regards them as expressive of rebuke not wholly unmingled with contempt; but it is not only difficult to believe that St. Paul would thus commence a speech in which he wished to gain a hearing, but the context (v. 24), where the verb *εὐσεβείτε* is regarded by him as one result of this *δεισιδαιμονία*, would certainly suggest that the adjective is used here in a good sense.

Professor Ramsay in his *St. Paul* (p. 252) has strikingly drawn out how St. Paul, after his visit to Athens, is found at Corinth "wholly absorbed in preaching, attesting to the Jews that the Anointed One is Jesus," and he sees in this expression, unlike anything else in Acts, an indication that at Corinth the Apostle no longer spoke in the philosophic style of his address at Athens. Dr. Chase notes that in 1 Cor. we have an emphatic assertion of the simplicity of the Gospel (1 Cor. ii. 2, etc.), and he also asks whether this may not be accounted for by the Apostle's consciousness that at Athens he had been too eager to gain "the wise after the flesh". If this interpretation of the words in 1 Cor. is

correct, then Dr. Chase finds in it a strong confirmation of the truthfulness of the historian's account of St. Paul's visit to Athens (p. 234). We have left ourselves no space to do more than mention the searching and admirable examination of the speech addressed to the elders at Miletus, the one among the speeches at which St. Luke himself may well have been present (pp. 234-288). Here Dr. Chase finds not only that the language and the thoughts bear the closest resemblance to the language and thought of St. Paul's Epistles, but that we may discern the same religious temper, and the same combination of human qualities. He is careful too to point out how naturally the attitude of the Apostle towards his journey to Jerusalem (Acts xx. 17 ff.) accords with the tone of Rom. xv. 30, a coincidence so strikingly enforced by Dr. Hort and earlier still by Paley.

One more important point is made by Dr. Chase in his reminder that the evidential value of these several speeches can only be fully appreciated when they are regarded in a series. We have to suppose, if the speeches are not genuine, that not one Pauline speech has been invented, but four, for three of which no pattern is supplied by the Epistles, each appropriate to its alleged occasion, and yet diverse from the other three, each in agreement with what we know of St. Paul's character, and containing subtle and always unobtrusive resemblances to the style and language of the Apostle's writings. This would have been a literary and psychological feat demanding extraordinary dramatic power (p. 292).

There are numerous other points of interest and value in this most helpful volume. But at the same time we must remember that it has not been Dr. Chase's aim to examine all the problems, but to maintain the *credibility*, of Acts. In his Preface Dr. Chase tells us that he has had the highest ideal set before him in his own teachers of the honesty, accuracy, and reverence, which are the essential qualifications of the Biblical critic. The pages which follow show us how successfully he has fulfilled these requirements.

R. J. KNOWLING.

**Zur Genesis der Agada. Beitrag zur Entstehungs- und
Entwickelungs-Geschichte des Talmudischen Schrift-
thums.**

*Von Dr. N. I. Weinstein. II. Theil: die Alexandrinische Agada.
Frankfurt-a-M.: J. Kaufmann, 1901. M.8.*

**Natur und Geist, nach der Auffassung des Alten Testa-
ments. Eine Untersuchung zur historischen Psy-
chologie.**

*Von Justus Koeberle, Privatdozent an der Universität Erlangen.
München: Oskar Beck, 1901. M.7.*

THE former of these two works, from the pen of a learned Jewish writer, forms a welcome and important contribution to the literature of Judaism. The author briefly states the origin and motive of the treatise. Even in his earlier years he perceived that the Talmudical writings, especially the Haggadic portions, contain many Greek expressions whose presence there can be accounted for only on the ground that those who employed them could not otherwise make themselves properly understood. But he further considered that Talmudic teachers had frequent intercourse with Jews who could speak no language but Greek. He was thus convinced that it was of the greatest importance, for the proper investigation of the Talmud, and for determining the period of its formation, to inquire into the views regarding it held by purely Hellenistic Jews who had no direct intercourse with their Palestinian compatriots, and the attitude of the dispersed Israelites to the Talmud. For the solution of this problem, it was obviously necessary to make a special study of the ancient Græco-Judaic religious literature. The execution of the task demanded much time and labour, but these have been ungrudgingly bestowed by the writer who has now presented us with an instalment of his work.

But this, though the second portion of the whole, has been published before the first, for good and sufficient reasons. Here we are at once introduced to the heart of the theme which the author proposed to himself. He first quotes and then examines in detail those passages in the "Wisdom of Solomon," forming one of the books in the Greek Canon of the Old Testament, which refer to what is more fully recorded in the earlier historical books; with these citations from the Alexandrian text he further places before us a number of passages from the Talmud which certainly exhibit striking similarity of thought and language—especially of a homiletical character—to the Greek of the Book of Wisdom. But, as there is hardly any trace of the Mishna, which forms the basis of the Talmud, at the time when the Greek Scriptures were already in use among the Hellenistic Jews at Alexandria and elsewhere, it is inferred that this remarkable likeness between the Alexandrian Greek and the Talmud is due to the dependence of the latter on the former.

Still more remarkable is the resemblance traced in the second chapter between the doctrine regarding the Logos, prevalent among the Hellenistic Jews before the formation of the Talmud, and the teaching contained in the latter concerning the relation between the Creator and the creation, including the place and functions of angels. Indeed, it is distinctly affirmed that the ideas presented in the Talmudic writings regarding angels and other supposed intermediaries between God and men form an exact copy of the doctrine concerning the Logos, as found in Philo; and many passages from the Talmud are cited in proof of the identity.

The third chapter, on the "Minim," forms an ingenious and interesting discussion regarding the precise reference of this term, which is frequently used in Talmudical and Rabbinical writings. Difficulty arises when the attempt is made to define exactly whom we are to understand as indicated by this name. There is general agreement, indeed, that the designation, "Minim," applies to all who reject Jewish Monotheism; but, beyond this point, disagreement begins. Dr. Weinstein contends he has proved that the term cannot

mean Jewish Christians, as some allege, seeing that it was employed before the Christian era to signify others who diverged from orthodox Judaism; and in proof of this he cites an instructive passage from the Talmud (*Sandhedrin*, x., 5) which runs thus: "Israel had no sooner gone into exile than twenty-four parties of Minim were formed within it". His investigations into this and other passages have convinced him that, in the Talmud, Minim do not mean idolaters, but those who, without repudiating Jewish monotheism, early accepted the doctrine concerning the Logos in some such form as Philo had attributed to Moses, in his remarks on Genesis i. 27. Further research—the results of which are given in this chapter—plainly shows that the Talmudist was well acquainted with the whole doctrines of the Alexandrian school, and thoroughly understood its theology, through constant intercourse with Greek-speaking Jews.

The author hopes soon to complete his work by publishing the first part, which will present a view of the Haggada in general, and an account of the learned writers who have contributed to its formation.

The writer of the second treatise has shown his practical sagacity even in the selection of his subject, which, in itself attractive, is made still more interesting to his readers through his lucid style and the orderly arrangement of his materials. The work is essentially an investigation of the way in which the writers of the Old Testament regarded the outer world, as revealed to the human soul by the senses, and the inner world of the human soul itself. The whole thus resolves itself into an investigation of psychic phenomena. But we are reminded that the history of Israel, as distinctively religious, necessarily exercised a determinant influence on the views and the language of the nation as well as the individual. The history of other Semitic peoples, indeed, affords many valuable side-lights which are duly utilised at suitable stages in this work; yet the writer dis-

plays admirable firmness of judgment in keeping constant touch with his main theme, and in giving secondary matters only a subordinate position. An interesting side-remark is the observation that while parallels to the Hebrew נֶפֶשׁ (*soul*) and לֵב (*heart*) are found in other Semitic languages, these present nothing which corresponds to רוּחַ (*spirit*), except in later times, when the idea was evidently borrowed from the Old Testament realm of thought.

After two introductory chapters on the lines of investigation to be pursued, and the field to be surveyed, we are asked to keep in view the acknowledged influence exercised on the mind and the character, as well as on the political history, of a people, by geographical position, climate, and the nature of the soil ; and to note that the Hebrews formed no exception to this general principle. Situated between the Great Empires in Egypt on the one hand, and in Mesopotamia on the other, Palestine necessarily became, again and again, the scene of conflict between opposing powers on the east and the west ; other nations also, more closely adjacent—as the Syrians and Philistines—came into frequent contact or conflict with the Hebrews. The minds of the common people, as well as the historians and the prophets, thus were frequently exercised regarding events in which they played a part. Even more influential, however, on the thoughts and the character of the Hebrews, was their more persistent contact with neighbouring nations from whom they received ideas and impressions—often the worst—which affected their moral and religious conceptions. Mere variety of scene and soil also, within the compass of the Holy Land itself, constrained even unimaginative minds to observe, compare and contrast ; while the striking changes of climate, arising from difference of altitude within the comparatively limited area of Palestine, as well as the vicissitudes of the seasons, formed another strong stimulus to mark external nature.

Next we are led to trace the workings of the Hebrew mind, after it has been stirred to action, and to note its peculiarities. Naturally, beginning is made with a contemplation of the

concrete, and not the abstract, and it is remarkable that individual objects seem to have a special attraction for the Hebrew mind; there is little inclination to generalise. Attention is then drawn to the readiness with which the writers in the Old Testament poetically attribute to inanimate objects something of human feeling and affection, so as to regard them, for the time being, as sentient and animated. But emphasis is properly laid on the fact that amidst this frequent figurative investment of natural objects with human thoughts and affections, there is no pantheism, but a reference of all created things to the Creator.

The weaker portion of this work is in the more purely psychological section, where the writer treats of the Old Testament conceptions regarding the human soul itself. Here, certainly, he has to a large extent availed himself of the results presented in the treatises of others on Biblical psychology. But it is disappointing to find that he makes no allusion to such works, in English, as Dickson's *Baird Lectures on Flesh and Spirit*, or Laidlaw's *Cunningham Lectures on the Bible Doctrine of Man*. Indeed, he seems to know English works merely through translations which have been made into German (see page 6). What would now be thought, on the other hand, of British or American theologians who have no first-hand acquaintance with works in German?

JAMES KENNEDY.

Die gegenwärtigen Richtungen der Religionsphilosophie in England und ihre erkenntniss-theoretischen Grundlagen.

Von Newton H. Marshall. Berlin: Verlag von Reuter u. Reichard, 1902. 8vo, pp. 136.

Der Weg zu Gott unserm Vater. Eine Einführung ins Vaterunser als Einleitung in die christliche Lehre.

Von Dr. Samuel Jaeger, Inspektor des Tholuckkonvikts, Halle. Halle a.d. S. Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1902. Pp. 142.

JUDGING by the style of this work I should say that the author is an American. The German is very frequently not the German a German would write, though it may not be exactly incorrect. If so, the book is a sort of literary *tour de force* which, though deserving admiration of a sort, represents a certain waste of effort. Mr. Marshall would have succeeded better in his proper purpose if he had written in English—so it strikes me.

The subject of the book is both interesting and important, and the author has evidently bestowed a great deal of conscientious investigation and thought on it. The list of works referred to in the course of his dissertation and given at the end, though not complete, or pretending to be, is extensive.

After a brief introduction touching on the relation between philosophy of religion and epistemology, on the classification of *Weltanschauungen* and other points, he goes on to deal with his subject under three great heads entitled "Naturalism," "Objective Idealism," and the "Idealism of Freedom". These heads represent a classification of *Weltanschauungen* accepted *pro tem.* from Dilthey, the biographer of Schleiermacher.

The first and second may be taken as self-explanatory; the

third is formulated as follows: "The Idealism of subjectivity (or freedom) has its structure in the relation between the following momenta. The psychologically intuitive or experimental method leads to the assumption first, of a free unitary (einheitlich) spontaneity, as the fact primarily and indissolubly setted by this method; secondly, of responsibility as the fundamental quality of the activity of this individual psychical cause; and thirdly, of the correlation between such free, responsible spontaneous spiritual unities and an absolute personal and free cause."

Under the head of "Naturalism" are expounded the epistemological doctrines of Huxley and Spencer and the religious doctrines of Spencer, Max Müller, J. G. Frazer, Grant Allen, Romanes and Henry Drummond. Under the head of "Objective Idealism" are set forth the epistemology of Bradley and the religious doctrines of Spinoza, Hegel, Bradley and the Cairds: under the third head he treats of the epistemology of Martineau, Professor Campbell, Fraser and Kidd and the religious doctrine of Upton (Hibbert Lectures). The work closes with sections headed, "Theological View," "Changes in Theology," "Summary of Results of the Enquiry," "Empirical Psychology and Mysticism in England".

In the closing summary we are assured that the common element in all the doctrines reviewed consists in the rise of a paradox.

That of Naturalism is the incommensurability of thought and being, *i.e.*, it denies the objective validity of thought and maintains that the actual nature of being must remain ever unintelligible. This paradox, however, is possible only on the assumption that objective validity involves a metaphysical element. Validity of thought, on the other hand, is a matter of epistemology, not of metaphysics, with which it has nothing to do. Hence the ground of the paradox is the absorption of epistemology by metaphysics.

Not otherwise is it with "Objective Idealism". In it also the metaphysical element gives rise to the paradox, that, namely, of stages or degrees of actuality. The objective

idealist starts with the subordination of epistemology to metaphysics, and is therefore inevitably landed in the paradox above described.

Thinkers of the third school aim at combining epistemology and metaphysics. Some of them do so quite openly and have accordingly been landed in pronounced metaphysical dualism. Others endeavour to proceed epistemologically, but fail. The outcome is the paradox of metaphysical dualism, instead of a purely epistemological distinction between knowledge and faith.

The results of these paradoxes for religion are obvious. Naturalism dogmatically rejects religion. Objective Idealism leads to various views of religion, but excludes the possibility of a theology with a solid basis. The Idealism of Freedom lands inevitably in a mistaken conception of faith, and without first instituting a scientific investigation into the nature of faith and its possible objects, co-ordinates it and reasoned knowledge (*wissen*). "Our conclusion, therefore, is that neither of the principles reviewed presents a satisfactory doctrine or philosophy of religion; and that the reason thereof is the untrustworthy nature of their epistemological groundwork, which is really swallowed up by metaphysical elements. Save on a sound epistemological foundation, no scientific philosophy of religion and theology will in the future ever be possible."

The author of this book is the exceptionally able inspector or warden, as we might put it, of the residential hall for theological students at the University of Halle, known as the *Tholuckkonvikt*, so named in memory of Professor Tholuck and his wife—a lady whose noble lineage, cultured bearing and mind were heightened by rare combination of Christian graces.

It is perhaps presumptuous in a foreigner to venture on judging German style; but I cannot avoid saying that I have never come across a German book more characterised by clearness and simplicity of style than this. As regards

movement, transparency and easy precision, it is not unlike a good French production.

The subject is "The Lord's Prayer," treated as an introduction to Christian doctrine. The matter is distributed under three great heads: I. The way through Jesus to God. Faith and Experience; II. The way from God to His Son. Prayer and Fulfilment; III. The way through the Son to the Father. Atonement and Sonship. The work is a reprint in the main of articles which appeared in *Die Reformierte Kirchenzeitung*.

As a brief—all to brief—specimen of the spirit and style of the book, I will quote the closing sentences: "The hidden God, revealed to us through Jesus of Nazareth, drew us invisibly to Himself, nearer and ever nearer, till we suddenly stood on the very brink of the gulf that yawned between Him the Holy One and us the sinners. Then He laid across it a narrow bridge, the cross, over which He bade us follow His Son to Himself, without looking either to the right hand or to the left. And there in Him He gives us the highest and best that He has to give, namely Himself, His fatherly heart and His spirit. Of Him we are born by Him. Through Him we are drawn to Him. In Him we are to live for Him. Of, through and by ourselves we are nothing; everything that we are, we are of, through and for Him. He is all in all. That is our blessedness; that is His glory."

D. W. SIMON.

The Bane and the Antidote, and other Sermons. By the Rev. W. L. WATKINSON. London : C. H. Kelly, 1902. 8vo, pp. 304. Price 3s. 6d.

Mr. Watkinson has published various volumes of sermons before this one, which have attracted deserved attention. Long ago he established his right to rank among the most outstanding preachers of his time, and it is enough to say that this latest volume well maintains his well-earned reputation. The qualities are conspicuous in it which have won so wide an acceptance for his *Studies in Christian Character and Work and Experience*, his volumes of discourses bearing the titles of *The Transfigured Sackcloth*, *The Blind Spot*, and others. The opening sermon, which gives its title to the volume now before us, deals in a noble and penetrating way with the old familiar themes of sin and grace. Among the striking addresses that follow we may refer to those on "The Imagination in Sin," "The Upward Look," "Subpœnaed Witness" (on Deut. xxxii. 31), "The Common Coronation" (1 Peter ii. 7). The subject of the "Reality of the Spiritual Life" is handled in a notable and original way on the basis of Paul's "The life which is life indeed" (1 Tim. vi. 19, R.V.), and the well-worn subject of the "Thorn in the Flesh" is dealt with in a very fresh and suggestive fashion under the title "Cut to the Quick". But the book will be read from beginning to end with unflagging interest and with constant edification.

The Teachings of Dante. By CHARLES ALLEN DINSMORE. Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1902. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 221.

This is a book for which students of the great Florentine will be grateful. It is written in an easy, forcible style, and it is rich in useful matter. It gives us first a series of short, interesting chapters on Dante himself, the modern interest in

him, his outward and his inward life, his characteristics and his place in history. Then comes a section dealing with the "Burden of the Message," including the call of the prophet, the message in its political and religious aspects, and its value. This is succeeded by three divisions which deal more in detail with Dante's thought and teaching, one entitled "The Vision of Sin," a second "The Quest of Liberty," and a third "The Ascent to God". The chapters which make up these distinct parts show wide and appreciative acquaintance with Dante's works, remarkable powers of exposition, and an admirable analytical faculty. The book is full of information, judicious criticism, and literary interest. It deserves to be widely known. Many will find in it what they particularly need, especially in the beginnings of their studies, and what they often fail to get in more elaborate volumes.

Christian Verities. Sermons by the Rev. S. G. WOODROW (of Aberdeen). London: Arthur H. Stockwell. Cr. 8vo, pp. 156. Price 2s. 6d.

This book is an addition to the series known as "The Baptist Pulpit," of which over twenty volumes have already appeared. It is from the pen of a busy city pastor, and consists of a selection of twelve sermons on such subjects as "Faith and Sight," "Christian Certitude," "The Burning Bush," etc. The discourses are catholic in spirit, skilfully constructed, and written in a clear, pointed style. They are practical and profitable in their message, and serve admirably the purposes of edification. There is much good thinking in them, and they arrest the reader not unfrequently by striking sentences. They justify their selection to the honour of a place in the series to which they belong. The strength of their teaching on its doctrinal side as well as its practical is best seen in such discourses as those on "The Just for the Unjust," and "Theories of the Atonement". In the last-mentioned the author attempts a review of the progress of Christian thought, taking Mr. Lidgett's able Fernley Lecture as his basis. The survey is brief, but judicious. Justice is done to the services

rendered by the fruitful, though incomplete, contributions of Bushnell, Coleridge and others. The author's own conclusion is that "the life and death of Jesus Christ constitute a perfect satisfaction for sin; that it must be viewed in the light of the Divine Fatherhood and of the Incarnation; and that all theories have contributed some important truths, but that no theory is adequate, because the Atonement contains transcendental elements which surpass our comprehension". In this we cordially agree with him.

Revelation. Introduction, Authorised Version, Revised Version, with Notes, Index and Map. Edited by C. ANDERSON SCOTT, M.A. (Camb.) Author of *Evangelical Religion Bible Truth, Ulfilas, Apostle of the Goths*, etc. Edinburgh: T. C. and E. C. Jack. Pp. 308. Price 2s. cloth; 2s. 6d. leather.

This is another volume of the *Century Bible*, edited by Professor W. F. Adeney. Mr. Scott has had a peculiarly difficult task in producing a small, portable commentary on a book so full of problems as the Apocalypse. It will be found that he has discharged this task in a way that fulfils the design of the series and provides the help for which many readers will be grateful. The interpretation of the Revelation of St. John has passed through many phases, some of them of a far-fetched order. It has entered of late years on a new stage in its strange course, one that is in some important respects more faithful to the historical method and more fruitful than any of its predecessors, but at the same time one which lends itself very readily to exaggeration and from which too much may be expected. Mr. Scott has informed himself in this last development of the exegesis of the book, and has also given careful attention to the most recent contributions to the solution of the critical and historical questions. He has used his materials with skill, with good sense, and with a very proper regard to the fact that, notwithstanding the loud claims put in by some recent writers in behalf of certain new hypotheses, it has to be confessed

that there is very much that yet remains unsettled and uncertain.

The Introduction is an excellent piece of work, written in a clear and cogent style, and going over a wide and difficult field with a firm and experienced step. A good sketch is given of the history of the book, the different theories of its purpose, and the various schemes of interpretation which have been applied to it. Considerable attention is given to the curious Apocalyptic literature, especially the *Book of Enoch*, the *Assumption of Moses*, the *Apocalypse of Baruch* and the *Fourth Book of Esdras*. The characteristics of this class of literature, the points in which it differs from prophecy proper and the way in which it helps us in the reading of the Revelation of St. John, are stated in a very capable and informing way. The questions of date, authorship, structure and purpose are discussed with much care and with a steadiness of judgment by no means too frequently shown by writers on this fascinating book. Mr. Scott puts very forcibly the difficulty attaching to the hypothesis of a presbyter John distinct from the Apostle, and criticises with much good sense the theories of Völter, Vischer and others which seek to lighten the book of some of its problems by taking it to be a composite structure, not the product of one hand or one date. Examples of careful, sober handling of passages that try the exegete will be found in the notes on such paragraphs as chaps. vii. 4-8, xi. 1-13, xii., etc. Mr. Scott's volume deserves a good reception.

The Words of Jesus. Considered in the Light of Post-Biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language. By GUSTAF DALMAN, Professor of Theology in the University of Leipzig. Authorised English Version, by D. M. KAY, B.D., B.Sc., Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in the University of St. Andrews. I. Introduction and Fundamental Ideas. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 350. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Messrs. Clark have been well advised in undertaking a translation of Professor Dalman's book. And we are glad

to be able to say that the translation is satisfactory. It appears to be correctly done and to have the merit of being clear and readable. Of the book itself it is happily not necessary now to say much in the way of commendation or in directing attention to it. In its original German it rapidly made its way into the favour of scholars, and this English rendering will win for it a wider audience still. It is indeed indispensable to the student of the New Testament. Not that Professor Dalman's views of things are to be accepted at all points, or that the account which he gives of the outstanding and most distinctive terms is in every case complete. In some things room is left for doubt or dissent, and there are things omitted which we should gladly have seen included. But this does not take much from the value of the studies which Professor Dalman has given to the public. No one can read the discussions in this book on so many of the characteristic terms of the New Testament and the ideas underlying them, without feeling that he has been put upon the proper track and is directed to a peculiarly fruitful field of enquiry. The statements on the origin, literary connexions and usage of such terms in the teaching of our Lord as the "future age or æon," "the World," "Eternal life," etc., are full of interest. Not less suggestive are the expositions of the idea of the Theocracy and the sources and distinctive applications of the various names of God, the meaning of such phrases as "bound" and "loosed in heaven," etc. But of greater interest and importance still are the chapters on the great titles "Son of Man," "Son of God," "Christ," "Son of David". The exposition of the first of these titles deserves particular attention. It forms a much needed corrective to some of the many theoretical, not to say fanciful dissertations on the subject which have been thrust upon our notice lately, few of which give anything like sufficient attention to the sense of the term as it occurs in its various connexions in the Gospels themselves. Professor Dalman's conclusion bears among other things that the sense attached to the term by our Lord is peculiar to Himself; that it connotes humility and suffering as well as majesty; and that the in-

terpretation put upon it by the Hellenistic Synoptists and the primitive Church, "though in the narrower sense inexact, was not erroneous in so far as they found in it a testimony of Jesus to the reality of His human nature". It is of interest also to notice that Professor Dalman has given up the idea to which he was for a time favourably inclined, namely, that "Son of Man" might be a paradoxical term for "Son of God".

The introduction deals in a masterly fashion with the use of Aramaic among the Jews, the literary use of Hebrew, the Semitisms of the Synoptic Gospels, the alleged proofs of a primitive Hebrew Gospel, etc. On all these subjects Professor Dalman has much to say that is to the purpose. His criticisms of the theory of a primary Gospel in the Hebrew language will do much to dispose of that hypothesis. His discussions give us greater confidence in the Greek text as representing the original words. Every one interested in New Testament studies should have this scholarly and suggestive volume at his hand.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

THE March issue of the *Monatschrift für die Kirchliche Praxis* contains good articles on *Stellvertretende Leiden* by F. N., and *Aufgaben der Apologetik* by Pfarrer Traub. In the corresponding issue of the *Bulletin de Littérature ecclésiastique* M. Louis Maisonneuve concludes his papers on "Fidéisme". In the first number of the *Indian Church Review* for the year we notice a very readable paper by Mr. Eugene Stock on "Bishop Daniel Wilson" and another by the Rev. W. H. Hutton on "The Homes of the Tractarians". An interesting paper is contributed to the April issue of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* by Frances E. Davison on the "Witness of the Grave-Clothes," bringing out how much there is in Mr. Latham's theory (as stated in his volume on *The Risen Master*) to explain the conduct of the disciples as described in the Gospels. In the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses* for March-April M. Jerome Labourt gives the first of what promises to be an instructive series of papers on "Christianity in the Empire of the Persians," and M. Joseph Turmel continues his series on the "Dogma of Original Sin in Augustine" dealing with the *nature* and *propagation* of original sin.

The April number of the *International Journal of Ethics* opens with a paper by Mr. Arthur W. Benn on "The Ethical Value of Hellenism". The drift of the paper may be judged by these statements: "If indeed the question of obligation be once raised we shall have to ask not so much what the Greeks owe to Christianity as what it owes to them;" "Catholicism in its original and only true sense is but the theological expression for universal Hellenic humanity;" "the root-ideas of Pauline theology are only intelligible when interpreted in the light of Plato's metaphysics;" "the

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ethical value of Hellenism may be defined as its influence in fixing attention on the purely moral side of the popular religion, and in preparing men's minds for the eventual reception of a morality independent of religious sanctions". There are good papers by G. W. Knox of Union Theological Seminary, New York, on "Religion and Ethics," the Rev. J. H. Harley on "The Place of Ethics in the Table of the Sciences," and others. Mr. Knox deals carefully with the positions of Clifford, Huxley, Sidgwick, Romanes, Hæckel, etc., and concludes that "Ethics can be rendered rational only on the assumption that there is a reality deeper than the phenomenal world of sense, truer than the world we know and better". We notice here also a third edition of Professor Adolf Harnack's suggestive discourse on the theological faculties and the history of religion—*Die Aufgabe der theologischen Facultäten und die allgemeine Religionsgeschichte*.¹

In the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July we have articles on these subjects among others that are of interest—"A Study of Mormonism," by George R. Lunn; "Ad. Harnack's 'Essence of Christianity' and his Critics," by O. Zöckler; "Jehovah's Protest against Altar Service," by M. A. Bulloch.

In the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for the same quarter Professor Warfield has an important and searching paper on "Mr. Kenyon and the Textual Criticism of the New Testament". There are also important papers by others, e.g., by E. H. Griffin on "The Epistemological Argument for Theism".

The *Church Quarterly Review* for July has a number of very readable papers, among which we specially notice the opening one on "The Holy Eucharist," an historical inquiry dealing chiefly with the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, containing much interesting matter. We shall look with expectation for its completion.

In the July number of the *American Journal of Theology* there are four good papers and some valuable critical notes.

¹ Giessen: Ricker; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. 22. Price 6d.

The outstanding article is the first, in which Professor McGiffert of New York deals with the "Origin of High-Church Episcopacy," and brings out in a clear and convincing way how far the High-Church idea has departed from the primitive position.

There are several strong articles in the July issue of *Mind*, e.g., F. H. Bradley's paper on "Mental Conflict and Imputation," and J. A. Stewart's on the "Attitude of Speculative Idealism to Natural Science," not to speak of others. The critical notes are also of great value, e.g., those on Howison's *Limits of Evolution* and McTaggart's *Studies in the Hegelian Cosmology*.

We direct special attention to those articles in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxi., 1, "The Ephod," by T. C. Foote; "Difficult Passages in the Song of Songs," by Paul Haupt; "The Pre-existence of the Messiah," by G. F. Barton; and "The Haskell Gospels," by F. J. Goodspeed. The last is brief, but gives an excellent account of the MS. now in the possession of the University of Chicago, dating from about A.D. 1500, and containing readings of a somewhat distinctively Syrian type of text.

The April and July issues of the *Journal of Theological Studies* contain various papers of importance. In April, the Rev. P. N. Waggett writes on "The Manifold Unity of Christian Life," endeavouring to vindicate the proper and inseparable connexion of the inward and the outward in the origin of the heavenly things, the Incarnation, the sacramental doctrine concerning "events in the Church which extend to us the life of Christ," spiritual experience, character, and the practice of obedience. An interesting paper follows by the Rev. G. H. Box on "Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist". Mr. Box concludes that the true Jewish antecedent of the Christian Sacrament is not the Passover, but the *Kiddûsh*. He thinks this is supported by the negative testimony of the Fourth Gospel, the order of the elements in the true text of Luke xxii., Paul's indirect allusions, and by the *Didaché*. Besides a number of valuable notes on questions of historical interest ("English Mass-Books in the Ninth

Century," "A Synod at Cæsarea in Palestine in 393," etc.) by various hands, there is also a learned article by the Rev. C. H. Turner on "The Genuineness of the Sardican Canons," in which the adverse arguments of Dr. Friedrich of Munich are criticised. In July, Mr. Burkitt contributes an article on the "Date of the Codex Bezae". He admits that the date does not much affect our view of the value of the Codex, but thinks its historical interest is increased if it is put, as he argues, as a product of the times of Leo the Great and Apollinaris Sidonius. The argument is acute.

We have also pleasure in noticing these publications: *Seeing the King in his Beauty*,¹ a series of short, devout chapters by the Rev. W. Griffiths, M.A., on the reign of Christ and the fulfilment of its programme, written on the supposition that the promised Second Advent came to pass in the generation to which Christ preached on earth, and that this Advent was the "commencement of our Lord's abiding Presence among men"; *The Expositor*,² sixth series, vol. v., providing as usual abundant matter for the minister and the student, always interesting and sufficiently varied to suit different tastes—containing important articles by the late Professor A. B. Davidson on "Jacob at Peniel," Professor W. M. Ramsay on "The Jews in the Græco-Asiatic Cities," Professor Mayor on "A Puritan and a Broad Churchman in the Second Century" (Tertullian to wit), Professor Rendel Harris on "Some questions in Textual Criticism," etc.; *The Message of Man*,³ "a book of ethical Scriptures," as its secondary title bears, collected with much care and good taste by Stanton Coit, Ph.D., from many sources—a small volume, most tasteful and attractive in form, and furnishing on every page choice matter, gathered from the great minds of all countries and times, which will profit and stimulate the reader; *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, Register zu den drei Bänden*,⁴ an in-

¹ London: Elliot Stock, 1902. Cr. 12mo, pp. vi. + 197. Price 2s.

² Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 475. Price 7s. 6d.

³ London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1902. Pp. 340. Price 2s. net.

⁴ Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. 8vo, pp. 101.

dispensable addition to the third edition of Professor Emil Schürer's important *History*, prepared with great care and enabling the reader to lay his hand easily upon any section of the work he wishes to consult; *Die Choräle Julian's von Speier zu den Reimoffizien des Franziscus- und Antoniusfestes*,¹ and *des Basilius aus Achrida Erzbischofs von Thessalonich bisher unedierte Dialoge*,² two publications forming the sixth and seventh parts of the important series issued by the Munich Seminar for Church History, both of considerable historical interest, and carefully edited the one by Dr. J. E. Weis, the other, which is a contribution to the history of the Greek Schism, by Josef Schimdt; *Die Weisheit der Brahmanen und das Christentum*,³ an exposition and critique of the Vedânta Philosophy by Johannes Kreyher dealing in an able and well-instructed way with the main points in the teaching of the philosophy on the Being of God, the origin of the world, the human Soul, the redemption of man, and the things of the End, a concise and instructive statement of a difficult subject, forming part of the fifth year's issue of the series edited by Professors Schlatter and Cremer under the title of *Beiträge zur Förderung Christlicher Theologie*; *Ausgewählte Märtyreracten*,⁴ a collection of writings, including the Martyrdom of Polycarp, the Acts of Karpus, Papyrus and Agathonike, the Martyrdom of Ptolemaeus and Lucius, The Acts of Justin, the Martyrs of Lyons, the Acts of the Scilitan Martyrs, and other sources for the History of the Martyrs, edited in a painstaking way in the Greek and Latin texts by Licentiate Rudolf Knopf of Marburg—a handy and scholarly volume; *Ausgewählte Märtyreracten und andere Urkunden aus der Verfolgungszeit der Christlichen Kirche*,⁵ a collection of twenty-two pieces, covering much

¹ München: Lentner, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 4 + xxxviii. Price M.2.60.

² München: Lentner, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 54. Price M.1.60.

³ Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. vi. + 180. Price 3s.

⁴ Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. ix. + 120. Price M.2.50.

⁵ Berlin: Duncker, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 259. Price M.4.

the same ground as Licentiate Knopf's volume, but differing somewhat in the writings included (*e.g.*, the Acts of Paul and Thecla, the Passion of St. Irenaeus, the Acts of the Disputation of St. Achatius, two *Libelli* of the year 250, etc.), edited with a Preface, numerous notes and ample indices, by Dr. Oscar von Gebhardt, a book which the student of the history of the Primitive Church will value greatly; a third edition of the Rev. Hugh Mackintosh's *Is Christ Infallible and is the Bible True?*¹; a new volume of the tasteful "Helps Heavenward Series," consisting of a series of devout, thoughtful, and admirably written papers by Professor George G. Findlay, D.D., on *The Things Above*,² the subjects selected being such as these—"Coming to Mount Zion," "Serving and Waiting," "Maran Atha," "The Ascension of Jesus," etc.; the first instalment of a new historical series, *Opuscles de critique historique*, which promises to be of value, consisting of the *Regula Antiqua Fratrum et Sororum de Pœnitentia*³ (the Third Order of Saint Francis), carefully edited by M. Paul Sabatier from a manuscript numbered XX in the Library of the Convent of Capristan in the Abbruzzi; *Les Serments Carolingiens de 842 à Strasbourg*⁴—a learned dissertation by Adolphe Krafft, on an interesting and very difficult subject, going into ethnographical and linguistic discussions which challenge the consideration of experts in Frankish history, geography, and archæology, and in Romanish and Teutonic philology; *A Critical and Historical Enquiry into the Origin of the Third Gospel*,⁵ by P. C. Sense, M.A., a book of the same kind as the previous publication in which the author set himself the task of proving that the Fourth Gospel was compiled from the writings of Cerinthus, Valentinus and others, characterised by the same perverted ingenuity, the same contempt for ordinary historical and critical inquiry, the same scorn for

Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 723. Price 6s. net.

¹ London: Charles H. Kelly, 1901. Demy 16mo, pp. 256. Price 2s 6d.

² Paris: Fischbacher, 1901. 8vo, pp. 30.

³ Paris: Leroux, 1901. 8vo, pp. 147. Price Fr. 3.50.

⁴ London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. xvii. + 604. Price 7s. 6d.

the men who have the best title among us to the honourable name of scholar, and professing to have established the theory that the Third Gospel is a compilation from the Marcionite Gospel and the Apocryphal Gospels; *Words of Faith and Hope*¹—a collection of papers by the late Bishop of Durham (most of which have been previously published in separate form, but which are issued now, in accordance with what appears to have been the writer's design, in a single volume), full of Dr. Westcott's genial and hopeful spirit, and dealing in an earnest and instructive way with such topics as "Disciplined Life," "Christian Growth," "Voices of the Living Spirit," "Labour Co-operation," etc.; *Confession and Absolution, Report of a Conference held at Fulham Palace, on 30th and 31st December, 1901, and 1st January, 1902, Edited by Henry Wace, D.D., Chairman of the Conference*,² a welcome and seasonable publication, carefully edited by Dr. Wace, which helps much to a better understanding of the precise position of the different parties in the Anglican Church on these important points of doctrine, and brings out a remarkable measure of agreement on two questions of great interest—the meaning of our Lord's words in St. John's Gospel ("Whosoever sins ye remit," etc.), and the permission given by the formularies of the Church to the practice of confession and absolution to a certain effect and in certain circumstances; *Some Notes on the Conference held at Fulham Palace in October, 1900, on the Doctrine of Holy Communion and its Expression in Ritual*,³ by the Rev. N. Dimock, A.M., an able and candid review of the points debated at the Round Table Conference, supported by a great wealth of learning, bringing out into full view the teaching of the great English divines of earlier times, and intended to lead to a better understanding of what the Catholic and Reformed conceptions of the Eucharist and

¹ By the late Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L., sometime Lord Bishop of Durham. London: Macmillan & Co., 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 212. Price 4s. 6d.

² London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. 8vo, pp. viii. + 112. Price 3s. net.

³ London: Elliot Stock, 1901. 8vo, pp. 145. Price 4s. net.

the connected Ritual really are ; *A Lamp unto my Feet*¹—a volume by the authoress of *Westminster Cloisters*, etc., giving some devout and helpful answers to questions that may suggest themselves to reverent and inquiring minds regarding the purpose of the Bible, the way in which it should be used, the relation of faith, obedience and prayer to the proper and profitable study of the Word of God, etc.

Messrs. Williams & Norgate will publish next October the first number of a new Quarterly to be known as *The Hibbert Journal*, and to be issued under the sanction, and with the support of, the Hibbert Trustees. It will be devoted to the discussion of Religious, Theological and Philosophical subjects, and its pages will be open to writers of ability and learning, irrespective of the particular doctrines they may be known to support or to oppose. The Journal will be avowedly liberal in character ; under liberalism being understood impartiality to every seriously held point of view in the religious world, whether in the orthodox forms of historical Christianity, or in the forms of those who dissent from them. It will be an organ of the broadest possible catholicity. The Editors (Messrs. L. P. Jacks and G. Dawes Hicks) will be assisted by an editorial board consisting of scholars of the most various schools of thought. Amongst the latter are the Deans of Ely and Durham, Dr. John Watt, Professor Cheyne, Dr. Drummond, and Mr. Montefiore, whilst Sir Oliver Lodge, Professor Gardner and Professor Muirhead will represent science and philosophy.

¹ By M. Bedder (Mrs. Horace Porter). London : Elliot Stock, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 144. Price 2s. 6d. net.

Record of Select Literature.

I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

- PETERS, N. Der jüngst wieder aufgefunden hebräische Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus. Untersucht, hrsg., übers. u. m. krit. Noten versehen. Freiburg i. B.: Herder. Cr. 8vo, pp. + 92, 447. M.10.
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Recent Theories respecting the Third Gospel.

DURING the last twenty years controversy as to the Gospel history has become less predominantly occupied with the Johannine problem. The Synoptic problem has attracted more and more attention; and, although theories respecting the Fourth Gospel still continue to be discussed, as is shown (among other works) by Wendt's recent inquiry into its genesis and historical value,¹ yet it is discussions respecting the Synoptic Gospels which, in this department of Biblical Criticism, occupy the larger portion of the field. And, on the whole, it is the Third Gospel which has received the largest amount of attention and criticism. The characteristics of the Third Gospel might be sufficient explanation for this. To a considerable extent it combines the points of special interest which are conspicuous in the First Gospel and in the Second, while it has not a few points of great interest which it shares with no other Gospel. But this is by no means the whole of the explanation as to the prominent place which the Third Gospel has taken in controversies respecting the contents of the Gospel narratives. In the sphere of Textual Criticism attention has been of late more and more directed to that type of text which is called sometimes "Western" and sometimes "Syro-Latin," but which is best styled, as by Kenyon in his excellent Handbook,² the " δ -text". This symbol is short; it serves to remind us that the chief representative of the text is Codex D; and it commits us to nothing as to the locality in which the text originated or prevailed. Seeing that Codex D contains both of the writings attributed to S. Luke, and that the phenomena which these

¹ *The Gospel according to St. John*, by H. H. Wendt. T. & T. Clark 1902.

² *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, by F. G. Kenyon. Macmillans, 1901.

two writings exhibit are of the utmost importance for the solution of the questions connected with the δ -text, this also has caused the Third Gospel to occupy a considerable space in recent discussions bearing upon New Testament criticism. Of the two writings commonly assigned to S. Luke, Acts seems to be receiving the larger amount of attention ; but the Third Gospel of necessity receives a good deal. It will be worth while to look at some of the leading theories which have recently been put forth respecting the Third Gospel, and attempt to come to some conclusion as to whether we seem to be approaching finality with regard to any important questions.

It will be convenient to speak of it by the name which it has borne for so many centuries. "Luke" is shorter than "Third Gospel"; and the latter designation leads to no adjective, such as "Lucan," and an adjective is sometimes wanted. "Luke" and "Lucan," therefore, need not be objected to as question-begging names. At the same time the present writer ventures at the outset to express his conviction that these terms, when applied to the Third Gospel and to Acts, are not only convenient but correct. Nothing that he has read during the last eight years has led him to alter the views which he published in 1896 in the *International Critical Commentary* on S. Luke, to the effect that both these writings, in their entirety, are rightly assigned to "the beloved physician," the companion of S. Paul. On the other hand, he has read a good deal which has tended to confirm these views.

It would perhaps be rash to say that, if measured by quantity, more has been put forth of late in favour of the Lucan authorship than against it; and no useful purpose would be served by endeavouring to form any such estimate. Indeed the amazing article on "Gospels" in the second volume of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*¹ is so lengthy that it alone would go a long way towards making the amount of adverse argument exceed the amount of support. But if criticism is

¹ Edited by T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black. A. & C. Black, 1901.

estimated by its sobriety and solidity, rather than by the number of words used in expressing it and the confidence with which it is advanced, the balance will probably be found to be very much more in favour of traditional beliefs respecting the authorship of these writings than of this or that speculation which has been put forward on the subject during the last twelve or fifteen years.

It is a little over twelve years since Bishop Lightfoot quoted with approbation the opinion of Renan that "the author of the Third Gospel and the Acts was verily and indeed (*bien réellement*) Luke, a disciple of St. Paul";¹ and also Renan's condemnation, as untenable, of the view that the first person plural of the later chapters of Acts is derived from some earlier document inserted by the author; on the ground that these portions are identical in style with the rest of the work.² On this the Bishop remarks, "Such an expression of opinion, proceeding from a not too conservative critic, is significant: and *this view of the authorship, I cannot doubt, will be the final verdict of the future, as it has been the unbroken tradition of the past*".³ Had Dr. Lightfoot lived to the present time, one feels confident that he would have seen no reason to revoke or modify this very decided expression of opinion; and one has the less hesitation in saying this, when one finds that several years later Dr. Sanday gives as his own conviction "that, except for the Pauline epistles, as strong a case can be made out for the traditional authorship of the Third Gospel and the Acts as for that of any other book of the New Testament".⁴

But plenty has been written in the last few years in quite another direction.

On the other side of the Atlantic a series of New Testamen

¹ *Les Apôtres*, p. xviii. ; English translation, p. 12. Trübner.

² *Les Évangiles*, p. 436: see also the Introduction to *Les Apôtres*; English translation, pp. 7, 8.

³ *Essays on the Work entitled Supernatural Religion*, p. 291. Macmillan, 1889.

⁴ *Book by Book*, p. 397. Isbister, 1893. He expresses a similar opinion in his *Bampton Lectures*, p. 279.

Handbooks is being edited by Shailer Mathews of the University of Chicago; and one of the first to be published was an *Introduction to the New Testament* by B. W. Bacon, D.D., Professor in Yale Divinity School. Apparently it is intended for the use of students at Universities and Theological Colleges; but it aims at getting *ahead* of what has been established or admitted as probable, and therefore is designedly speculative. The writer says in his Preface: "I have not been deterred from presenting views *which are peculiar to myself* when these seemed best to set forth the results toward which critical science *is tending*". On the question before us he is confident that the Third Gospel is not the work of S. Luke. The "we" sections of Acts are part of a Diary kept by a companion of S. Paul, "who can scarcely have been other than Luke". "But the first person of Luke i. 1-4, Acts i. 1 is not necessarily the Diarist." Then why did the writer of these two prefaces leave the "we" in the portions of the Diary which he embodied in his work? He shrank, we are told, "from obliterating the most fascinating characteristic of the Diary". Till some better explanation than this is found of the first person plural in these sections of Acts, sober criticism will retain the traditional and perfectly satisfactory explanation, that the "I" in the prefaces to Gospel and Acts is one of those who make up the "we" in the latter part of Acts; in other words, that the writer says "we" when he is present, and "they" when he is not. We are told that "we have need of more than the retention of the first person in the Diary sections, and a tradition, probably based upon it, to make Lucan authorship of the whole easy to accept": to which we reply that we *have* a good deal more than the retention of the first person (*e.g.*, a style, details, points of view, etc., entirely in harmony with what is known about S. Luke, as a physician, a man of culture, and the liberal-minded disciple of the liberal-minded Apostle), and that there is no evidence that the early and uniform tradition of the Lucan authorship grew out of the belief that the "we" sections were written by Luke. That theory would be, not indeed probable, but credible, if we had only Acts to deal

with. But there is the fact that, quite independently of Acts, the Third Gospel is unanimously attributed to S. Luke; and the evidence for the Gospel is at least as early as that for the second treatise. There is nothing to indicate that belief about Lucan authorship spread, first from the "we" sections to the whole of Acts, and then from Acts to the Third Gospel. The evidence of Irenæus, the Muratorian Fragment, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, is alike free from any such indication. It will suffice to quote once more the evidence of Irenæus. "Now if any one reject Luke, as if he did not know the truth, he will manifestly be casting out the Gospel of which he claims to be a disciple. For very many and specially necessary elements of the Gospel we know through him, as the generation of John, the history of Zacharias, the coming of the angel to Mary, the exclamation of Elizabeth, etc." (III. xiv. 3); which shows that Irenæus regarded the Lucan authorship as unquestionable. Some people might doubt whether Luke had the authority of an Evangelist; but no one could deny that he was the writer of the Gospel which bore his name. Dr. Bacon follows Jülicher¹ in talking of "the silence of Papias"; as if it were possible to determine from the few fragments of Papias that are extant what subjects he did not mention in the main portions which have perished! Lightfoot has shown that there is reason to believe that Papias did write about Luke;² and this belief is shared (on different grounds) not only by Dr. Salmon,³ whom Dr. Bacon would no doubt class with B. Weiss as "conservative," but by Hilgenfeld, who can scarcely be placed in such a category. Jülicher, it may be added, denies the Lucan authorship, on grounds which are either unproved assertions, as that the Third Gospel and Acts are equally remote in time from the subjects which they narrate, or may fairly be called purely subjective, as that the idealising of the Apostolic Age

¹ *Einleitung in das N. T.*, § 27, 3. Leipzig, 1894.

² *Supernatural Religion*, pp. 186, 200.

³ *Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the N. T.*, pp. 91, 92, ed. 5. Murray, 1891.

which we find in Acts is not such as would be found in a contemporary enthusiast (p. 262).

This last criticism may be regarded as typical of the school and country from which it comes. Dr. Sanday has expressed regret that "work on the Acts has hitherto been almost entirely in the hands of the Germans; and although some progress has been made and more reasonable views are beginning to prevail, even in Germany there is at present something like a deadlock, and I strongly suspect that with the methods on which the inquiry has been pursued a deadlock is inevitable. . . . The fault seems to lie in the standard by which the writer of the book is judged. . . . It is an unreal and artificial standard, the standard of the nineteenth century rather than the first, of Germany rather than of Palestine, of the lamp and the study rather than of active life. . . . To burrow beneath the surface is a specialty of the Germans. It is one which they have exercised with excellent results. But it is another thing to require the gifts of a German Professor in an early Christian situated like the author of the Acts."¹

One of the latest writers on the subject makes a similar and equally just remark on the kind of criticism which leads some modern writers to reject the Lucan authorship of the Third Gospel and of Acts, and to regard the writer of those books as an untrustworthy witness. To read this criticism, he says, "one would suppose that no reliance can be placed on a writer who does not reach a modern academic ideal, who does not attain to that fulness and accuracy which we expect nowadays from the conscientious writer of an historical or biographical monograph—an exhaustive collection of facts, and a critical use of authorities. But if we try to form a living picture of the possibilities of the writer, we shall look for, and I venture to say that we shall desire, no such laboured precision." He admits that in S. Luke's work we find a want of proportion which is not in accordance with

¹ *Inspiration; The Bampton Lectures for 1893*, pp. 320, 321. Longmans, 1893.

modern literary ideas. And yet, "considering the area of events over which it travels, it gives a picture of the characters of the chief actors and of the progress of events infinitely more instinct with life and movement than a scientific presentation of the history could have done".¹ It is too often assumed that those whose critical studies lead them to conclusions which are in harmony with traditional views, are not only "conservative" but "apologetic," by which is meant (and sometimes stated) that they are prejudiced and obscurantist, if not consciously unfair; and that while professing to employ critical methods, they are really afraid of, and hostile to, everything of the kind. Unworthy charges of this kind can hardly be made against a writer whose candour and courage have produced the most elaborate and carefully weighed indictment of the genuineness of 2 Peter that has up to the present time been penned.²

But it is not necessary to go either to America or to Germany for criticism which contends that Luke the beloved physician is not the author of the writings which early and unanimous tradition has assigned to him. One may pass over with very brief mention the volume recently produced by Mr. P. C. Sense on the Gospel according to S. Luke. A writer who contends that not Jesus of Nazareth, or even Paul of Tarsus, but Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, is the real founder of Christianity, who assigns Codex B to the ninth century and is inclined to believe that Codex \mathfrak{N} was really forged by Simonides in a monastery at Mount Athos about 1840, is not one who can claim a hearing from busy workers, whose impatience will give place to indignation when they find that again and again he thinks it fitting to bring accusations of dishonesty against such writers as Dr. Sanday and Bishop Westcott. His theory is that our S. Luke was published between A.D. 168 and 177, that it "was compiled from the writing used by the sect of the Marcionites, known as the Marcionite Gospel, and from the writings of minor apostles,

¹ *The Credibility of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, being the Hulsean Lectures for 1900-1901*, by F. H. Chase, D.D. Macmillan, 1902.

² Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii., pp. 796-818.

known as the Apocryphal Gospels," and that the Marcionite Gospel was published in Pontus between A.D. 100 and 150, its author being Luke, Lucanus, or Lucianus the Marcionite.¹ There are other works on the subject far more worthy of serious consideration.

It will suffice to take two books of recent date, coming to us from America and Scotland, as fairly representative; one by Professor A. C. McGiffert,² the other by Mr. James Moffat.³ Dr. McGiffert seems to be impressed by the unanimous testimony of antiquity that Luke was the writer of the Third Gospel and of Acts, but he refuses to identify this Luke with the Luke known to history as the beloved physician, thrice mentioned by S. Paul. Luke, we are told, was no uncommon name, and towards the end of the first century there may have been many Christians called Luke. This position, which is not a common one, ignores the fact that some of the earliest witnesses expressly attribute these writings to Luke *the physician*; and, as Renan pointed out long ago, there is no sufficient reason why the Church of the second century should have assigned two such important works (the two longest in the New Testament) to so little known a person, except the fact that he was known to have been the author of them. This position also ignores, as do all denials of the Lucan authorship, the very substantial amount of confirmation which the traditional view receives from the medical language of S. Luke. Dr. Hobart's well-known book on the subject was published twenty years ago;⁴ and, so far as the present writer is aware, it has never been seriously answered. It is easy to pooh-pooh it; and it is not difficult to show that Dr. Hobart has considerably, perhaps very seriously, over-

¹ *The Origin of the Third Gospel, a Critical and Historical Enquiry*, by P. C. Sense, M.A. Williams and Norgate.

² *A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, by Prof. A. C. McGiffert, Ph.D., D.D. T. & T. Clark, 1897.

³ *The Historical New Testament, a New Translation, with Prolegomena, etc.*, by James Moffat, B.D. T. & T. Clark, 1901.

⁴ *The Medical Language of St. Luke*, by the Rev. W. K. Hobart, LL.D. Longmans, 1882.

stated the case, by including in his long list of medical and quasi-medical words a large number which Luke would have been at least as likely to get from the Septuagint as from medical works or lectures. But even if nine-tenths of his instances were set aside as doubtful, the remaining tenth would form solid evidence that the writer of these two books was a medical man. It is perhaps partly because of its manifest exaggeration that Dr. Hobart's work has not made the impression which it should have done; and, if so, it is one more instance of the nemesis which sooner or later commonly overtakes exaggeration. But those who have convinced themselves, on whatever grounds, that the beloved physician is not the author of these two documents will not make their position secure until they have explained how it comes to pass that precisely these two books contain an amount of phraseology which is common to them and to Greek medical writers, such as cannot be found in any other writings in the New Testament. As J. Weiss remarks, this phraseology can best be explained as reminiscences of Hippocrates, Aretæus, Dioscorides, and as medical *termini technici* (Galen). Specially remarkable is the fact, to which Lagarde (*Psalt. juxta Hebr. Hieronymi*, 165 f.; cf. *Mittheilungen*, iii., 355) has called attention, that the Preface of Luke is a direct imitation of the opening words to the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides. Now, seeing that this medical writer comes from Anazarbus in Cilicia, and that according to Nicolai (*Gr. Lit. G.*, ii., 371) he wrote in the time of Nero, this tells decidedly in favour of the Gentile Christian Luke with his Cilician connexion. Cf. Hippocrates, *De Prisc. Med.*: ὁκόσοι ἐπεχείρησαν περὶ ἰητρικῆς λέγειν ἢ γράφειν.¹ Dr. Moffat's learned book contains plenty of information respecting German and other writers who, during the last ten or twelve years, have expressed views adverse to Luke's authorship of the Gospel, and it need not be repeated here. Whatever value these views may have in pointing out difficulties which require discussion, they fail to give an adequate explanation of the facts

¹ Meyer-Weiss, Gottingen, 1892, p. 274.

insisted on above: (1) the early and unanimous tradition; (2) the "we" sections in Acts; (3) the medical language and other features which confirm the primitive tradition.

But if America has given us two critics who refuse to assign to Luke the physician the two writings which primitive Christianity unhesitatingly declared to be his, Scotland again has produced an advocate of the first rank, who has not merely restated old and valid arguments with new vivacity and power, but has brought to bear upon the points of controversy a wealth of antiquarian and topographical knowledge, especially with regard to Asia Minor and Roman administration, which is possessed by no one else. By means of this knowledge, the reality of which is beyond dispute, Professor Ramsay endeavours to show that in the writings attributed to Luke we have the work of an historian, who is not only competent but excellent, who was a companion of S. Paul and a medical man, and who is unquestionably the Luke whom the Apostle mentions three times in his Epistles. With the trifling qualification that, in his enthusiasm, he perhaps sometimes rather overestimates the great merits of Luke as a writer of history, the argument as a whole comes as near to demonstration as arguments about historical problems can be expected to do. The task of those who on critical grounds dispute the Lucan authorship has been very seriously increased since his chief works appeared. The number of editions which have been called for is welcome evidence of the amount of attention which the volumes have already received; and it is to be expected that they will do a great deal towards introducing in some places, and confirming in others, reasonable criticism with regard to the discussion of a large number of New Testament problems.¹ The following quotation from one of the latest editions, and which therefore expresses his most mature views on the subject, will indicate that adverse criticism has not shaken the conviction which he

¹ *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170*, 6th ed., Hodder & Stoughton, 1900; *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 6th ed., Hodder & Stoughton, 1902; *Was Christ born at Bethlehem? A Study in the Credibility of St. Luke*, 1900.

slowly reached some years ago, when a patient investigation of the facts proved to him that the Tübingen theory, in spite of its ingenuity and apparent completeness, could not be maintained. It has to do with the question of the "we" sections, on which so much depends.

"The introduction of the first person at this striking point in the narrative (xvi. 10) must be intentional. There is no general statement like xiv. 22 ('we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God'), though even there the first person has a marked effect. Every one recognises here a distinct assertion that the author was present. Now the paragraph as a whole is carefully studied, and the sudden change from third to first person is a telling element in the total effect: if there is any passage in *Acts* which can be pressed close, it is this. It is almost universally recognised that the use of the first person in the sequel is intentional, marking that the author remained in Philippi when Paul went on, and that he rejoined the Apostle some years later on his return to Philippi. We must add that the precise point at which the first person form of narrative begins is also intentional; for, if Luke changes here at random from third to first person, it would be absurd to look for purpose in anything he says. The first person, when used in the narrative of xvi., xx., xxi., xxvii., xxviii., marks the companionship of Luke and Paul; and when we carry out this principle of interpretation consistently and minutely, it will prove an instructive guide. This is the nearest approach to personal reference that Luke permits himself; and he makes it subservient to his historical purpose by using it as a criterion of personal witness. Luke, therefore, entered into the drama of the *Acts* at Troas" (*Paul the Traveller*, pp. 200, 201, ed. 1902). In a later chapter he expresses his conviction that the "we" sections represent the contents of a Diary kept by Luke himself, supplemented by memory and subsequent research. This Diary and his notes of conversations with S. Paul and others were among the materials which he worked into his plan of the book (p. 384). To stigmatise a volume of this character as the work of a narrow apologist (see Schmiedel

in the *Theol. Literaturztg.*, 1897, No. 23) is very cheap criticism, and Dr. Knowling is quite right in deploring that Professor H. Holtzman should allow himself to speak of a portion of Professor Ramsay's work as "humbug" (*Theol. Literaturztg.*, 1899, No. 7). In contrast to such criticism as this it is a pleasure to quote Harnack's estimate of Professor Ramsay's other great work; that, in spite of some misleading details, "it contains the best contributions towards the explanation and vindication of the Acts" (*Chronologie der altchrist. Litt. bis Eusebius*, p. 250, Leipzig, 1897). What is required is that the history and archæology used by Ramsay to support the accuracy of S. Luke should be shown to be erroneous or irrelevant. Till that is done, and done not merely with regard to this or that detail, but with regard to the argument as a whole, the argument holds the field. How comes it that a writer of two treatises, which deal with a department of history in which the opportunities for slips and misstatements are perhaps unrivalled, *viz.*, the condition of Palestine and the organisation of the Roman Empire in the century which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, is found so often to be perfectly accurate, and can so very rarely be shown to be even probably in the wrong? If he was contemporary with part of his period, and had ample opportunities of conversing with those who were contemporary with other parts; if he was an eye-witness of some things which he relates, and knew persons who were eye-witnesses of a great deal more; then this extraordinary accuracy is intelligible, and no further explanation is needed, excepting that, as he himself tells us in the Preface to the Gospel, he took pains to be accurate. But a writer of the second century, writing long after the immense changes made by the destruction of Jerusalem, and having no personal experience of Palestine as it was in the time of Christ and of S. Paul, would (no matter what pains he took) constantly have made mistakes, if he had ventured to give the amount of detail which S. Luke gives both in his Gospel and in Acts.

The mention of Dr. Knowling naturally leads on to the mention of a group of English scholars, who are unanimous in maintaining that Luke the physician and the colleague of S.

Paul is the author of the Third Gospel and of Acts, and who have given the reasons for their convictions in writings that have appeared during the last twelve years. Bishop Lightfoot's view was quoted at the beginning of this article. We have his reasons for it drawn out in full in his article on "Acts" in the second edition of Vol. I. of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (Murray, 1893). Contributors to the latest *Dictionary of the Bible*, that edited by Dr. Hastings (T. & T. Clark, 1898-1902), marshal the facts in a somewhat different way, but draw the same conclusion, and draw it without hesitation: the Rev. A. C. Headlam in the article on "Acts," and the Rev. L. J. M. Bebb in the article on "Luke". Other writers incidentally show that they accept this view as certain; Professor H. Cowan, in his article on "Matthias"; Professor Findlay in that on "Paul the Apostle"; and Dr. Lock in the article on "Timothy". If we turn to commentaries, the result is the same; e.g., that of the Rev. J. Bond on the *Gospel according to St. Luke* (Macmillan, 1890), and that of the Rev. A. Wright on the same (Macmillan, 1890), or those on *Acts* by the Rev. F. Rendall (Macmillan, 1897), by the Rev. R. J. Knowling, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1901), a work of searching carefulness, and by R. B. Rackham (Methuen, 1901). Professor Knowling's work is part of the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, edited by Dr. Robertson Nicoll, while Mr. Rackham's is one of the *Oxford Commentaries*, edited by Dr. Lock. To these may be added *Footprints of the Apostles as traced by Saint Luke in the Acts*, by H. M. Luckock, D.D., Dean of Lichfield (Longmans, 1897). Handbooks on the Synoptic Gospels, or on the Gospel narrative as a whole, reveal similar views; e.g., *The Synoptic Problem*, by A. J. Jolley (Macmillan, 1893), *Manual of the Four Gospels*, by the Rev. T. H. Stokoe, D.D. (Oxford Press, 1901). During the same period the veteran scholar Dr. Ellicott has come forward once more to sum up the results of a lifelong study of the New Testament. In *The Authenticity of the Gospel of St. Luke* (S.P.C.K., 1892) he contends that it is scarcely possible that any one but the beloved physician can have written Acts, and therefore the Third Gospel also. Dr. F. W. Farrar, Dean

of Canterbury, is another labourer in the same field, who shows by repeated issues of his commentary on S. Luke¹ that his convictions respecting the authorship of this Gospel remain unchanged.

But among English workers there is perhaps no one who has done more to supply materials for a solid judgment on these subjects than Sir John Hawkins. The linguistic facts patiently collected and sifted in his *Horæ Synopticæ*² are of a very telling character, and are likely to influence those whose minds are capable of appreciating such facts and of drawing sound conclusions from them. The facts, as the title of the work indicates, are taken mainly from the first three Gospels, as "contributions to the study of the synoptic problem". But in order to do justice to the Gospel of S. Luke, Acts also is taken into account. In the statistics and observations respecting the Synoptic Gospels there is an important "special consideration of the 'we'-sections of Acts in relation to St. Luke's Gospel". The three theories are stated: (1) That the compiler of Acts used the diary of a companion of S. Paul and clumsily omitted to turn "we" into "they". This view has been sufficiently laughed out of court by Vogel (*Charakteristik des Lukes nach Sprache und Stil*, pp. 12, 13), as Dr. Knowling points out in his commentary (p. 5). (2) Zeller's view that the compiler wished "to identify himself with the older reporter" and "pass for one of Paul's companions," and therefore purposely left the first person plural in order "to recommend his production".³ The view of Dr. Bacon, quoted earlier in this article, is a toning down of that of Zeller. The writer of Acts did not wish to deceive his readers. He left the "we" unchanged, because he shrank from obliterating a very interesting feature in the Diary. As if all diaries did not have "we" in them! (3) That the writer was sometimes with S. Paul, and sometimes not, and that he naturally writes in the first person plural when

¹ *Cambridge Greek Testament*. Clay & Sons.

² Clarendon Press, 1899.

³ Zeller, *The Contents and Origin of the Acts*, vol. ii., p. 258. Williams & Norgate, 1876.

narrating events at which he had been present. Sir John Hawkins then gives tables of words, which are (a) peculiar to the "we" sections and the rest of Acts; (b) peculiar to the "we" sections and Luke, with or without the rest of Acts; (c) found in the "we" sections and very commonly either in Luke or in Acts or in both. These, especially the last, make very considerable totals. Of words and phrases that are characteristic of Luke there are as many (119) in the 97 verses which make up the "we" sections as in the 661 verses of Mark. Of the words and phrases characteristic of Matthew there are only 18 instances in the "we" sections. Of the words and phrases characteristic of Mark there are only 8 occurrences in the "we" sections. On the other hand, the number of words and phrases peculiar to the "we" sections is very small, and most of them are such as happen to be wanted there and nowhere else, as in the narrative of the shipwreck. Sir John Hawkins thus sums up: "There is an immense balance of internal and linguistic evidence in favour of the view that the original writer of these sections was the same person as the main author of the Acts and of the third Gospel, and, consequently, that the date of those books lies within the lifetime of a companion of S. Paul" (p. 154). Once more it may be urged that these facts must be faced; and one asks for an hypothesis which will explain (1) the primitive and unswerving tradition as to the authorship of these books; (2) the phenomena of the "we" sections; (3) the medical phraseology and cultivated style such as a physician would be likely to exhibit. The theory of Lucan authorship satisfies, and perfectly satisfies, every one of these conditions. The impossibility of finding a theory that is equally (or even tolerably) satisfactory is no doubt the explanation of what is contended for in this article; that, in the criticism to which the Third Gospel has been subjected during the last twelve or fifteen years, the theory of Lucan authorship still holds its own, and is likely to be triumphant in the end. But the roll of scholars who support it has by no means been exhausted, and it is necessary to mention one or two more names.

In this connexion it would be ungrateful, especially in the present writer, to fail to remember another veteran student of the New Testament, to whom all workers in that field, whether here or on the Continent or in America, have long been under immense obligations—the late Professor F. Godet of Neuchâtel. He died in harness two years ago, while his *Introduction au Nouveau Testament* was passing through the press. Through the great kindness of Dr. Godet the parts of it were sent to the present writer as they came out. Oct. 3, 1900, he sent from his deathbed a sheet of paper with the names of recipient and donor on it, to be fastened into the bound volume; and Oct. 29 he went to his rest. The fourth and last chapter in the parts thus issued deals with the Gospel according to S. Luke. In it the venerable author, at the end of a long discussion, expresses his conviction that “the Third Gospel and the Acts have one and the same author. This author is the physician Luke, fellow-worker of Paul” (p. 653). Nor, on the Continent, is the great Swiss scholar alone in contending for this conclusion. Recent attacks on the Lucan authorship have entirely failed to shake the convictions of the German veteran, Zahn, as readers of his *Einleitung* know. In this he has the support of Nösgen (*Geschichte Jesu Christi*, p. 53, München, 1891; *Geschichte der Apostolischen Verkündigung*, p. 391, 1893) and, to mention only one more German, whose works are now of world-wide reputation, of F. Blass (*Acta Apostolorum*, pp. 1-3, Göttingen, 1895; *Euangelium secundum Lucam*, *Præfatio*, Lipsiæ, 1897). It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that these scholars are as convinced as Lightfoot and Westcott were, and as Dr. Salmon still is, that, on the strictest critical grounds, the primitive tradition respecting the authorship of the Third Gospel and of Acts can and must be maintained.

There is one theory respecting S. Luke's Gospel which really does seem to be dead, and, if it is dead, we may say without regret, *requiescat*; and that is the view advocated by the author of *Supernatural Religion* and others, that in Marcion's Gospel, the contents of which are fairly exactly known to us from Tertullian and Epiphanius, we have the genuine

Luke, and that the Canonical Gospel has been largely augmented—to the extent of over 300 verses—by a later hand. The arguments of Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, and Sanday seem to have killed this view. Bishop Lightfoot regarded Dr. Sanday's article in the *Fortnightly Review*, June, 1875, as “unanswerable” (*On Supernatural Religion*, p. 186).

With regard to the date of the publication of the Third Gospel there is perhaps a less decided tendency towards one view than with regard to the authorship. Both those who accept the Lucan authorship and those who deny it differ a good deal as to the period in which the book was written. But, on the whole, those who accept take the 33 years from A.D. 57 to 90, while those who deny take the 33 years from A.D. 90 to 123. If there is any tendency towards unanimity, it is certainly in this case not towards the traditional view. In spite of the powerful support of Blass (*Philology of the Gospels*, pp. 36 ff.), the early date does not seem to be gaining adherents,¹ and the large majority of scholars are agreed in placing the time of publication at any rate later than A.D. 70. To place it as late as 95 is not necessarily to deny that Luke the physician wrote it: a companion of S. Paul may easily have lived as late as that. But there is perhaps no one who believes that S. Luke is the author and yet advocates so late a date. What could have induced him to put off writing for so long? And under the fire of Diocletian's persecution could he, or any one, have written in such a spirit of indifference, or even friendliness, towards the Roman government? Again, could he, or any one, have written in 95 or later, and yet have shown no knowledge of the Epistles of S. Paul? Contrast the knowledge of them exhibited in the Epistle of Barnabas, in Clement of Rome, in Ignatius, and in Polycarp. And yet neither in S. Luke nor in Acts is there a single passage which *proves* that the writer was acquainted with any one of the Pauline Epistles. He neither quotes any of them, nor mentions any of them. Opinion is not unanimous as to whether the writer of Acts did know S. Paul's letters and

¹ Rackham is on the same side for Acts.

make any use of them as sources of information. But it is somewhat strange that writers who think that he did not use them should yet date Acts as of the second century ; and to suppose that he did not use S. Paul and did use Josephus is also extraordinary. Yet agreement within narrow limits is not hopeless ; and perhaps in another twelve years it will be found that a date between A.D. 78 and 93 is accepted by most critics.

There is less ground for expecting unanimity as to the interval between S. Luke's first and second treatise : there is so very little evidence either way. It may be true, as Harnack suggests, that when Luke finished his Gospel he had no idea of writing anything more : there is nothing in either the Preface or the concluding words to show that he did. It may also be true, that, when he began the second treatise, he had some idea of writing a third, whether or no *πρῶτον λόγον* as a description of the Gospel is any indication of such intention. But if both these points could be established, we should still know nothing as to the amount of time which elapsed between the conclusion of the Gospel and the commencement of Acts. Nor is the question of much moment. The important question for criticism to decide is whether in these two works we are reading the words of an intimate associate of S. Paul ; and towards agreement on that point conclusions (especially among British scholars) seem to be tending. Those who, like Hahn, assign the two books to Silas, or, like Dr. Selwyn, identify Luke with Silas and Tertius, support this view. What Dr. Chase has already given us on the subject (see above) leads us to wish for as early an appearance as may be of his much-needed treatment of Acts in the *International Critical Commentary*. Meanwhile Dr. Knowling supplies much excellent help, especially for those to whom works written in German are of no service.

At the end of a long article there is not much room for discussing the theory that there were two editions, made by Luke himself, both of his Gospel and of Acts : a theory which was suggested early in the eighteenth century by Jean Leclerc, was treated as quite possible by Bishop Lightfoot,

and is now made famous by the elaborate advocacy of Blass. Blass has won the support of Dr. Salmon and of Nestle; and the theory, which no doubt has features of great attractiveness, seems to be looked upon with more or less favour by various writers, and perhaps on the whole is gaining ground. If the present writer is to express his conviction, it is that this theory will not stand the test of minute and detailed criticism, and will have to be abandoned. It fits a considerable number of striking differences of reading remarkably well. But there is a greater number of less striking variations that it does not fit at all; and there are some which tell quite in the opposite direction. An adequate test would involve a very long and dry investigation; but some useful classifications of readings have been made in *Texte und Untersuchungen* by Weiss, in *Der Codex D in der Apostelgeschichte*, which was noticed in the *Critical Review*, Oct. 1898 (see also Moulton on the *Acta Apostolorum* of Blass in the *Crit. Rev.* of Jan. 1898). More recently Dr. Kenyon has made some valuable criticisms in his *Handbook of Textual Criticism* (pp. 291 ff.). The discussion will probably end in increased respect being paid to the δ -text in general; but that the δ -text in Luke represents a later edition of the Gospel made by the Evangelist, and that the δ -text in Acts represent a rough copy of the treatise made by Luke, will probably be found to be a brilliant but untenable conjecture.

The above paper was written before the writer had seen the six *St. Margaret Lectures* for 1902 on the "Criticism of the New Testament" by six of our leading scholars (Murray, 1902). They are a confirmation of the line taken in this paper: see especially pp. 19, 120, 161, 162, 219, 220.

A. PLUMMER.

Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands.

Von Dr. Albert Hauck, Professor in Leipzig. Vierter Teil. Die Hohenstaufenzeit. I. Hälfte. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. 416. Price 7s. net.

Die Versagung der kirchlichen Bestattungsfeier, ihre geschichtliche Entwicklung und gegenwärtige Bedeutung.

Von W. Thümmel, as. o. Professor der Theologie in Jena. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. viii. + 196. Price 3s. net.

The Elizabethan Prayer-Book and Ornaments, with an Appendix of Documents.

By Henry Gee, D.D., F.S.A. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiii. + 288. Price 5s.

THE first chapter of this part of Professor Hauck's History deals with the circumstances of the Church in Germany in the beginning of the twelfth century. The account is detailed and graphic; and one reads that competent and educated preachers were few in number, and that preachers had difficulties, not unknown in modern times, in arresting the attention of hearers. The following words might almost describe the experience of a preacher of the present day: "Bei Honorius z. B. ist die Rücksicht auf die weltlichen Hörer, auf ihre Verhältnisse und ihre Schwächen ganz gewöhnlich. Reiche und Arme, Richter und Ritter, Krämer und Bauern sind in der Kirche versammelt; der Prediger weiss, dass sie zum Teil weite Wege haben, er muss sich kurz fassen, um sie nicht zu ermüden. . . . In Winter ist es bitter kalt in der Kirche; auch darauf wird Rücksicht genommen. Dass eine Rede, die langweilt, ihren Zweck verfehlt, weiss Honorius wohl; deshalb sucht er die Aufmerksamkeit durch allerlei Zwischenbemerkungen wach zu erhalten, die sich

direkt auf die Hörer und ihre Verhältnisse beziehen." The second chapter, "Die Beseitigung des königlichen Einflusses und das päpstliche Regiment in der Kirche," brings the reader to the period when, instead of an emperor Henry IV. furiously opposing a strong-willed Hildebrand, or of a still more powerful Henry V. coercing a Paschal II., there reigned an emperor Lothar II., who was simply the minion of the Pope. A few years brought to an end, by the death of Lothar, the supremacy of Rome over the Church in Germany; and though Conrad III. left but a slight impress on the history of that Church he prepared the way for the great Barbarossa. When Conrad died, as Professor Hauck says, "Ein neuer Akt in dem grossen Spiel von Kaisertum und Papsttum konnte beginnen," Frederick Barbarossa marked a reaction. Henry IV. had been overcome by Hildebrand, Henry V. had suffered by the Concordat of Worms, and Lothar II. had been the servant of Rome. Frederick stood for no mere opposition or enmity to a Pope. He sought to make his empire the Holy Roman empire, a divine institution, free in origin and in rule from the Church. With clear understanding and historical insight Professor Hauck narrates the events of Frederick's reign. His descriptions from time to time are vivid, as may be seen from his words regarding Arnold of Brescia: "Er selbst lebte als ein echter Nachfolger des armen Jesus; man sah ihn in den schlichtesten Gewändern, er war ein Meister im Fasten, mit unvergleichlichem Eifer bohrte er sich in das Studium der heiligen Schrift ein. Er fand in ihr Dasselbe was schon Ariald begeistert hatte: das reine, hehre Bild der Urgemeinde, die Religion und nicht Gold, Frömmigkeit und nicht Herrschaft ihr eigen nannte. Was ihn erfüllte, verkündigte er in seinen Predigten: er sprach mit dem Feuer des geborenen Redners und mit der Heftigkeit des Mannes, der eine verkannte, verleugnete Wahrheit vertritt."

In the fourth chapter an account is given of the new religious orders which marked the religious revival of the twelfth century. The rise of the Mendicants, which belongs to the thirteenth century, is also traced; and the effect of the new orders on the German Church is shown. In describing

Francis the writer says: "Als er begann, von einem der schönen Bergstädtlein Umbriens zum anderen wandernd, Busse und Frieden, das Reich Gottes und die Sündenvergebung zu verkündigen, dachte er nicht einen Orden zu gründen; auch hat er sicher davon nichts gewusst, dass hundert Jahre vorher ein deutscher Kleriker den gleichen Gedanken gehabt hatte wie er, und dass die mangelnde Zustimmung der Kirche sein Unternehmen bald zum Stillstand gebracht hatte. Man mag bezweifeln, ob er selbst davon wusste, dass einige Jahrzehnte früher ein französischer Kaufmann in Lyon das Gleiche wollte, und dass der Widerspruch der Kirche ihn zum Ketzer gemacht hatte." Francis, as his own acts afterwards proved, intended to found no order; and it may be that he was ignorant of the German who had walked in the ways of poverty. But why should he not have known of Waldo? The mother of Francis seems to have been French, and his father constantly travelled into France. Francis, the rich merchant's son, was not brought up in ignorance of the world; and though he nowhere confesses that he was influenced by the practices of the Waldensians, since he would thereby have admitted that there was good in heretics, it does not follow that he knew nothing about them.

This volume of Professor Hauck's History deals with a period of notable men and significant events, and the writer brings to his work learning and judgment.

An essay on the Church's control of burial rites seems at first sight to be a mere excursion into a by-path of history. The subject, however, is of importance in connexion with the Church's power over its members, and in relation to the Papal struggle for supremacy. Gregory the Great related a story of the time when he was abbot of the monastery of St. Andrew. Three pieces of gold were found in the possession of a dying monk, and the abbot in anger at the monk's broken vow of poverty ordered the consolations of religion to be withheld from the man, and his body after death to be cast out, without funeral rites. Gregory relented after the death, and

arranged that the Eucharist should be offered during thirty days for the salvation of the monk, who, as was revealed in a vision, was eventually saved. The story illustrates the power of the Church over its members. Legend helped to intensify this power. In the eleventh century, at a Council held at Limoges, the Bishop of Cahors told how heaven approved of his refusal of burial rites to a despoiler of the Church. The friends of the dead knight, to whom these rites were refused, buried his body in consecrated ground without the help of a priest. Next morning, after this irregular burial, the naked body was discovered outside the cemetery, while the wrappings were found in the grave. Five times the burial was repeated, and five times the body was cast out of the grave by the interference of heaven. A legend of this kind, though but a legend, helped to make priestly control a spiritual tyranny. The importance of the subject of this essay may be further seen from the treatment of the body of the wilful and unfortunate Henry IV., who sought by thwarting the stubborn Hildebrand to check the advancing supremacy of the Church over the State.

In the preface Professor Thümmel indicates that his work is an essay in the great subject of excommunication; and, as the title indicates, he describes the historical development of the custom of refusing burial rites, and examines the significance of that custom at the present time. There is, as might be expected from a German professor, an inquiry into pre-Christian experience, and the first section of the first part is named: "Versagung oder Verminderung der Bestattungsfeier bei Griechen, Römern und Hebräern". Dealing with the Jews the writer notes the fact that burial was a duty placed on the nearest relations or associates of the dead, and pointing to Rizpah (2 Sam. xxi. 10) names her "die hebräische Antigone". The last part of the historical inquiry deals with the present day—"das heutige Verfahren in der römisch-katholischen, griechisch-orthodoxen und anglikanischen Kirche". The usage of the English Church is explained in connexion with the instruction in the Prayer-book that the office is not to be used "for any that die unbaptized, or excommunicate, or have laid

violent hands upon themselves". Speaking of the Greek Church, Professor Thümmel refers to the threat which has been held out to Count Tolstoi, and draws attention to the public interest in this case, and to the newspaper correspondence respecting it. He wisely says that a Christian and spiritual writer like Tolstoi cannot belong to the dead Russian Church, and that public opinion is wrong in irritating itself on the intolerance of this Church. He adds: "Und es ist schon ein evangelischer Zug, dass die russische Kirche nur mit einer geistlichen Versagung gestraft hat und nicht mit der Knute der Staatsgewalt, wiewohl diese evangelische Geistigkeit nur dem Umstande zu danken sein wird, dass es sich um einen Grafen und um einen Tolstoi handelte".

In the second part of the book the writer seeks to answer such questions as "Ob die Versagung der kirchlichen Bestattungsfeier ein Bestandteil der kirchlichen Ausschliessung ist?" and deals with such subjects as the classes to which funeral rites are denied.

The book is the work of a competent writer who has made an interesting and exhaustive study of his subject, and has contrived to present his results in a concise form.

In the summer of 1901 Dr. Gee delivered three lectures at Oxford, which after revision are now published in this volume. The subject as here discussed is of antiquarian interest, but the treatment of it illustrates the use and the need of the scientific method. Every worker in history discovers that there are literary artists like Macaulay or Froude who make blunders, even apart from their prejudices; and that there are antiquarians, like Sir Walter Scott, with a great reputation and also a wonderful capacity for erring in details. Somehow the men who have discovered documents, men like Strype of the "Annals," have been so generally recognised as authorities that their conclusions have been too often allowed to pass without challenge. Dr. Gee, by the use of the scientific method, which is simply the careful separation of fact from fiction or theory, shows how Strype's account of

the revision of the prayer-book at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign can no longer, in spite of the years during which it has been accepted, be recognised as history.

Strype discovered an undated document, written by Guest, who lived to be Bishop of Rochester, and this document he published in the "Annals". He examined the contents, after a fashion; and concluded not only that it referred to the revision of the prayer-book in 1559, but also that it showed that Guest was the chief reviser, and that in it, the document, there was a justification of the revision. Strype created a reputation for Guest; and in the nineteenth century one of the bishop's descendants wrote his Life, in which he described him as "the principal compiler of the liturgy of the Church of England established at the time of the Reformation". This descendant, Mr. Dugdale, called on seats of learning and ecclesiastical establishments "to search with diligence and avidity the arena of their respective depositories," to "examine their munimental manuscripts," and "should their labours be attended with success, communicate their contents to the world". With a suggestion of humour Dr. Gee quotes these words and, obeying the injunctions, destroys the theory or story that Guest was the chief reviser of the Elizabethan prayer-book. It is impossible to follow here in detail Dr. Gee's examination of Guest's document, which he shows cannot be accepted without the gravest doubt, as referring to the revision in 1559. Guest, to take one detail as an example, wrote, "Though this is the old use of the Church to communicate standing, yet because it is taken of some by itself to receive kneeling, whereas of itself it is lawful, it is left indifferent to every man's choice to follow the one way or the other". Strype, with his theory of Guest as a reviser, said that the posture "was left indifferent in the book by the divines"; and added, "But the parliament, I suppose, made a change here, enjoining the ancient posture of kneeling, as was in the old book". Dr. Gee shows that those "who prepared the prayer-book in 1559 were not likely to raise any discussion on this question. Not one of them is known to have been in favour of standing reception." He adds: "But the

kneeling controversy is a very prominent matter in the year 1552".

Having demonstrated that the "current story of the revision," as Strype's account is styled, is not entitled to be accepted as historical, Dr. Gee proceeds to reconstruct the story from such facts as he counts real. The book, as said, is an illustration of the use and need of the scientific method in history; and is to be commended for its lucidity and thoroughness.

JOHN HERKLESS.

The Supreme Leader. A Study of the Nature and Work of the Holy Spirit. By FRANCIS B. DENIO, D.D. Boston: Pilgrim Press. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 264. Price \$1.25.

WE have by no means too many books on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. We welcome an addition to the literature of that important subject by Professor Francis B. Denio of Bangor Theological Seminary. His book consists of four studies dealing in succession with the biblical teaching respecting the Spirit of God, what Christians have learned from thought and experience, the work and person of the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit and Christian life and experience. The first of these four studies suffers from its compression. It touches the main points, but fails to cover all that belongs to so large and difficult an inquiry. It gives a very meagre account of the doctrine of the Spirit in the intermediate literature of Judaism. In the second study we have the condensed results of a wide extent of reading, covering the development of thought on the subject from the beginnings of the Church and theology on to the nineteenth century. Professor Denio does ample justice to the Reformers and the Puritans. "The Reformers and the Puritans together," he tells us, "extended the boundaries of recognised truth respecting the Holy Spirit so as to comprehend all that has since been taught on the subject." He adds that this "does not mean that there has been no advance since 1700 in the recognition of truth, for what had been taught in secret has since been proclaimed from the housetop, and accepted in the street". There is an interesting chapter on "The Witness of the Spirit," in which the views of Baxter, Owen, John Wesley, and others are briefly stated. The more recent views of the Hegelians, Schleiermacher, and others are also shortly noticed. Then come important statements on the Spirit as God immanent in the world, as the Agent in

the Prophetic work of Christ, as a Person in the Deity, etc. The book concludes with an exposition of the need of the Spirit for effective Christian service, the ways in which He makes Christian service effective, the evidence of His presence, and the conditions of His operation in human life. The volume is one that deserves study. It deals with many important questions in a concise, well-informed and suggestive manner. It has much that deserves consideration and that will repay study.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Evolution and its Bearing on Religions. By A. J. DADSON.
With five Plates. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co.,
1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 268. Price 2s. 6d.

Mr. A. J. Dadson's volume is written in the same spirit as his *Evolution and Religion*, which appeared in 1893. It is indeed that book with considerable changes. The chapters on Evolution have been revised in the light of the increased knowledge of recent years, and the rest has been so far rewritten that the author can claim for the volume now before us that it is "substantially a new book". Mr. Dadson reviews the creeds of the past and declares the effect of the growth of knowledge on them. This he thinks has been in the direction of "disclosing their unsubstantial and erroneous character, though they were matters of the deepest interest to those generations". His position is clearly stated in these terms: "To eliminate superstition and supernaturalism as a creed is one of the aids, perhaps the greatest, to intellectual growth and purity of mind, on which welfare and progress depend. This is the justification for seeking to rationalise religious belief, by subjecting it to the judgment of reason, which is the only reliable guide given to man." After a series of brief chapters in which he discusses ancient evolutionary thought, rudimentary organs, Darwin's law, the soul, the evolution of religious ideas, etc., and traces the story of civilisation from the decadence of Rome on to the Reformation, he comes finally to the subject of modern Christianity. Here he says some sharp things about all the churches,

especially the Church of Rome, the history of which is a "sad satire on human intelligence". He brings his review of things so far up to date as to include in it Mr. Handley's book on *The Fatal Opulence of Bishops*. His conclusion is that "every explanation which man formulates in precise terms of his relation to God will in time die; every god he makes, he will in due course unmake. God is inconceivable." Yet we need not fear that *religion* will die. Why? Because "Mr. Herbert Spencer's view will live for ever, as long at least as man is a tenant of this planet".

The book is not without its elements of interest, and its glimpses of truth. Its assertions, however, are often far-fetched, and it gives us precisely what we should expect from its assumed view-point. Marvellous indeed is Mr. Dadson's faith—in Mr. Herbert Spencer.

Histoire de l'Université de Genève. Par CHARLES BORGEAUD, Professeur aux Facultés de Droit et des Lettres. L'Académie de Calvin, 1559-1798. Avec trente portraits hors texte et de nombreuses reproductions de documents. Ouvrage publié sous les auspices du Sénat universitaire et de la Société académique. Genève: Georg & Co., Libraires de l'université, 1900. 4to, pp. xii. + 662.

In his *History of the University of Geneva*, Professor Borgeaud presents us with a work of sumptuous form, and great and varied interest. The preparation and publication of this splendid volume are due, as is explained in the preface, to the initiative of the Academic Society of Geneva—an association of friends of the University who think that the glorious past of a country imposes duties upon its children, and that its great schools of learning have special claims upon their regard. The work belongs to a class of which we should be glad to have more examples—historical monuments, prepared with scholarly pains, with filial love, and with no grudging of cost—to the honour of great Institutions. It represents much painstaking research, the examination of many valuable documents, and the appreciative use of the

considerable literature of recent as well as of older date bearing more or less directly on the history of learning and academic effort in Geneva.

Professor Borgeaud deals first with the work of Calvin in this department of his varied activity, with the movement for the reform of studies in the sixteenth century and his part in that, with the project of a college, with the Academy of Lausanne and the *Leges Academiae Genevensis*. A chapter which is full of interest is devoted to the inauguration of the "University and College" of Geneva, 5th June, 1559. Then we have brief sketches of the first teachers, Chevalier, Bérauld, Tagat, etc., and the inaugural publications. This part of the volume closes appropriately with an estimate of the services rendered by Calvin. It concludes thus: "Lorsque Calvin en achevé sa tâche, il avait assuré l'avenir de Genève, pour autant que le génie d'un homme peut fonder en faisant d'elle, tout ensemble, une église, une école et une forteresse. Ce fut la première place de la liberté, dans les temps modernes. Par elle, plus que par ses écrits, celui qui l'avait plantée au cœur de la vieille Europe, fut le père spirituel de Coligny, de Guillaume le Taciturne et d'Olivier Cromwell."

The second division of the book, which has the title *Théodore de Bèze*, gives accounts of what was done in these early times for Law and Medicine, of the provision of Chairs in Literature, of the erection of the second Chair of Theology, etc. Here we get short but vivid sketches of events like the ravages of the pestilence in 1567-72, and of men like Zanchius, Thomas Cartwright, Andrew Melville, Joseph Scaliger, Antoine de la Faye, Charles Perrot, and others. Then follows an excellent estimate of Beza and his services. The third division of the work has the title of *The Reign of Theology*. It introduces us to men like Diodati, Théodore Tronchin, Bénédicte Turretin, Morus, Chouet, Weguelin, François Turretin, Louis Tronchin, etc., and recounts the main particulars of the first rupture between the orthodox theologians and the liberal. The fourth division, which is entitled *Le Siècle des Philosophes*, is occupied with the story of the entrance of new philosophical ideas, the work of

philosophical divines such as Bénédict Pictet and Jean Alphonse Turretin, the struggle with Voltaire, the progress of scientific and historical studies, the *savants* from Jalabert to de Saussure. It closes with a chapter on the Revolution.

The narrative is full of interest all along. Much useful and learned matter is given in footnotes. There are some valuable appendices in which important documents are given *in extenso*, together with full lists of professors from Calvin to Antoine Duvillard (1842), and of pretors elected between 1618 and 1798. There are careful reproductions of the signatures of students, etc. The book is further adorned by a multitude of illustrations—portraits of Calvin, Beza, Scaliger, Godefroï, Tronchin, Chouet, Turretin, Pictet, Vernet, and other celebrities, pictures of notable buildings, monuments, etc. Nothing is spared to make the book superb in form, and worthy of its subject externally as well as internally. It reflects great credit on its projectors, its author, and its publishers.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Das Buch Jeremia erklärt.

*Von D. Bernhard Duhm, ord. Professor der Theologie in Basel.
(Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament, herausgegeben von Karl Marti; Abteilung xi.). Tübingen und Leipzig: Mohr, 1901. Large 8vo, pp. xxiii. + 391.
Price M.6.80.*

IN this new volume of Marti's Old Testament commentary, Professor Duhm has given us a companion-work to his great commentary on Isaiah. The surprisingly unequal value of the several sections of the book of Jeremiah had led him, following up the researches of Stade, Smend, and others, to investigate the genuineness of much of the book which he had not previously called in question. His general conclusion is that only when the prophet is judged by the poetic sections of the book, which are all that can be reckoned to him, can his work be estimated aright, and he himself as a man, as writer and as prophet be understood—so far, that is, as one can speak of understanding a great personality at all.

The sketch of Jeremiah's life shows us at the outset Duhm's unbounded reverence and esteem for the prophet, and is marked at some points by more regard to the historicity of the biographical sections of the book than appears in some other recent criticism. The narrative of chap. xxxvi. is substantially accepted, and also the tradition (xliiii. 5 f.) that Jeremiah was compelled to settle in Egypt after the fall of Jerusalem in 586. On the other hand, Jeremiah is, strictly speaking, no adherent of the Deuteronomic school or party: rather does he stand aloof or even opposed to their theory and programme, and those parts of the book which exhibit affinities with the Deuteronomic spirit are to be transferred to the account of the editors. He may, too, have very well spoken some word, upon which a later writer has based the disclaimer of sacrifice (vii. 21-26), but the passage as we read it is not his. Nor is he the prophet of the New Covenant

(xxx. 31-34), though personally he stood nearer the conception of what Christian theology means by that than the author of those famous but misunderstood verses.

Chaps. i.-xxv. may once have existed separately, and contain the genuine utterances of Jeremiah, which make up almost the half of this section. No chapter is free from editorial remarks, introducing and connecting the several poems, and in particular, chaps. i., vii., x., xi., xvi., xviii., xix., xxi., xxiii., xxiv., xxv., are in whole or in great part not the work of Jeremiah but of the redactors. Embedded in the late chaps. xxx., xxxi., which had perhaps once stood inside the collection i.-xxv., are three or four further poems from Jeremiah's pen. We have in all about sixty short poems, making up about one-fifth of the whole book of Jeremiah. These poems are written in verse of uniform measure, *viz.*, four lines, each couplet containing alternately three and two accented words. Otherwise expressed, each couplet, when considered as a unit, has five rhythmical beats, the so-called pentameter or Qinah measure. With the exception of the letter to the exiles, preserved in chap. xxix., Duhm does not consider that Jeremiah wrote any prose which has come down to us. His writings fall between 626-586: he probably wrote nothing after the destruction of the nation.

Duhm's admiration for Jeremiah extends in some measure to Baruch, the faithful follower of the great prophet. In chaps. xxvi.-xxix. and xxxii.-xl. are contained what were doubtless the most important sections of Baruch's account of the prophet's life. This biography has affinities with the historical literature of the Old Testament, and seems to have circulated for centuries as an independent work. Parts of it have been interwoven with the poems of Jeremiah, but neither all at one time, nor according to any fixed plan. The process of transferring them did not take place without a great deal of editorial freedom, rewriting and adapting them to suit their new position. In choosing these sections, the emphasis was laid on the prophet's words, as thus amplified by the editors, long addresses being assigned to

him such as, in fact, he never could have delivered. It would seem that Baruch's narrative was confined to the events of Jehoiakim's reign onwards, of which he had personal knowledge and experience. The excerpts from Baruch make up a section of the book almost but not quite so large as the section due to Jeremiah himself.

The bulk of the sections to be assigned to other writers is much greater than the bulk of the sections due to Jeremiah and his biographer together. These scribes aimed at furnishing the Jewish community with a text-book of religious teaching and edification; most of the additions, therefore, are of a sermon-like character, occasionally poetic and rhetorical, and filled with the usual stereotyped formulas, which introduce or close the words of Jahve to the prophets. The ideas and needs of their own times have more interest for them than close adherence to the historical situation of Jeremiah. Another class of these additions consists of Midrashic stories about Jeremiah (*cf.* chap. xiii. 1-14) which remind one of the legends of the prophets, examples of which are met with elsewhere (1 Kings xiii., Jonah). Glaring descriptions of the sins of the pre-exilic Israelites, which their pious descendants are never weary of confessing, forming as they do the explanation of the present fortunes of the people, and serving as warning against the repetition of similar offences, make up a good part of the homiletic additions to the book; whilst other sections open up consolatory views for Israel (xxx., xxxi.) or at least give the counterpart to Israel's suffering in pictures of the destruction of their heathen foes (xlvii. li.). Of these writers in general Duhm has a very poor opinion. Any value they have is as a reflection of the time when they lived and wrote, but the Jeremiah they present is not the prophet as we know him from his own and Baruch's writings. He is only the embodiment of the ideas of what, in the view of the later Judaism, a prophet must have been. Such writers have no interest in history, but only in theology, and (what is of less importance) their theology is not even good. They are little better, in fact, than many modern preachers who, having lost all touch with reality, seek only

to produce an effect by exaggeration. They probably belonged to the lower classes (p. xix., where 19, 21 f. should be 17, 21 f.) who had no proper conception of how the upper classes lived. It is they, of course, who are to be credited with those dreadful maledictions on Jeremiah's opponents. To them it is due that from a literary point of view the book of Jeremiah stands much below the other prophetic writings, including even Daniel and Jonah. They borrow from the older writers, but often with little intelligence. Their chief sources are Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah, Trito-Isaiah. A close connexion exists between them and the late insertions in Isaiah and the minor prophets. The latest additions are the Messianic passages (xxiii. 5-8; xxxiii. 14-18) and the oracles against the heathen, some verses being even later than the translation of the book into Greek. They are either inserted as supplements to earlier interpolations which had already found a place in chaps. i.-xxv., or are made into collections (xxx., xxxi., xlvi.-li.) which cannot have come into existence before the end of the second century B.C. The text of the book can hardly, in fact, be said to have ever existed in a complete or fixed form. The Greek translators seem to have aimed at abbreviation and simplification of the text before them; the Massoretic text, on the other hand, seems to have come to us from manuscripts containing, especially in the second half of the book, unnecessary repetitions and amplifications, often at the cost of clearness. These manuscripts exhibit, too, some final traces of editorial activity. The present Hebrew order of the oracles against the heathen may, perhaps, be reckoned such. But to dispute which is its original and proper place would only have a meaning if the book in other respects were arranged on any rational principle.

It is obvious that we are here confronted with the same kind of problems that Duhm has presented us with in his earlier commentaries. There are the old difficulties regarding the very late dates to which so much of the book is assigned, and to which we used to think the history of the canon itself placed insuperable barriers. While we know so little

about the canon that the possibility of Duhm's chronology must be granted, it is equally possible to doubt whether it be really necessary to relegate all Messianic and eschatological passages in the prophets to the second century. And one distrusts the endless partition of small sections of Old Testament books and their relegation to different authors and redactors, widely separated from one another in time, though it cannot be concealed that the unconnected and fragmentary condition of the text of the Hebrew writers often defies *bonâ fide* explanation on any other lines. Further, there are signs that a regard for rhythm and strophical arrangement—if, out of regard to accuracy, we may not say “metre”—is likely soon to play a much greater part in the criticism of the text of the Old Testament than was considered allowable not so many years ago. The feeling is growing that at least “there may be something in it”. Of course there is room in all this for much that is subjective and arbitrary, and Duhm certainly takes advantage of his liberty. Some features in his conception of the prophet and his work which would need to be very carefully considered before being accepted have been incidentally referred to. In his arrangement of the poems Duhm has reached a high degree of success: what will strike one as more doubtful is the view that if a passage is in plain prose, or in verse not of the “Qinah” measure, it is, *ipso facto*, not Jeremiah's. However that may be, Old Testament students will find every page of this book instructive for criticism and exposition of the text and the history of religion. We feel that we are in the hands of one who can interpret Isaiah and Jeremiah, because he understands what religion is. Doubtless the English reader who had not read Professor N. Schmidt's article on the Book of Jeremiah in the *New World* for 1900, and who still attaches any value to Jewish tradition, is sure to be frequently shocked. At least he will not deny that many things in Duhm would have pleased him better if they had been expressed with infinitely less of the vituperation which is poured out upon the dulness and ignorance of ancient editors and scribes.

T. WALKER.

Zur Undogmatischen Glaubenslehre.

Vorträge und Abhandlungen von Otto Dreyer. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1901. Pp. v. + 156. Price 2s.

OTTO DREYER died in 1900, and papers published by him in his lifetime in different periodicals are here collected and issued under a title that expresses the central thought around which they may be grouped. The subjects are: "The Distinctive Mark by which Religious Truth is known," "Religious Language and the Importance of an Understanding of it for Ecclesiastical Unity," "The Confessional Question," "The Faith-Doctrine of Undogmatic Christianity," "The Dogma of the Person of Christ and its Religious Significance," "In what way is Instruction in Christianity to be given so as to awaken a Living Faith in the Church of the present day?"

The author belonged to the liberal party in the Lutheran Church, and fourteen years ago published a book on "Undogmatic Christianity," which made a great stir and has since passed through four editions. These papers are a defence and elucidation of the views there advocated, and will be read with deep interest by those who were impressed by that brilliant essay.

Dreyer was convinced that the hope for religion in the future lay in the general recognition by the Church of the distinction between faith and dogma, between religious truth and its formulated expression in theological dogma. "Dogmas are a product of the reflection of different ages of the Church upon the religious content of Christianity, and are reached by the scientific methods of each age. They contain the eternal truth of faith, but a dogma can never be a perfect expression of eternal truth because it partakes of the fluctuating and defective world of conceptions. Not a single dogma is divinely revealed: they are all the result of human reflection

upon the revelation of God. Faith is eternal; dogma is temporal. Faith is for all; dogma is not for all. Faith is Divine; dogma is human. Faith saves; dogma does not save" (p. 47).

The "undogmatic Christianity" of which Otto Dreyer is the exponent is not a vague nebulous system, having but one article of belief, *viz.*, that Christianity is a religion of love. It has its doctrines, such as these: the Fatherhood of God, the Divine forgiveness of sin, the Sonship of Jesus, etc. But there is a wide difference between these doctrines of faith and theological dogmas; and while theology should be left free with such intellectual conceptions as are at its command to construct its system out of the material furnished by the truths of faith, the latter alone, Dreyer holds, should be binding on the Church.

One of the most interesting of these essays is that in which Dreyer defines his own position on the general subject in relation to that of Kaftan. Some years ago the Berlin professor published a pamphlet in which he pled for a new dogma that would express the truth of the Christian religion in terms suited to modern requirements. Dreyer and Kaftan are agreed in their contention that the old dogmas, resting on a metaphysic from which modern thought has moved away, are obsolete. But while the latter advocates a fresh reconstruction of dogma, the former, understanding by dogma a formulated statement that is supposed to be an adequate expression of religious truth and therefore equally authoritative with the latter, is opposed to any such reconstructed dogma being imposed on the Church. Any such statement must in the nature of things be provisional and temporary, and, however it might meet the wants of the present, would fail to command the faith of coming generations. The day is past for enforcing new symbolic formulas on the Church. Let theology busy itself with the reconstruction of doctrine. But the Christianity of which the Church is the witness rests on the truths of faith that change not with men's thoughts.

In his essay on the Person of Christ the author illustrates the distinction which he enforces, pointing out that the

diversity of view that prevailed in the Early Church and that issued in the authoritative statements of the creeds arose from the fact that the union between God and man was conceived as a metaphysical one. The insoluble contradictions of the Church doctrine disappear as soon as we succeed in showing that the conception of the essential union between God and man is a religious conception. The dogma has been elaborated from "material in which the religious truth has not reached clear expression" (p. 132).

These essays are charmingly written and the spirit they breathe is admirable. The author's anticipation of a day when the Church will distinguish between theology and religion may seem to some the dream of an idealist. All the same, there cannot be a doubt that the interest of Christianity and the unity of the Church are largely concerned in the recognition of the distinction that is advocated with such force and eloquence in these pages.

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

The World's Epoch Makers : Plato.

By David G. Ritchie, M.A., LL.D. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 225. Price 3s.

Johannine Problems and Modern Needs.

By H. T. Purchas, M.A. London : Macmillan & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 126. Price 3s. net.

The Formation of Christian Character : A Contribution to Individual Christian Ethics.

By W. S. Bruce, D.D. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 369. Price 5s.

PROFESSOR RITCHIE'S *Plato* is a notable addition to Mr. Oliphant Smeaton's series of "The World's Epoch Makers". It is written for those "who are willing to read a good deal of Plato himself". Yet it is most readable and intelligible even for such readers as have no independent knowledge of the subject. Greek words are used sparingly in the text, and never without interpretation. Much valuable material has therefore been embodied in the form of notes. Professor Ritchie threads his way through the difficult questions raised by his subject with admirable prudence. Proof of this is abundant throughout the book, but reference may be specially made to the most interesting concluding chapter on "Platonism after Plato," in which it is impossible altogether to avoid referring to such difficult and controversial matters as the influence of Neo-Platonism on the development of Christian thought. He shows very clearly how, "through St. Augustine, but still more through the works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, Neo-Platonism produced a direct and continuous influence on the mystical tendencies of Christian thought in the Middle Ages" (p. 188).

Further developments of Neo-Platonism into "a combination of mysticism and magic" owing to its contact with Oriental influences are traced in a most interesting manner; and the volume closes with a sketch of the Cambridge Platonists, of whom Professor Ritchie says that "this Platonism which blossomed in sheltered places of learning amid the fierce theological controversies of the seventeenth century was entirely Neo-Platonic in character, sometimes rising to the level of Plotinus or Origen, sometimes sinking to the depths of Iamblichus and his followers, but seldom approaching the purer philosophical atmosphere of Plato himself" (p. 194).

One of the most interesting chapters is that in which the author sketches "Plato and his contemporaries," and deals at length and with discrimination on the attitude of Plato to the Sophists, showing that Plato opposed them, not as a conservative rising against new light, but because in his judgment the Sophist "is satisfied with very perfunctory solutions of the questions" in connexion with which he upsets old beliefs and customs. The Sophist "is the generalised representative of sham thinking, of shallow popular philosophy, of uncriticised commonplace," though Plato also seems to have held that "for this 'crude rationalism' there is a place as a necessary step in the preparation for grasping truth" (p. 69).

The other chapters deal with Plato's writings and furnish a lucid exposition and commentary for the *Parmenides*, the *Timæus*, the *Republic* and the *Laws*.

There are two fine critical chapters on Plato's *Theory of Knowledge* and *The Soul*, in which the author shows his philosophic capacity. In the latter, in which he summarises Plato's views as to a future life, and the various arguments by which it may be demonstrated, Professor Ritchie says: "If we were to translate Plato's opinion into terms of modern natural theology, we might perhaps put it, that he does not hold that the soul is in itself indestructible, but that it may accord with the plan of Divine goodness, that there should be a plurality of souls continuing in existence. Even Plato's visions of another world do not necessarily imply any survival

of continuous personal consciousness: all the souls, before entering on a new period of earthly life, have to drink more or less of the waters of forgetfulness. Plato's myths admit of being interpreted, in their ethical aspect, as simply a recognition that the deeds which men do now, affect the lives and destinies of those that shall be born hereafter" (p. 149).

This little volume is an ingenious and not by any means unsuccessful attempt to show that the contemporary needs which the Fourth Gospel was written to serve are conspicuously modern, and that the Gospel has therefore a distinct message for our day. The needs of the age in which it arose were, according to this writer, a more spiritual and less official idea of the Christian ministry: a conception of the Eucharist which would dissociate it from the Jewish Passover; the redemption of the Christian apostolate from the love of money; the clearing up of the mutual relations of Peter and John; a true conception of the apostle based on the thought of his being one who is "sent"; and a more spiritual belief in Jesus as the Son of God. His general contention is that the modern study of the Fourth Gospel has resulted in showing how completely it was designed to meet those needs; and inasmuch as the needs of the first century are in these respects so modern, how timely is its contribution to modern Christianity. It may be felt that the arguments of the writer err by over-ingenuity. They are certainly very interesting, and they contain such implied rebuke to certain modern types of religion as is much wanted, and loses nothing by being grounded on the authority of St. John. The instances he uses tend certainly "to prove that the immediate effect of the Gospel was not to abrogate outward forms, but rather to spiritualise and Christianise them. And the effect of its renewed study in our own day need not be in any degree more violent or revolutionary" (p. 117). It should be said that the writer accepts the Johannine authorship, but his arguments and conclusions are not affected materially by the problem of authorship.

The aim of the writer of this volume is, he says, "definite and practical. We wish to describe the genesis and growth of Christian character." The subject is discussed in a popular style, and the writer steers his way successfully between those who, on the one hand, emphasise the Gospel without regarding its ethical content, and those who, on the other, try to separate ethical teaching from its Christian roots. It is a useful protest against "naturalism in ethics". He reviews the subject historically, showing how long the Protestant Church, in a spirit of reaction, avoided the study of Christian ethics; and how, nowadays, it falls in naturally with the popular cultivation of the ethical side of the Christian life. Modern contributions to the subject are acknowledged, beginning with Harless and coming to Kilpatrick, Munger and Davidson. Scriptural guidance is furnished in the Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament, and in the ethical teaching of Jesus and St. James. Modern philosophical objections are dealt with, and then the author gets under way, defining what character is—how it is affected by sin—its genesis in the one perfect type—the work of the Holy Spirit in its renewal; and so on.

Specific subjects like Temperance and the Temperaments, Self-Preservation, Christian Self-Culture, the Mind, Emotions, Conscience, Will, Habit, are all sensibly dealt with: and the volume closes with a chapter on The Spiritual Power, or Moral Dynamic, full of force and fine feeling for the secret of the Gospel of Christ. The book may be commended to all students of Christianity, on its ethical side, as a valuable contribution, which would serve as an excellent text-book. It covers more fully the same ground as is sketched in Kilpatrick's *Christian Character and Conduct*.

DAVID PURVES.

1. Human Nature : A Revelation of the Divine.

A Sequel to "Studies in the Character of Christ". By Charles Henry Robinson, M.A., Canon Missioner of Ripon. London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. Pp. x. + 364. Price 6s. net.

2. Christ the Indweller : An Attempt to trace the Practical Bearing of the Doctrine of the Inward Christ on Common Life.

By John Thomas Jacob, Vicar of Tor, Torquay. London : Macmillan & Co., 1902. Pp. 257. Price 5s.

3. Steps to Unity : A Scientific Philosophy, the Harbinger of a Scientific Theology.

London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1901. Pp. xxxiii. + 238. Price 7s. 6d.

4. Hebrew Ideals from the Story of the Patriarchs : A Study of Old Testament Faith and Life.

Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students. By Rev. J. Strachan, M.A., St. Fergus. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1902. Pp. 201. Price 2s.

1. Those who have read *Studies on the Character of Christ* will welcome this sequel. The former book was warmly received both by the press and the reading public, and this latest production will be recognised as equally acceptable. Mr. Robinson has found the right method of approaching Revelation, and this method he uses with ease and with success. Starting from Tennyson's aphorism—"The spiritual Character of Christ is more wonderful than the greatest miracle," he has developed from "The Portrait of Jesus" a

fresh and telling apologetic. To find in His Unique Personality—for Jesus was not simply another man—the best proof of the Divine origin of Christianity is Mr. Robinson's way of restating the Defence of the Faith. It was along this line, by an induction from observation, that the disciples gained their faith in the Master, and the book before us shows how, from the wider experience of Christ at work in the world and in the heart, men can still follow on "to know the Lord".

In the second part of the book Mr. Robinson deals with the problem of the Old Testament. Here also he relies on the Internal Evidence. There is a concise and scholarly chapter on the Results of Criticism, and accepting these, the author proceeds to differentiate the essential message of the Old Testament from contemporary religions and their literature. With admirable insight the line of cleavage is struck, in the *Character* of Jehovah. This and the chapters on the Unity of God, the Divine Image in Human Nature and a Continuous Purpose in History, work out a freshly put and helpful defence of the Revelation of the Hebrew Scriptures. The last section of the book is devoted to studies in worship—an application in practical and devotional sermons of the results of the argument.

It remains to be said that the book has all the qualities of a good style. It never lags. It is never dull. It is well indexed, and so makes available its store of unhackneyed and impressive illustration.

2. This is a tender and beautiful book on the Culture of the Common Life. Taking St. Paul's prayer, "that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith," as motto, the author lifts up the Real into the light of the Ideal. Such a book might have been misty and too heroic, or it might have been hard. It is neither, but touches the drab and grey of ordinary experience with sympathetic common-sense. The treatment is sacramental without being sacramentarian.

It covers a wide range of topics—work, prayer, ambition, patience, etc. The chapters on "Commonplace Surroundings" and "Influence" are particularly suggestive, and the

final chapter "The End Crowns All" is a beautiful picture of the Consecrated Life. The illustrations from literature and art are chosen and applied with great felicity.

3. In a brief preface the anonymous author states that the book has been published with a twofold view, to show (1) that the old Scottish Philosophy of Common Sense can be satisfactorily established on Scientific Principles, (2) and chiefly that the doctrines of Holy Scripture, *duly interpreted*, can be made to rest on and be consistent with the self-same principles.

After an introduction dealing with the Psychology of the subject, the main theological doctrines of Sin, Righteousness, Human Freedom, Election and Predestination, and the Lord's Supper, are exhaustively discussed. If one could agree with the premise, *a due interpretation* of Scripture, the book would be more convincing than it is, but to instance only two topics, "Immortality" and "The Basis of Sin," one gravely doubts if justice has been done to the contents of Scripture. "Men may construe things after their fashion": and here the crux of the book lies.

The volume is professedly a path-finder, and that too in a region where pitfalls are numerous. That the author has avoided all of these cannot be said, but he has written with ability and originality a book that will be found interesting and *provocative* to those who have tastes for that "dim and perilous" borderland between Philosophy and Theology.

4. After Analysis comes Synthesis. We have been discussing the composition of Genesis, but here is the book itself with its message. Mr. Strachan is no enemy to scholarship. He is one of the most competent Hebrew students of his day. But he rightly feels that the time has come to take the Old Testament "from the exhausted air-bell of the critic," that it may prove its inspiration, by *inspiring*.

The book deals with the story of Abraham and Isaac, as a revelation of Old Testament faith and life. Its method—ad-

mirably adapted for teaching—is to group round the central point of each incident a series of paragraphs illustrative of the virtues enjoined. In this way he shows us the kind of life the patriarchs lived, its *laughter* and its *tears*, its *warfare* and the *peace* at the heart of it. For the things that make up the common lot of men everywhere had their counterpart in these pilgrims of the unseen, and Mr. Strachan keeps us close to life.

The book is one of a series for Bible classes, and is exactly the thing we wanted. It is one of the freshest and most illuminative books on Genesis we have seen. As a mirror of manners and ideals to make life worthy it is altogether unique. To bring a Bible class into contact with the Old Testament through the sympathetic insight of this book would be a rare boon to teacher and to taught. The guide is competent; he understands what young men are thinking, and he knows how to reinforce the teaching of Genesis with a perfect wealth of quotation from the wisdom of the centuries. But better than all, Christ is in the book, and the evangelical love for Christ. As a great mountain dominating a landscape, and visible from every point, Christ is always in sight, and His shadow falls across every page. It is meet that it should be so, for "Abraham rejoiced to see His day, and he saw it and was glad". The book is written in delightful English, piquant and crisp, and the surprises of its style make it easy reading. We hope that Part II. will be speedily forthcoming. It will be welcome. Mr. Strachan quotes Luther, "*Nihil pulchrius Genesi, nihil utilius,*" and after him we believe it.

W. M. GRANT.

Personal Idealism : Philosophical Essays.

By Eight Members of the University of Oxford. Edited by Henry Sturt. London : Macmillan & Co., 1902. Pp. viii. + 393. Price 10s. net.

WE are becoming accustomed to volumes of Oxford essays, and so long as they keep the high level attained by those issued recently, we cannot have too many of them. The present work is meant to develop and defend the principle of personality as the supreme instrument of interpretation in various fields of philosophy. The writers are at one in their speculative detestation of Naturalism, by which is meant that philosophical tendency, too often illegitimately associated with the name of science, which regards the individual as the transitory resultant of physical processes; "the real strength of naturalism," we are told in one place, "depends not on its logic, but on the success of its appeal to the imagination of the unimaginative". They are also convinced opponents of Absolutism, which may be taken as represented most effectively by Mr. Bradley. These two schools are in reality much akin—"when every one is somebody, then no one's anybody," as the poet has observed—and this gives a unity of aim to the writers' polemic. More particularly, Naturalism has to be fought because it ultimately implies fatalism. Absolutism, as Mr. Sturt remarks in his interesting preface, is unsatisfactory "first, in its way of criticising human experience not from the standpoint of human experience, but from the visionary and impracticable standpoint of an absolute experience; and, secondly, in its refusal to recognise adequately the volitional side of human nature". The philosophical motive of these essays is sufficiently clear from this quotation.

We find another feature common to the work of the various authors, which many will agree with the editor in

thinking the most valuable characteristic of their method, *viz.*, the frequency of their appeal to experience. The truth for which empiricism stands has been very late in coming to its rights, but these rights it is impossible to contest any longer. On this Mr. Sturt has an admirable observation. After remarking that "the current antithesis between a spiritual philosophy and empiricism is thoroughly mischievous," he goes on to say: "Empirical Idealism is still something of a paradox; I should like to see it regarded as a truism". These words indicate, as it seems to us, the path of true life and promise for philosophers at the present juncture. After all, the *actual* is logically superior even to the *necessary*. Still, one question which we should have liked to see discussed more directly is—What are the qualities of that experience to which appeal is to be made as characteristic and normative? Avenarius would answer this in one way, Mr. Sturt and his colleagues in quite another; and in this work the criterion to which "Empirical Idealism" is to resort is nowhere clearly elucidated.

"Personality" may easily become a parrot-cry in philosophy, but most readers will feel that in the hands of these writers it is made an instrument of genuine explanation, not only in the more familiar problems of knowledge and morals but in the remoter fields of cosmic evolution and the theory of art. The principle adopted is that self-conscious life, as known to man, is the highest category available. Personality is not only the strictest and most concrete unity within our ken; it is the source and model of that principle of unity without which neither science nor philosophy could exist. It is amazing to note how many excellent people, with the best intentions in the world, regard themselves as having finally interpreted facts of human thought and feeling when they have reduced them to sub-personal terms. To realise the preposterousness of any such method they have only to read this book. Here it is recognised, with a clearness which leaves nothing to be desired, that our own conscious mind is the only key we possess to unlock the secrets of being, and that if this key fails, we have no other. Professor James

has recently said that "so long as we deal with the cosmic and the general, we deal only with the symbols of reality, but as soon as we deal with private and personal phenomena as such, we deal with realities in the completest sense of the term"; and his words strike a note which sounds again and again in these pages. It is easy to perceive a near kinship between this attitude of mind and the idealism which for the past thirty years we have been wont to associate with Oxford. But the volume does a great deal more than mark time. It steps in advance of the past. It repeats no man's formulas. In particular it welcomes the results of modern psychology, and faces in no timid and apologetic fashion but in a free and attractively sanguine spirit the widening and enriching of the idealistic system they demand. The thinking is everywhere close to actual life and thought. Facts of every kind are sacred, but the greatest and deepest fact of all is personality.

Another noteworthy characteristic of these writers is their adhesion to what is called *voluntarism*, i.e., the theory which places the central function of mental life in volitional striving and selective attention. Personality can most truly be described as a willing or originating consciousness. The value of this for ethics is manifest, and in some sort for epistemology as well; for such a view of the essential nature of the self is not likely to be weak in teleology. Of course it has its dangers, of which the authors of this volume are, no doubt, quite well aware. Voluntarism is one of these philosophical views which may turn again and rend you. We think that in Mr. Schiller's essay, for example, it is stated somewhat recklessly. It is one thing to say that belief is the expression of a Self which is far more than intellect; it is quite another to say that it is *more closely* related to action, and to feeling which is incipient action, than to knowledge. From such a soil a vicious obscurantism may easily spring.

The first essay¹ is by Mr. G. F. Stout, who takes "Error" for his subject. His work serves to remind us how there are a multitude of logical questions upon which the ordinary

¹ Each essay is prefaced by a valuable synopsis.

textbooks throw very little light, but which as discussed by a master are in the highest degree rewarding. Mr. Stout, taking his text from Plato's *Theaetetus*, starts from the point that in error what is unreal seems to be thought of in the same way as the real is thought of in true knowledge. The possibility of this is a puzzle. As a preliminary to solving it, he considers two modes of thought other than those to which the epithets 'true' and 'false' could apply, *viz.*, indeterminate or problematic thinking, and thinking of what is a mere appearance without asserting that it possesses reality. In discussing these modes Mr. Stout speaks with emphasis regarding the independent reality of the object of cognition, not, of course, in the ontological sense, but in the sense of having a determinate nature of its own to which thought must conform. The conclusion arrived at is that error happens when the mere appearance of anything is confused with its reality. "For error to exist the mind must work in such a way as to defeat its own purpose. Its interest must lie in conforming its thought to the predetermined constitution of some real object. And yet in the very attempt to do so it must qualify its object by features which are merely due to psychological conditions." We have some very illuminating pages on errors of confusion and errors of ignorance. Then follow some corollaries which may be deduced from the main conclusion adopted. Perhaps the most interesting of these sections is the last of all, containing Mr. Stout's strictures upon the position defended by Mr. Bradley, "that all propositions, except perhaps certain assertions concerning the Absolute as such, must be more or less erroneous," because in the very act of asserting we abstract from the conditions. As Mr. Stout maintains, surely with reason, if we assert that two and two are four, all the relevant data are *ipso facto* present, and doubts are meaningless. Might the same illustration not be employed to suggest to Mr. Stout that he attributes an unreal importance to the principle which he formulates (p. 10) in the words "one cannot be right or wrong without some interest or purpose"? What purpose can affect the rightness or wrongness of the

statement that two and two make four? None, unless you adduce the purpose to count, and to count truly. To make truth and error relative to this, however, besides being superfluous, seems to us a psychological rather than a logical criticism.

We could wish Mr. Stout's essay very much longer, for in philosophical quality it must rank as the finest in the whole volume. It is extremely short, but its importance is in inverse proportion to its bulk. There is a freshness and penetration in its thought, and an incisive brevity in its expression, which leave the reader desirous of more. It closes with an appetising footnote, promising a fuller treatment of the writer's grounds of divergence from Mr. Bradley.

The next essay, the longest in the book, is by Mr. F. C. S. Schiller, and bears the title "Axioms as Postulates". We have found Mr. Schiller a very lively philosopher, intent on beguiling the way with a stream of facetious observations, but his methods are really out of place in the quiet and dignified company in which he finds himself. Were much of the unnecessary and insipid humour to be ruthlessly excised his essay would be reduced to limits more consonant with its speculative importance. We regret that his unfortunate mannerisms may dispose impatient readers to neglect an argument of a very acute and interesting kind.

Mr. Schiller's thesis is that the fundamental principles of knowledge begin their career as demands which we make on our experience. To begin with they must be classed as mere postulates, which are being perpetually sifted by the very process of cognition. Whether they shall be promoted to the rank of axioms or abandoned depends on the way they work. The living progress of knowledge thus becomes, throughout, a revelation and explication of the principles with which we start; and it is easy to see that any theory which maintains so living a relationship between the origin and the history of the categories has a great deal in its favour. Mr. Schiller is next led to give a polemical account of empiricism and apriorism, too unsympathetic, perhaps, to be quite fair. The criticism of *a priori* logic is carried out at great length, and

contains a vigorous review of the Kantian system. Here the critic presses many of his points with unsparing persistency, contending, *e.g.*, that there is an inveterate ambiguity in Kantianism on the question whether it is logically or psychologically that the principles necessary to knowledge are to be reckoned *a priori*. Both empiricism and apriorism are finally condemned as being radically infected with intellectualism, and thus rendered incapable of appreciating the essential unity and activity of the personal organism. We must correct this by recognising the thoroughly voluntarist and postulatory character of mental life. "Thought must be conceived as an outgrowth of action, knowledge of life, intelligence of will."

In the latter part of his essay Mr. Schiller proceeds to test the truth of his theory by examining various principles which have been universally held as logically axiomatic. We are told, for example (p. 102), that "the affirmation of identity, without which there is neither thought nor judgment, is essentially an act of postulation which presupposes as its psychological *conditio sine qua non* the feeling of the self-identity and 'unity' of consciousness". This implies that the principle of identity is already in the mind as a more or less explicit element in the feeling of self, and the task would still seem to be left Mr. Schiller of proving that utility will explain this, its original form. But if we waive this point, and allow Mr. Schiller to give his own account of the postulates of Contradiction, Excluded Middle, Causation, etc., the living attractiveness of the theory grows upon the mind. Especially would we direct attention to the admirable treatment, towards the close, of the problem of teleology.

As we have already said, we think that Mr. Schiller, as a voluntarist, drives the nail in so hard as almost to split the wood. Mr. Stout had justly underlined the truth of the independent reality of the object known, but Mr. Schiller would deny "that there is an objective world given independently of us, and constraining us to recognise it". Unquestionably he is right in insisting on the work of the mind in organising experience, but conceiving that mind as he does

mainly in terms of will, the truth of ideas becomes for him purely relative to the use that is made of them. Now, no doubt knowledge is not mechanically imposed upon the subject by the world, but is rather something hammered out by dint of experience. Yet to exaggerate the activity of the mind, and ignore the cue given by the object, is the most self-defeating of theories. We desire to know in order to survive; true, but unless our knowledge is objectively valid, we shall *not* survive. We question, therefore, if the whole truth about the principles of knowledge has been told when they have been dubbed postulates. A postulate is too much something we should do without if we could. And when the postulates as construed by Mr. Schiller come to be viewed together, they seem casual, incomplete, unsystematised. No bond of connexion appears to unite them save their formal relation to the mind. Mr. Schiller has made a remarkable contribution to the voluntarist theory of knowledge, but it bears on its face the traces of that method of hyperbole which frequently tempts a man because it is so useful for didactic purposes.

Mr. R. R. Marrett writes a very fine essay on "Origin and Validity in Ethics," full of just and enlightening ideas. In some respects it runs on lines parallel to Mr. Schiller's work, but seems to preserve a truer sanity of judgment. "If Ethics splits into fragments," he declares, "it will split on the question of Origin *versus* Validity. Or, on the other hand, if Ethics is to maintain its integrity as Ethics, Origin and Validity must be reconciled, that is, room must be found for both principles of explanation to operate freely within a single, well-marked, centrally-governed, self-supporting province of thought." Origin is more a matter of thought, validity of feeling. In order to settle accounts between these two Mr. Marrett places a treble limitation on the scope of Ethics. "Let us remind ourselves," he says, "(a) that life is not all conscious life; (b) that conscious life is not all morality; and (c) that morality as a product is but partially due to moral theory, whether organised as science or as art." Thereupon he institutes a searching examination of the view which finds

the worth of a moral principle in its history, and while conceding that domestic and national virtues appear on the whole to be tolerably well accounted for by saying that they serve the natural end of race-preservation, argues that personal virtues seem rather to seek a 'spiritual' end, as do even more obviously such virtues as holiness, pure unselfishness, and the love of the ideal—qualities of character which he styles transcendental. On rational utilitarianism he passes the severely just criticism that "its appeal was never to veritable history, but to something conceived to lie at the back of history, namely the 'is really' of an *a priori* metaphysical naturalism". There are many things in morality which it is quite impossible to explain by the unconscious utilitarianism of nature. On the other hand, in moral intuition there is to be found "an ultimate authoritativeness" which is not external to the moral subject, and can be interpreted as the supreme and organising principle of a normative Ethics which both lays down precepts and explains moral history. And yet Origin stands for something. It is the critical factor in the synthesis. The Ethics proper to man is an intuitionism "tempered by critical reflection".

Mr. Marrett's work contains a great deal of admirable moral psychology, very unobtrusively woven into the general texture of his argument. Some passages seem to have been written with Mr. Taylor's "Problem of Conduct" in view, and will serve as a wholesome corrective to the questionable novelties in moral theory with which that brilliant work abounds. The last section of this essay presents an eminently satisfactory example of the "Empirical Idealism" which Mr. Sturt desiderates, and the need of which has been felt nowhere more keenly than in scientific ethics.

We could wish that we had space to give some adequate impression of Dr. Rashdall's striking essay on "Personality, Human and Divine". Like all Dr. Rashdall's work it is the production of a masculine and penetrating mind. He has come to definite and reasoned conclusions about the subject on which he discourses, and possesses to a very unusual degree the gift of giving expression to his views

with incisiveness and force. Perhaps the brevity which he has imposed upon himself leads him at times into statements which are either truisms or utterly mistaken, as when he tells us that "the newly-born infant is no more of a person than a worm, except *δυνάμει*"—a dictum which would work havoc with the principle that the *only* true definition is dynamical and prophetic. Dr. Rashdall passes a suggestive criticism upon Hegelian writers when (p. 382) he says that almost without an exception they are guilty of the fallacy of assuming that "what constitutes existence for others is the same as what constitutes existence for self"; though his adjacent Berkeleyan theory of the existence of a thing is perhaps in want of a little more argumentative support than he has given it. His vindication of the reality of the Self against Mr. Bradley's objections is a powerful piece of writing. And discussion may possibly be awakened by his conclusion that "the Absolute is a society which includes God and all other spirits". The whole essay is so fresh and forcible that one wishes it had been very much longer. Here and there the argument has suffered from excessive condensation.

It would be unpardonable to conclude without drawing attention to the editor's essay on "Art and Personality," which stands out amid its surroundings as not only an illuminating philosophical statement but a critical piece of great literary beauty. If published separately it would unquestionably command a wider circle of interested readers than a book with a technically philosophical title can hope to reach. It abounds in fine sayings and æsthetic judgments which win the student's confidence by a certain wise enthusiasm, as well as their broad human reasonableness. The other essays, all of great merit on their own lines, are "The Problem of Freedom in its Relation to Psychology," by Mr. Boyce Gibson; "The Limits of Evolution," by Mr. Underhill; and "The Future of Ethics: Effort or Abstention?" by Dr. Bussell.

The questions to which this book is devoted may all be as old as philosophical reflection, but they are stated and argued with so much living interest, and such a pleasant freedom from repellent technical terms, that tyro and expert

alike will find the discussion attractive. The writers are in open and aggressive sympathy with tendencies which have found powerful and popular expression in James' *The Will to Believe* and for which points of attachment may be found in the greater masters like Spinoza and Herbart. Voluntarism has still to settle accounts with Mr. Bradley, and some interesting passages-at-arms may be anticipated. Meanwhile we have to thank Oxford for another collection of instructive and inspiring dissertations, which is certain to remove any doubts which may have been felt as to the unwearied vigour and progressive vitality of present-day English philosophy. The project of the volume was a very happy one, and we hope for it a success adequate to its great merits.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

Typical Modern Conceptions of God, or, The Absolute of German Romantic Idealism and of English Evolutionary Agnosticism, with a constructive Essay. By JOSEPH ALEXANDER LEIGHTON, Professor of Philosophy in Hobart College. New York, London & Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 190. Price 3s. 6d. net.

THIS book had its origin in a thesis presented to the Faculty of Cornell University with a view to obtaining the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Some of the essays now embodied in the volume have been published previously in the *Philosophical Review*. The author's object is to give a comparative view of four typical ways of dealing with the problem of the Absolute, or the metaphysical conception of God, *viz.*, those represented by Fichte, Hegel, Schleiermacher and Spencer. He omits Schelling for two reasons—because his changes of view were so “many and chameleon-like,” and because his most valuable ideas are also to be found in the writings of the other great German thinkers.

Professor Leighton's style lacks vivacity and interest. His volume, however, is a careful study which gives evidence of wide reading and acute thinking. It gives a good account of these representative conceptions, bringing out their distinctive points with considerable ability and setting the one over against the other in a way that helps us the better to understand them. The author is often very happy in his definitions and his comparisons, and his criticisms in many cases are just and useful.

Herbert Spencer is taken as the “philosophical representative of modern physical views of the universe,” and the contrast between his methods and those followed by Fichte and Hegel is ably set forth. Schleiermacher's relations to Spinoza, Kant and the great German Idealists are expounded with insight, and among other things the far-reaching importance of his doctrine of the ethical worth and the philosophical

and religious significance of individuality has ample justice done to it.

The strength of the book, however, from the philosophical point of view is in the chapters on Fichte and Hegel. These sages are dealt with as representing "first parallel and then diverging growths from the common root of the Kantian Critique". There is much that is of interest in the comparison instituted between these two—Fichte as one who passed step by step from purely ethical premises to a "distinctively metaphysical groundwork for life and religion," and Hegel as one who, without any such process of mental development, came at once to "a speculative, metaphysical conception of the Absolute as wholly immanent—as the temporal world of human experience".

The general result of this comparative study of four typical thinkers is stated to be that we have four sharply differentiated conceptions of the Absolute. They are described as "that of Will, finding its completion in the intuition of perfect attainment; that of Reason, comprehending itself as the eternal process of the world, and finding that all is good; that of Feeling, which apprehends the unity of things in a single and immediate act of consciousness; and finally that of Blind Energy, which seems, in a cross-section of time and as viewed by the average spectator, to have a definite direction, but which in reality has neither whence nor whither and no other goal than the meaningless eternal oscillation between states of motion and states of rest".

S. D. F. SALMOND.

An Introduction to the Thessalonian Epistles. Containing a Vindication of the Pauline Authorship of both Epistles and an Interpretation of the Eschatological Section of 2 Thess. ii. By E. H. ASKWITH, B.D., Chaplain of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. + 144. Price 4s. net.

In this volume Mr. Askwith deals with the Thessalonian Epistles as he has previously dealt with the Epistle to the Galatians. He gives us compact statements and scholarly

discussions of the great questions, literary, critical and historical, that are connected with these epistles. He does this in a way that will make his book very useful to students of theology in particular, and he puts his matter always in clear and concise form. His examination of the arguments for and against the genuineness of the Second Epistle has the excellent qualities of candour and reasonableness. The question, however, which he deals with most at length is the interpretation of the eschatological paragraph in 2 Thessalonians ii. He recognises the difficulty of the subject and points out very acutely the doubtful spots in the various explanations which have been given of the passage on the hypothesis of its post-Pauline origin. Noticing the vulnerable points in the *Nero-redivivus* interpretation given by Baur and the *Gnostic* interpretations of Hilgenfeld and Bahnsen, he subjects the theories of Weiss and Bousset to a keen criticism of a more detailed kind. He acknowledges the ability with which Weiss supports the view that the ἀποστασία in question is a Jewish religious apostasy. He fully appreciates also the clever points in Bousset's attempt to explain the paragraph as an application of a legendary belief that before the advent of Messiah an Antichrist would arise out of the Jewish people claiming divine honours for himself, the Roman Empire being the *κάτεχον* and the Roman Emperor the *κατέχων*. He finds that these interpretations, however, fail to meet the circumstances of the case, and he works out another view, namely, that the ἀποστασία is to be taken not as a religious, but as a political apostasy, a rebellion of the Jewish people against Rome, and that the "man of lawlessness" is the Roman Emperor claiming divine honours for himself. His arguments are well and modestly stated, and he is not blind to the difficulties of his theory. It means for one thing that Paul expected Caligula's blasphemous attempt to be repeated by Claudius or a later Emperor. It has to be made to fit the view of the Roman State that appears to be taken elsewhere in the Pauline writings, and it has to make out a better case than Mr. Askwith has yet prepared for putting only a *political* sense on the ἀποστασία.

Prayer. By the Rev. A. J. WORLLEDGE, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of Truro. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 378. Price 5s.

This volume belongs to "The Oxford Library of Practical Theology," edited by Canon Newbolt and Principal Darwell Stone. It is an attractive book in type and binding, and in respect of contents it answers well to the purpose of the series. It is quite the kind of book to be of use to a large class of readers—those who wish to have an intelligent idea of *prayer*, to understand what it involves, and to satisfy their reason on the difficulties connected with its reality and its method. Its object, however, is mainly practical. Intellectual difficulties are dealt with, but without having much space bestowed on them and without much that is in any sense striking being said on the subject. On the other hand the *doctrinal* aspects of prayer are set forth at greater length and with more power. After some discussion of the nature and necessity of prayer, its efficacy, and the arguments against that efficacy, the author proceeds to unfold the subject of prayer in relation to the Fatherhood of God, the answer in the Name of Christ, the action of the Holy Spirit in prayer, the theological virtues and other conditions of acceptable prayer. These are the topics on which the writer is seen at his best. But there are good chapters also on Christ's Example in Prayer, the Lord's Prayer, the Divisions of Prayer, Public Worship, the Subjects for Prayer, Hindrances and Limits in Prayer, etc. There is a tendency to make too much perhaps of the Church as a corporate body in some of the discussions of the book, especially in the sections dealing with the functions and operations of the Spirit in the matter of prayer. But the theological treatment of the subject in hand is always able, and in this respect the book takes a place of its own among recent contributions to the literature on Prayer. Thoughtful minds will find much to help them in intellectual apprehension and in spiritual feeling in this volume. It takes us over many questions of practical interest. It does this in a devout spirit and with a very capable hand.

For the Lord's Table, A Book of Communion Addresses. By the Rev. CHARLES JERDAN, M.A., LL.B. Second Edition, revised. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 417 Price 5s.

This volume is sent out in tasteful form by the publishers. It has been well received in its first issue, and it deserves the success it has had. It contains fifty-two brief chapters dealing with subjects suitable for meditation in connexion with the celebration of the Lord's Supper. It opens with two concise and careful statements on "The Uses of the Lord's Supper" and "The Two Christian Sacraments," and in the subsequent chapters it gives us appropriate meditations on such topics as The Love of Christ, The Surroundings of the Supper, The Paschal Lamb, The Cup of the New Covenant, Standing by the Cross, Eternal Life in Christ, etc. The addresses are of a very suitable length, and they are attractive in style. They are careful studies of the subjects selected, sympathetic in spirit, devout, edifying, and showing in many passages a remarkable felicity of expression.

The Law of Growth and other Sermons. By the Right Rev. PHILLIPS BROOKS, D.D., Late Bishop of Massachusetts. London: Macmillan & Co., 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. v. + 381. Price 6s.

We have had much from the strong pen and the warm heart of the great Boston preacher, whose death New England and the Christian world deplore. This new volume of discourses will be not less welcome than others that have been gratefully received from time to time. It discloses more of the master's art, his original and impressive treatment of religious themes, his peculiar use of Scripture, his uncommon gift of style, his power in driving things home to mind and conscience in terms almost equally telling to the highly educated and to the man in the street. It shows us more, too, of his limitations as well as his strength as a

religious teacher, while in every discourse we feel the throb of a large and ardent nature. There are many striking sermons in the volume—sermons that will not readily be forgotten when once read. To see what Phillips Brooks was one should read the discourses on “Half-life,” “The Power of an Uncertain Future,” “The Battlements of the Lord,” “The Holiness of Duty,” “The Strength of Consecration,” etc.

The Study of Religion. By MORRIS JASTROW, Jun., Ph.D., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. London: Walter Scott, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 451. Price 6s.

This forms one of the volumes of “The Contemporary Science Series,” edited by Havelock Ellis. It is appropriately dedicated to Professor C. P. Tiele to whose works and friendship the writer acknowledges his great indebtedness. The volume is divided into three parts, headed respectively “General Aspects,” “Special Aspects,” and “Practical Aspects”. The first deals with the history and Character of the Study of Religion, the Classification of Religions, the Character and Definitions of Religion, and the Origin of Religion. The second part discusses such questions as the relations of Religion and Ethics, Religion and Philosophy, Religion and Mythology, etc. The third is occupied with the Study of the Sources, the Historical Study of Religion in Colleges, Universities and Seminaries, etc. The plan, therefore, is large and comprehensive. The numerous questions handled are put and answered with commendable conciseness and in a clear and pointed style. One of the most valuable chapters is the one on the Classification of Religions. The leading schemes, as elaborated by Tiele, Hegel, Réville, Max Müller, Kuenen and others, are reviewed and criticised at length. The writer concludes by propounding a scheme of his own, *viz.*, a four-fold division into the Religions of Savages, those of Primitive Culture, those of Advanced Culture, and those which emphasise as the ideal the co-extensiveness of religion with life, and aim at a consistent accord between religious doctrine and religious practice. This classification is urged as superior

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to others because it rests upon a single principle which presides over the development of religion itself, namely, "the relation of religion to life". We confess that, while this scheme certainly has the merit of simplicity, we fail to see that it marks any advance. It is less scientific indeed than others that will readily occur to readers. For practical purposes it may have its uses, but it lacks the scientific note of a single idea or a unifying principle. Dr. Jastrow's criticisms of other systems, however, are often of much force. As to his own idea of Religion he seems to find its source in "the sense of the Infinite," and he affirms the existence of a religious faculty as an essential part of human nature. This he holds to be "most necessary to an interpretation of the facts of religion". On the question of the possibility and actuality of a Revelation or a Revealed Religion he is not very definite. He appears to avoid coming to close quarters on the subject. He contends certainly that the claim to be based on Revelation is a claim of which the science of religion can take no cognisance. He confesses, however, that there are "hidden influences at work in shaping the religious fortunes of mankind". He is content to recognise their presence. He cares not by what name they may be called, but he admits that there "remains an element which cannot be explained by historical research". On the Christian religion he makes some good and appreciative remarks, especially with regard to its aim to unite religion and life, its service to civilisation, its relation to modern culture, etc. But there are also some statements which are of a different kind, *e.g.*, as to its being a philosophical system and its history "to a large extent a history of philosophic thought applied to religious problems"; as to its containing exaggerated emotional tendencies, etc. The student, however, will find much that will help him in the book. The matter is well arranged; the method is purely historical; the style is clear and compact; the amount of information which is supplied is large and it is given in a very handy form. For the purposes of a handbook this volume will be found most useful.

Redeeming Judgment, and other Sermons. By JOHN KELMAN, M.A., Leith. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 243.

In this volume we have part of the fruits of a long ministry. It is made up of a number of pulpit discourses selected from the mass of those delivered during a pastorate extending over more than forty years. They will be valued by many outside the circle of those who heard them. They deal with great themes, the "Grandeur of Prayer," "God's Rejoicing Love," "The Valley of Achor for a Door of Hope," "God Greater than our Heart," "Paul's Triumph in Christ," and the like. They handle these themes with discernment and force, setting forth the old evangelical faith in its fulness, but in terms remarkably free from the formal, traditional phraseology. There is a welcome freshness and independence in the way in which old truths are stated and commended to attention. The clear, simple and effective style in which these discourses are written adds much to their attractiveness. Devout minds will find much to edify and help them in this volume.

The Epistles of St. John: the Greek Text with Notes and Essays. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., sometime Lord Bishop of Durham and Honorary Fellow of Trinity and King's Colleges, Cambridge. Fourth edition. London: Macmillan & Co., 1902. 8vo, pp. lvi. + 380. Price 12s. 6d.

This commentary, first published in 1883, has now reached its fourth edition. Very little change has been made in the book since it was first given to the public. A continuous translation was added to each section in the second edition, which was issued in 1885, and some minor inaccuracies were corrected. But the interpretation remained unchanged. The third edition was in all essential matters a reprint of the second, with a few corrections of misprints, mistakes in references, and the like. This fourth edition is again a reprint of the third, the only changes being the correction

of some errata and the incorporation of a few slight additions found noted in the lamented author's copy. It is not necessary to say much in addition to what has been previously said on the merits of this commentary. The book has secured a high place in the list of commentaries on these Epistles. There is much in the Johannine writings, and especially in these letters, that suited the genius of Bishop Westcott, in which the mystic and the verbal precisian seemed to meet. His peculiar exegetical gifts are seen, therefore, in this book at their strongest and at times also at their weakest. We find in the notes a minute attention to language and grammar which is often fruitful but which also at times is pressed too far. We have also a spiritual reading of the ideas which is in many cases just and helpful, but which has a tendency at times to descend to vagueness. The essays and extended notes are an interesting feature of the volume. Most of them are of great value. The one that is least satisfactory is that on "The Idea of Christ's Blood in the New Testament". Here the path of the historical interpreter appears to us to be left at more than one point, and conclusions advocated which cannot be sustained by a just and adequate exegesis of the Old Testament terms and usages at the foundation of the New Testament statements. While this volume has not the wonderful insight of Rothe's exposition nor the brilliancy of Haupt's, it is undoubtedly an important contribution to the interpretation of these Epistles, and one which all students ought to have by them.

The Dawn of the Reformation. By HERBERT B. WORKMAN, M.A., Author of *The Church of the West in the Middle Ages*. Vol. I., *The Age of Wyclif*. Vol. II., *The Age of Hus*. London: Charles H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, vol. i., 1901, pp. xvi. + 310; vol. ii., pp. xvi. + 374. Price 2s. 6d. each.

These volumes belong to the series of "Books for Bible Students," edited by the Rev. Arthur E. Gregory, D.D. They are both remarkably well done, and will be most useful

in making the preparation for the great Reformation movement of the sixteenth century better known. They are written in so lively and attractive a style that no one can become weary in the perusal of them. But they are much more than popular sketches, or skilful reproductions of other men's labours. They represent patient and honest toil, and trained methods of historical investigation. Mr. Workman has gone to the sources and has looked into things with his own eyes. It is a student's work, an independent investigator's results that are given in the pleasant pages of these volumes. The object which Mr. Workman has set before him, as he states it himself, is, "to trace the various influences and forces both within and without the Church, which produced the great revolution of the sixteenth century". He has been faithful to this object and has carried it out with much success, and with a proper sense of the fact that, with all that has been done by so many competent hands, there are still many things in connexion with the Reformation, and especially with its causes and beginnings, on which we are far from clear. In the case of Wyclif the confession is made very frankly that much work has yet to be done before we may know for certain how the reformer influenced his generation. And in the case of the Bohemian reformer and his times there is the same recognition of the limits of certainty in the present condition of our knowledge. The question of the inconsistencies of Wyclif is handled with care and discernment. Mr. Workman indicates his suspicion that "the great Englishman was rather the head and inspiration of a school of workers than himself actually responsible for all that passes even to-day under his name". The volume on Hus begins with an excellent chapter on the great schism, a sketch of the Council of Pisa, and a brief account of the forerunners of Hus. The fourth chapter deals with the life of the Reformer and his troubles in Prague. A separate chapter is very properly devoted to the Council of Constance, of which we get a very vivid view. The closing chapter is occupied with the trial and death of Hus. Then follow a series of appendices, which are of much interest, dealing as

they do with such subjects as the election of Urban VI., St. John Nepomucen, the Safe-Conduct of Hus, etc. All through the best authorities, Mansi, Hardt, Erler, Finke, Palacky, Loserth, etc., are consulted and used with independent judgment. The late Bishop Creighton receives a special tribute of honour for the judgment as well as the learning with which he treated the period. The importance of Hus, in the author's opinion, is in the fact that he is "the representative of the new spirit of consecration to Truth, as distinct from Authority, which, more than anything else, was destined to sweep away Mediævalism"; and the value of the period to which Hus belonged lies, he thinks, "in the demonstration it gives that reform from within was impossible". These are conclusions with which all will agree who follow Mr. Workman's luminous narrative.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Arabien vor dem Islam.

Von Dr. Otto Weber. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. 35. Price 60 Pf.

Fünf Neue Arabische Landschaftsnamen im Alten Testament.

Beleuchtet von Eduard König, Dr. Phil. u. Theol. ordentlichem Professor an der Univers. Bonn. Mit einem Exkurs über die Paradiesesfrage. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. 78. Price M.3.

THIS is the day of Archæology. Egyptology and Assyriology have won their place among the scientific studies of our time. Arabiology is not so prominent. But it is with us. And the results it can show are of no little interest and importance. The two monographs mentioned above form part of the literature which is growing up about the discoveries recently made in Arabia. Both treatises refer in part to the same subject. The five place-names discussed by Dr. König are claimed by Dr. Weber as a fruit of recent discoveries in Arabia (p. 24).

Dr. Weber's little work covers a wide field. The purpose of the writer is to give a *vidimus* of the history of Arabia from the earliest period to the conquest of the Peninsula by the Mohammedans. In an octavo of thirty-five pages this can be done only in the most concise form. And in the circumstances Dr. Weber has done very well.

A century ago Arabia was practically a *terra incognita*. In 1810 inscriptions discovered in South Arabia were first made known to Europe. Others followed in the thirties and succeeding years. But the most important are those discovered and reported by Edward Glaser from 1882-94. These inscriptions reveal a country very different from what Arabia

was generally supposed to be. While the Semites sprung from Abraham were toiling in Egypt under Pharaoh's taskmasters, another branch of the Semitic family in South Arabia had established a powerful kingdom and reached a high degree of culture. This Minnæan kingdom, of which the capital was Karnāwu (Karna), was well organised. Its influence appears for a time to have been paramount throughout the Arabian peninsula. It was the centre of the commerce between Europe and the East. In the north-west, in the Biblical district of Midian, its colony of Mutsran played an important part in the commerce of the second millennium B.C. It has an interesting place in Biblical discussions at the close of the second millennium A.D.

The result of recent discoveries and discussions is that, for the present, Arabia is by many regarded as the cradle of the Semitic race. In the Minnæans we have the Semites at their purest and best. It is of some interest to note that the alphabetic characters employed in the Minnæan inscriptions closely resemble the Phœnician and old Hebrew characters. There are differences, and Dr. Weber conjectures that a common mother-alphabet lay behind them (p. 13). Noteworthy also are the points of contact with the Old Testament, especially in matters of ritual (*cf.* p. 17). A considerable amount of information is given regarding the religious practice of these ancient Arabians (pp. 15-21).

It is Dr. Weber's opinion that Arabian Semites crossed the Gulf to Chaldæa, and brought themselves into contact with the Sumerians as early as the fourth, or perhaps even the fifth millennium B.C. About the close of the third millennium B.C. Canaanites settled in Syria and Palestine, and the Hyksos in Egypt. At the beginning of the second millennium Semites from North Arabia pressed into Mesopotamia, and Aramæan nomads repeatedly invaded the rich country of Babylonia and Assyria. At the same time Phœnicians and Hebrews settled on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, the Chaldæans asserted themselves in South Babylonia, and the Minnæans pushed their way southward in Arabia, and founded the kingdom already referred to. The predominance

of the Minnæans lasted from about B.C. 1400 to B.C. 700. Shortly before the latter date the Sabæan nomads were pushed southwards through the victorious progress of Tiglath-Pileser. These Sabæans encountered and overthrew the Minnæans, and for some 400 years were the ruling power in South Arabia. They extended their sway over the country to the south and east, over Katabania and Hadramaut. But Alexander came. Alexandria was founded. And the commercial position which had been occupied by Southern Arabia for many centuries was lost for ever. About B.C. 115 the Himyarites, a tribe whose home was in the extreme south-west of the Peninsula, overthrew the Sabæans, and introduced a new *regime* which lasted to A.D. 300.

At that time the Abyssinians, whose fathers had crossed from South Arabia to Africa, returned to the tribal home, and made themselves masters of the Government. These Abyssinians were largely Christians, and the Christian religion was in this way introduced into South Arabia. But dark days dawned for the Christians. After the destruction of Jerusalem a number of Jews made their way to South Arabia. Through the influence of a Jew whose name is given as Dhu Nuwas the Himyarites regained the ascendancy, and the Christians were subjected to cruel persecution. Thus things continued till in 525 the Abyssinians, through the support of Constantinople, regained power. This led the old anti-Christian nobility to invoke the aid of the Persians, who overthrew the Abyssinians in 575, and set up a government in Yemen, dependent on Persia. Fifty years later came the Moslems, who conquered the whole Peninsula, and led a movement from Arabia far surpassing in influence and extent any migration of former times.

Such is Dr. Weber's survey of the history of Arabia to the days of Mahomet. It is only now that the secrets of the land are being disclosed. It is to be hoped that what has been revealed is but the beginning.

Professor König's volume supplies a good example of critical controversy in the hands of a capable and reasonable

German scholar. Professor Hommel has claimed for Arabia certain place-names which, with general consent, were wont to be assigned to other lands. In certain quarters this view of the Munich Orientalist has not met with the favour which had been expected for it. Professor Hommel has indicated his dissatisfaction with the result, and in this connexion has mentioned the name of Professor König. This has brought the Bonn professor into the field, and he sets himself to discover the proper historical point of view for the settlement of the question in dispute. Everything depends on the attainment of the proper point of view. "Two men observing the same object will describe it diversely, according to the point of view from which either beholds it; in the eyes of one, it shall be a fair prospect, to the other a barren waste, and neither may see aright." Whether Professor König has succeeded remains to be seen. To some of his conclusions assent may, without much difficulty, be conceded. Others suggest doubts or raise questions. And it may be assumed that the end of the matter has not yet been reached.

The five place-names mentioned by Weber (assigned by him, as by Hommel, to Arabia), and discussed by König, are Ashur, Mutzran, 'Eber han-nahar, Kush, and Aribi (יִרְבִּי).

Ashur and Ashurim, in the Old Testament, have generally been assigned to the empire whose capital was Nineveh. But in Gen. xxv. 3, Ashurim (אַשּׁוּרִים) designate a tribe sprung from Jokshan, a son of Abraham by Keturah. And König agrees with Hommel that the home of this tribe was in North-West Arabia, bordering on Edom. But whereas the Bonn professor doubts whether this tribe is mentioned elsewhere in the Old Testament (p. 9), Hommel holds that, in the passages discussed, not merely אַשּׁוּרִים, but שׁוּר and גִּשּׁוּר should be explained of the Semitic tribe referred to in Gen. xxv. 3.

The term מִצְרַיִם as found in the Old Testament has been with general consent referred to Egypt, the kingdom of the Pharaohs on the Nile. But the Arabian inscriptions referred to in the preceding article reveal a province of the ancient

Minnæan kingdom which lay along the north of the Elanitic Gulf, corresponding almost with the Biblical Midian. The name of this province was Mutzran; and the question is, whether in the passages discussed, the term מצרים should not be applied to this province in Northern Arabia, rather than to Egypt. Hommel says, *yes*, and König generally disagrees. This part of the discussion is interesting because it raises a question regarding the locality of the oppression of Israel prior to the Exodus. Was the country of the oppression not the Egypt of the Nile, but the Mutzran on the east of the Elanitic Gulf? In this connection Joel iv. 19 is of importance. In this passage מצרים is associated with אדום in an unjust assault on Judah. Whatever date may be assigned to Joel, the hostility of Edom is easily understood. But where, in the Old Testament, do we find a Mitzraim that could, on any probable view, be associated with Edom, as in this passage of Joel, unless it were the place of Israel's bondage prior to the Exodus under Moses? [On the question, whether Israel started on their journey to Canaan not from Egypt proper, but from such a district as Mutzran of the Minnæan inscriptions, *vid. Encycl. Bib.*, art. "Exodus," by Cheyne.] A third question is to determine the reference in the expression 'Eber han-nahar. In the Old Testament נהר, as a proper noun, is understood to apply to the Euphrates. To one stationed in Palestine 'Eber han-nahar would suggest a district to the east of that river. And König holds that Abraham was most probably designated the Hebrew (העברי) because he had emigrated to the western regions of Asia from Haran which lay to the east of the Euphrates. According to Hommel the expression arose in Babylonia at a time when Palestine was a province of Babylon; in other words, in the time of the Khammurabi dynasty, when Abraham, the Hebrew (ha-'Ibri), migrated "from the other side of the river". The name is thus connected with the appearance of Abraham in Canaan. Hommel holds that in the Old Testament the expression 'Eber han-nahar is *nowhere* used of Mesopotamia, but always of the *western* bank of the Euphrates. (*Ancient Hebrew*

Tradition, etc., pp. 257-8, 324.) The *nahar* may be that of the Wādi Sirhân which flows to the east of the Arabian Ashur and Edom.

The fourth place is Kûsh, which, in a number of passages referred to, Hommel finds in Central Arabia; König supports the old view that Ethiopia to the south of Egypt is meant.

Perhaps the least probable of Hommel's conclusions discussed by König is that which concerns the kingdom of Aribi (the fifth place-name), to which Hommel finds a reference in Hos. v. 13, x. 6. In the cuneiform inscriptions references occur to a district—a kingdom, named Aribi—governed by queens, which was tributary to Assyria. This country, according to Hommel, bordered on Ashur-Edom. He thinks that it was a queen of this Aribi that visited Solomon (1 Kings x. 1): if so, this district would be the home of the Sabæans.

But how can the יָרֵב of Hosea be identified with this North-Arabian Aribi? The orthographical difficulty is got over by an appeal to a practice among the Assyrians to omit an initial *yod* in a case of this kind: hence the Jareb of Hosea becomes the Aribi of the inscriptions. The objections to such an explanation of Hosea are serious. Apart from the question of orthography just referred to, Hos. v. 13 raises a grammatical difficulty, partly from the parallelism, and partly from the absence of the article with מֶלֶךְ. In Hos. x. 6 there is a more serious difficulty. The *Ashur* of the verse, according to Hommel, is the North-Arabian *Ashur*, and the *King Jareb* is the King of Aribi, bordering on Ashur. What is meant? To which country was the calf of Samaria to be brought as a trophy of conquest, a gift in honour of the conqueror? To Ashur? or to Aribi? König's criticism here is to the point. He holds it to be obvious that the expressions Ashur and Jareb do not represent two distinct countries, and that Ashur and Melekh Jareb indicate Assyria, and its great king (p. 65). There can scarcely be a doubt but that König is correct. Assyria proper was the great world-power when Hosea wrote. That power was threatening the northern kingdom with invasion and overthrow. In these circumstances, to explain the

prophet's words by an Ashur and Aribi in Arabia, whose existence as separate dominions at the time is doubtful, and of whose power (assuming their existence) to threaten Israel with overthrow we have no information, is to fly in the face of well-accredited history, and to render all but impossible an intelligent exposition of the words of a prophet who, more than most prophets, sought to save his country from an actually impending doom.

In the excursus on Paradise König declines to accept the site proposed by Hommel. The theory of the latter is that the first and second rivers (Pison and Gihon) refer to the Central Arabian Wādis, Er-rumma and Dawāsir, which are lost in the sands of the Arabian desert. The name of the third river, Hiddekel, generally regarded as the Tigris, Hommel explains as the Palm-Wādi [Arab. Khadd = Wādi, and diḡlah = palm]. This he identifies with the Wādi Sirhān which passes by the east of the North-Arabian Ashur. The fourth river is, of course, the Euphrates.

There are serious objections to this view. In the first place it is scarcely probable that the term Nahar (נהר), which is used in the Old Testament text, would be applied to Wādis which disappear in the wilderness. Nahal (נחל) would be expected, in accordance with the usage. (Of course it is possible that these Wādis were originally streams, worthy of the name נהר: but a conjecture of that kind does not furnish a proper basis for an important conclusion.) But in the second place there is a geographical objection of greater importance. According to Gen. ii. 8 the garden was planted *eastward* (מקדם) in Eden. It may be presumed that the Hebrews took their Paradise tradition with them when they left Ur of the Chaldees, and we should expect the site of the garden to lie east of that place; in other words, east of the Euphrates. According to Hommel the Paradise-stream was the Shatt-El-Arab, and the four heads into which, according to the Old Testament narrative, the stream was parted, were four arms of the Shatt-El-Arab. If the expression *eastward* is used in its ordinary and natural sense,

the site of Paradise should be looked for on the east side of the Euphrates. But, according to Hommel, the districts mentioned in connexion with Paradise all lay to the west of the Euphrates, and are found in Arabia. Havilah is North-Eastern Arabia, the hinterland of Bahrein. Ashur is in the north-west of Arabia, bordering on Edom. Kush is in Central Arabia. Hommel's answer to the question "Where lay Paradise?" cannot be said to be made good. König is justified in looking for the site on the east of the Euphrates. But the Bonn professor looks northwards as well as eastwards. In Gen. xxix. 1 we read that Jacob, when he left Bethel, journeyed to the land of the people of the East (בני-קדם). His road lay to the north-east. And König follows his example, and searches for the site of Paradise in the still little known region in which lie the sources of the Euphrates and the Tigris, with which the early history of the race is closely associated (*cf.* the narrative of the flood), and from which the Aramæans, according to Amos (ix. 7), started on their special mission among the nations. In that same district, in all probability, according to Hebrew tradition, stood the mountain of God to which Isaiah refers (Isa. xiv. 13 f.). To the Hebrews, accepting such a tradition, a more probable site could not easily be suggested for that garden which God planted for the race at the beginning.

So much at present, more may be said in the future. The reader must turn to Professor König's little volume for the details of his argument. One passage may be referred to in order to show the importance of the point of view which he sets himself to determine for us. Numbers xxiv. 22 is an important verse, and supplies a good example of the kind of discussion which has now to be faced. The words, as in the R.V., run thus: "Nevertheless Kain [*m.* the Kenites] shall be wasted, until [*m.* how long?] Ashur shall carry thee away captive". Hommel speaks of this and the following verses as the most noteworthy of all the passages in the Old Testament, which contain a reference to the ancient Ashur in South Palestine.¹ König says *No*. He holds that a

¹ *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, etc., Eng. Trans., p. 245.

conquering power is referred to which may be expected, sooner or later, to overcome the Kenites, and annex their territories. Such a power he holds to be the Assyrian proper, and in support of his view he refers to the words of verse 23: "Alas, who shall live when God doeth this [m. establisheth him]?" These words König explains in connexion with 2 Kings xviii. 25, where the King of Assyria claims that he was sent against Jerusalem by Jehovah (*cf.* Isa. x. 5, ff.). The question of the point of view at once arises. If the historical point of view is that of the days of Isaiah, König's argument is good. At that time the Assyrians of the Tigris were in the field and were recognised as the great world-power of the day. And if a prophetic utterance in which Ashur was depicted as a conquering power claimed the attention of Isaiah or his contemporaries, the Ashur, whose capital was Nineveh, and which filled the prophetic horizon of the time, would naturally be thought of. The Balaam prophecy of Num. xxiv. belongs to JE, the earliest of the critics' documents, which appeared not long before Isaiah's day. But Hommel's point of view is that of the Exodus period. "This whole prophecy," he says, "owes all its significance to the fact that it was delivered in the Mosaic period."¹ And the question is—Was Assyria proper known to Moses and his contemporaries as a conquering power, which would one day swallow up the Kenites? If not, and if Ashur must still be the Ashur of the Tigris, have we in Num. xxiv. a piece of prediction pure and simple, without a historical basis in the circumstances and knowledge of Israel at the time?

GEO. G. CAMERON.

¹ *Ancient Hebrew Tradition, etc.*, Eng. Trans., p. 248.

Notices.

WE have also to notice a new and revised edition, the fifth, of Dr. G. Vance Smith's volume on *The Bible and its Theology*,¹ dealing with the Scriptures, Christian doctrine, the Person and the Work of Christ, and the popular Christian belief, from the standpoint of free criticism and Unitarian theology, in the same way as in the earlier editions, but bringing the discussions of these great questions up to date so as to grapple not only with the positions of writers like Dr. Dale and Canon Liddon, but with those also of the writers of *Lux Mundi* and others; *The Ground of Faith*,² by the Rev. R. S. Mylne, M.A., B.C.L., a series of five sermons preached in the Cathedral Church of Bangor, on the great topics of the Word of God, the Cross of Christ, Divine Worship, the Primitive Church and the Faith of Christ, simple and direct in style, and giving devout and emphatic expression to the supreme importance of faith and the great verities with which it is conversant; a brief monograph on Pascal's views of knowledge and faith, *Wissen und Glauben bei Pascal*,³ by Dr. Kurt Wurmuth, giving a characterisation of Pascal, first as the mathematician and then as the Jansenist, and furnishing a good statement and analysis of the main points in his theory of the relations of knowledge and truth, his conceptions of God, Christ, original sin, etc.; *Das menschliche Personenleben und der christliche Glaube nach Paulus*,⁴ by Dr. Alexander Röhrich of Bonn, an examination of the Pauline teaching of man's nature, sin, the Person of Christ, the Spirit, baptism, faith, regeneration, good

¹ London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. + 331. Price 3s. 6d. net.

² London: Elliot Stock, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 90. Price 2s. 6d. net.

³ Berlin: Reimer, 1902. 8vo, pp. viii. + 56. Price M.1.50.

⁴ Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 155. Price 2s. 6d. net.

works, the final appearing of Christ, the hope of the end, etc., carefully done, and of undoubted value, but in the case of many of the discussions too brief to admit of very adequate treatment; a new edition of the first volume of the late Professor Wilhelm Moeller's *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*,¹ a book which most students of Church history, and especially teachers of it, have learned to value greatly and which ought to prove more acceptable and useful even than it has been, revised as it is and carefully brought up to date by Professor Hans von Schubert of Kiel; a brief, appreciative, interesting sketch of *Lord Shaftesbury, Peer and Philanthropist*,² by R. Ed. Pengelly; two stories by Florence Witts, *The Sisters of Trenton Manse*,³ and *In the Day of His Power*,⁴ both written in a bright, attractive style, elevating and instructive; the twenty-third volume of *Young England*,⁵ an annual which has had a long and prosperous career and which continues to be so admirably conducted as to ensure for it a wide welcome among our youth; *The Girls' Empire*,⁶ an annual intended for English-speaking girls all over the world, one which we can cordially recommend as eminently suited to interest and instruct those whose intellectual profit it has specially in view; *Joseph and Moses, the Founders of Israel*,⁷ a new volume by the author of *How to read the Prophets*, expounding those parts of the book of Genesis which are held to be essentially prophetic, and setting forth the prophetic teaching in those parts—a book well and care-

¹ Dritte (Schluss-) Abtheilung. Zweite Auflage. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. xx. + 465-842. Price 8s. net.

² London: The Sunday School Union. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 128. Price 1s.

³ London: The Sunday School Union. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 159. Price 1s. 6d.

⁴ London: The Sabbath School Union. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 143. Price 1s.

⁵ London: The Sunday School Union. Pp. iv. + 494. Price 5s.

⁶ London: Andrew Melrose. Pp. iv. + 480. Price 5s.

⁷ Being their lives as read in the light of the oldest Prophetic writings of the Bible. By the Rev. Buchanan Blake, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiv. + 265. Price 4s.

fully written, reproducing in a clear and telling way the narratives of Judah and Israel in their proper historical setting and their spiritual significance; the second volume of *Boys of our Empire*,¹ a magazine very ably conducted by Howard H. Spicer, richly illustrated, full of varied, useful and entertaining matter and deservedly popular among boys throughout the English-speaking world; a pamphlet by the Rev. George W. Sprott, North Berwick, entitled *The Doctrine of Schism in the Church of Scotland*,² being the Macleod Memorial Lecture for 1902, in which some interesting historical particulars are given, while the principle of the Church's unity and the differences of certain eminent divines in Scotland and on the Continent are applied in a way which would leave little or no liberty of action in critical times beyond mere protest; *Through Roman Spectacles*,³ an instructive volume by J. Alexander Clapperton, M.A., consisting mainly of articles reprinted from the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, in which under the headings of the "Soldier," the "Father," "Money," "Woman," the "Empire," the "Slave," the "Roman Boy," etc., important points in ancient Latin law and custom are explained and applied to the illustration of the New Testament.

There are some notable articles in the October issue of *Mind*. Particular attention will be drawn to the opening paper by Mr. F. H. Bradley on "The Definition of Will"—the first of a series of three which have it as their object to explain and defend the definition of will given on former occasions by the writer. The discussion keeps within the region of empirical psychology, and deals with the will which is "known and experienced as such". A volition is described as "the self-realisation of an idea with which the self is identified," and "in psychology there is in the end no will except in the sense of volition". The use of the phrase "a standing will" is admitted to be legitimate in the sense in which we speak of a "standing belief" or "a

¹ London: Andrew Melrose. Pp. 836. Price 7s. 6d.

² Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. Pp. 65.

³ London: C. H. Kelly, 1902. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 155. Price 1s. 6d.

permanent attention" "where for the moment we are not supposed to be actually attending". But it is affirmed that in the proper sense there is "no actual will except in volitions". Thus "will is action outward or inward, but on the other hand not every action is really will". In these articles Mr. Bradley is to endeavour to remove certain mistakes in the hope of recommending his view of will as one that is sustained by the overwhelming testimony of language and experience. Among the minor papers there is an interesting discussion of the "Notion of Order," by E. T. Dixon.

The *International Journal of Ethics* for October opens with a paper of a popular order on "Criticism of Public Men," by Waldo L. Cook, of Springfield, Mass. There is also a paper of more general interest on "The Pampered Children of the Poor," by Ida M. Metcalf. Mr. A. J. Taylor, of Owens College, Manchester, contributes a very readable and suggestive article on "Mind and Nature," which deals with the notion of "unperceived material existence," and vindicates the application of the categories of personal and social life to the realm of physical nature. The whole question is considered from the standpoint of everyday thought, not from that of ultimate metaphysical issues, and the conclusion is that we have "reason to regard the world of physical nature itself as composed of beings of an intelligent and purposive kind, and thus far akin to our own inner life". There is an acute discussion also of the ethics of Nietzsche and Guyan by Alfred Fouillée.

In the fourth part of the third volume of the ably conducted Danish Journal, *Teologisk Tidsskrift*, we notice good articles by A. G. S. Prior, on "the Epistle to the Romans" (its integrity, etc.), and Ch. Nielsen on 1 Cor. xv. 29 ("baptised for the dead").

The third issue of the *Revue Néo-Scholastique* for the year contains good papers by G. Simons on "Le principe de raison suffisante en Logique et en Metaphysique"; L. Noël on "La Philosophie de la Contingence"; G. R. Woad on "The Philosophy of Professor Grote of Cambridge," etc.

The *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, v. 3, is rich in matter relating to the history and literature of religions, W. Geiger writing on "Buddhistische Kunstmythologie"; Ed. Lehmann on "The Later Avesta"; Bruno Meissner on "Babylonische Bestandtheile in modernen Sagen und Gebräuchen," etc.

In the *Methodist Review* for Sept.-Oct., the "Theology of Horace Bushnell" is expounded by Professor G. B. Stevens of Yale, who takes his special contribution to religious thought to have been chiefly in these four points: his theory of church life, his theory of theological knowledge, his idea of the supernatural, and his ethical interpretation of the Atonement. Professor König of Bonn, in an article with the title "Was the Religion in Abraham's Native Country Monotheistic?" meets the arguments of F. Hommel, Friedrich Delitzsch, and W. F. Warren in support of the position that Abraham brought monotheism with him from his native country and that the monotheism of the Old Testament was borrowed from the Babylonian religion. He recognises how President Warren's position differs in method and in aim from that of the others, but regards it as equally inadequate. President Warren gives a brief reply, reaffirming his view that the ineffable Hebrew name *Jahve* was developed from a shorter divine name found among the Babylonians.

The October number of the *Journal of Theological Studies* opens with a criticism of "Contentio Veritatis," by Professor Sanday, in which special attention is given to the essays of Messrs. Rashdall and Inge, while the inadequacies and overstatements in Mr. Allen's paper on "Modern Criticism and the New Testament" are pointed out with a firm though considerate hand. Dr. Barnes contributes a "Study of the First Lesson for Christmas Day" (Isaiah ix. 1-7); Dr. Strong continues his elaborate "History of the Theological Term 'Substance'"; and under the title of "Psychology and Religion," Mr. C. C. J. Bebb gives an able criticism of Professor James's "The Varieties of Religious Experience," very favourable and appreciative on the whole. The smaller papers are also of interest, e.g., one by Mr. F. C. Burkitt, on the "Interpretation of 'Bar-Jesus,'" also one by Dr. C.

Taylor on "The Pericope of the Adulteress" (John vii. 53-viii. 11), calling attention (after Professor Nestle) to a parallel in the earlier *Didascalia* and pointing to certain things which appear to indicate that the Pericope was known to the author of the *Shepherd of Hermas*.

The current issue of the *Church Quarterly Review* begins with a readable but rather slight paper on "Religion in Oxford," which is followed by an able article on "Lamarck, Darwin and Weismann". The elaborate papers on "The Holy Eucharist" and "Missions to Hindus" are continued, the historical inquiry in the case of the former being brought down to the death of Edward VI. in 1553, and bringing out the fact that at that period "those who were prominent and held high office in the Church of England had ceased to believe that the consecrated bread and wine are the Body and Blood of Christ, and that in the Eucharist there is a sacrifice of Christ's Body and Blood". Among other papers we notice one on "Education and Religious Liberty," in which the Education Bill is again discussed, but without any proper appreciation of the principles at the foundation of the determined opposition to it. Perhaps the best contribution to the number is the article on "Criticism, Rational and Irrational," which deals with the *Dictionary of the Bible*, the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and the new volumes of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and says some plain things about the fanciful and unscientific character of much of the work of Canon Cheyne, Professor Schmiedel and their associates.

The *Hibbert Journal*, which is projected as a Quarterly Review of Religion, Theology and Philosophy, and is published by Messrs. Williams and Norgate under the editorial care of Messrs. L. P. Jacks and G. Dawes Hicks, starts on its career with a number which contains several articles of mark, and in its general contents answers well to the idea of the enterprise. The reviews of books, of which there is a fair selection, are done with much care, and are really informing. The article that will probably be felt by most readers to be most attractive is one by Dr. Stopford Brooke on "Matthew Arnold, a poet of fifty years ago," in

which much is admirably well said of the respects in which Arnold was unfortunate in the time when he began to be a poet, the Stoic elements in his poetry, the note of sadness for himself and for the world that broke down his Stoicism, the way in which he dealt with the problem of life, etc. The most profound and searching paper is contributed by Professor Royce of Harvard on "The Concept of the Infinite". The concluding article is also one of great interest. It takes the form of a symposium on "Catastrophes and Moral Order," the writers being Professor G. H. Howison, the Rev. R. A. Armstrong, and the Rev. Dr. R. F. Horton. The first of these writers takes refuge in a new idealism which would refer Nature and all its woes derivatively to minds, but would present these "as the minds other than God". The second looks to the spiritual experience of the individual man as the main trust of Theism in face of all mysteries of pain and evil. The third thinks we have the solution in our own hands, inasmuch as we can triumph over them in mind and transform them. As to the other articles, the opening one on "The Basis of Christian Doctrine," by Professor Percy Gardner, is essentially a development of the principle that there is no enduring foundation for doctrinal construction except observation and experience. The discussion is marred by an occasional lack of precision in the use of terms. Professor Gardner uses the term *Soteriology*, e.g., but means by that the doctrine of man. Sir Oliver Lodge's article on "The Outstanding Controversy between Science and Faith," brings us only to the conclusion that there can be no complete reconciliation between science and faith until the opposite answers given by orthodox modern science on the one hand, and religion of all times on the other, to the question whether we live in a universe permeated with life and mind, are made consistent. Mr. F. C. Conybeare attempts to prove, as against Westcott and Hort, that there *were* "Early Doctrinal Modifications of the Gospels": the instances which he adduces being Matt. i. 16, xxviii. 19; Matt. xix. 17=Mark x. 18=Luke xviii. 19. The argument is not likely to convince many. It proceeds all through on a depreciation

of the best testimony within our reach, *viz.*, the oldest MSS. and on the theory that we have better witnesses in the versions even when the manuscripts in which we possess them differ widely among themselves, and in Patristic quotations even though the texts of most of the Fathers are admitted to be in many cases uncertain. Some strange assertions are made, *e.g.*, that we "have no codex older than the year 400, if so old". There are minor inaccuracies in Mr. Conybeare's article which surprise one. The well-known discoverer of the Sinaitic Syriac codex appears as Mrs. Lewes. The verb to *mean* gets the form "meaned" as its past. Principal James Drummond begins an able and careful examination of the use of the phrase "Righteousness of God" in St. Paul's epistles. The type and printing of the new Journal are delightful.

The current number of the *American Journal of Theology* opens with an article by F. B. Jevons of Durham on "The Fundamental Principles of the Science of Religion," which makes rather stiff reading. Professor G. B. Stevens, of Yale, follows with a paper on the question, "Is there a self-consistent New Testament Eschatology?" which is dealt with in an interesting, scholarly and discriminating way, although the difficulty of bringing the various statements into harmony is perhaps made greater than it is. In the varied and instructive matter that makes up the rest of the number we notice specially an article by Professor Karl Budde on "The Old Testament and the Excavations". It is vigorously written and deserves attentive reading. Many things are excellently well put in it, and it recalls critics to a sense of the reasonable, the patient and the restrained in their investigations and still more in their publications. The faults of the new edition of Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Old Testament*, for which Winckler is responsible, are very plainly stated, and in this Professor Budde does a real service to science.

Record of Select Literature.

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- HARPER, A. The Song of Solomon, with Introduction and Notes. London: Macmillan. 12mo, pp. li. + 96. 1s.6d.
- CURTISS, Samuel Ives. Primitive Semitic Religion of Today. A Record of Researches, Discoveries and Studies in Syria, Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula. London: Hodder and Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 288. 6s. net.
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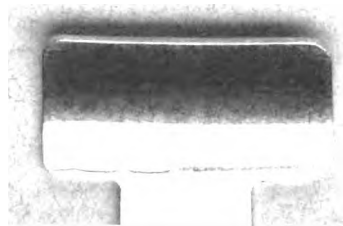
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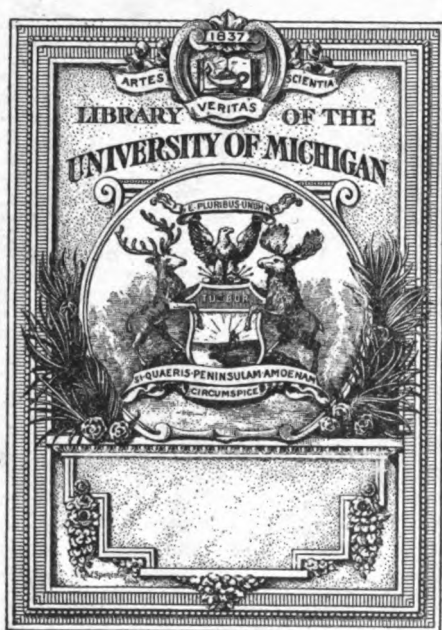
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The Present Position of the Philosophy of Spinoza.¹

THE reissue of two of the standard English works upon the philosophy of Spinoza and the publication of a new and able work upon the same theme seem to furnish a suitable occasion for a brief review of recent English discussions of Spinoza.

There could perhaps be no better evidence of the many-sidedness of Spinoza than is to be found in the very various characters of the men who made him widely known in England. The first of these was George Henry Lewes. His earliest account appeared in 1845 in his *Biographical History of Philosophy*, and it was afterwards extended and revised in his *History of Philosophy* published in 1867. Lewes, to adopt a phrase of De Quincey's regarding Bayle, was a spirited litterateur rather than a philosopher. But his life in Germany and his knowledge of Lessing and Goethe had probably given him from the first a higher idea of Spinoza's work than he might otherwise have had. Later this impression must have been deepened by his association with George Eliot. During the eighteen months that followed their marriage George Eliot translated the *Ethics*, as earlier she had translated part at least of the *Tractatus-Theologico-Politicus*. Her translation was never published, why I do not know. Partly at least, I fancy, because of the sense she had that the best translation of such a work was only the beginning of what one wished to

¹ *Spinoza, His Life and Philosophy*. By Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart., Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford. Second Edition. London: Duckworth & Co., 1899. Demy 8vo, pp. xxiv. + 427. Price 8s. net.

Spinoza. By John Caird, LL.D., Late Principal of the University of Glasgow. Cheap Edition. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1901. Crown 8vo, pp. 315. Price 1s.

A Study of the Ethics of Spinoza (Ethica Ordine Geometrico Demonstrata). By Harold H. Joachim, Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1901. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 316. Price 10s. 6d. net.

achieve. The problem still remained, how to translate it into the thought of to-day, how to bring home its real meaning to the modern reader. Be this as it may, Lewes's account was sympathetic and useful. The next to take in hand the work of popularising Spinoza was a writer of a very different sort, F. D. Maurice. His first sketch appeared in 1847 in the *Encyclopædia of Mental Philosophy*. It was entirely rewritten for Part iv. of the *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy* which was issued in 1862. Maurice's interest was always theological and he never disguised the fact. But though his book has gone very much into the background of late his sketch of Spinoza is still well worth reading. The spirit of the writer is so admirable, his love of truth so real, and there is an occasional gleam of genius one would have been sorry to miss. Specially worthy of attention is the account of the *Cogitata Metaphysica*, which is the best that I know in English, and sets before us vividly that earlier stage of Spinoza's thought. The feeling throughout is most sympathetic. This man's face, Maurice seems to say, was turned earnestly towards that better country whither doubtless he has now arrived. The two writers I have still to name were even less of professional philosophers than those already named, but they probably did more to make Spinoza known among ourselves. They were James Anthony Froude and Matthew Arnold. Froude was first in the field with an article in the *Westminster* in 1855, which seemed to George Eliot an admirable account of Spinoza's doctrines. In 1867 it was reissued in the first volume of the *Short Studies* and there made its appeal to a wider circle. Froude's point of view is that of an intellectual scepticism. Spinozism he thinks the logical consequence of Calvinism, but he cannot accept it as demonstrated. Power of demonstration, like all other power, can be judged only by its effect. Does it prove? Does it produce conviction? If not, it is nothing. We must trust to conscience rather than intellect. Practical answers are all we can get. In researches into the Absolute we are on a road that ends nowhere. In reading Froude one feels how deeply he has been impressed by Newman. The style is derived from

Newman, and the mental attitude is Newman's with something left out. Matthew Arnold's general position was not very different from Froude's and seems to be equally the outcome of Newman's influence, though what he took and what he left are not quite the same as in Froude's case. Arnold wrote repeatedly about Spinoza in the early sixties. What he wished to preserve was published in the *Essays in Criticism* in 1865. The essay there printed is so far supplementary to Froude's, dealing as it does with the critical rather than the metaphysical side of Spinoza's work. Arnold was interested in Spinoza, partly because of the spirit of the man, partly because he could put him to a polemical use, making his exposition the vehicle for certain ideas he wished to impress on his public. He did not pretend to understand Spinoza fully, and so far as he understood his doctrines he confessed that they were not his. Nevertheless the essay is still good to read. It pulsates with reverence for the outcast Jew and it is literature. Perhaps to these four writers should be added one much less widely known, Mr. Hunt, who in his *Essay on Pantheism*, published in 1866, gave a careful and sympathetic sketch of Spinoza's philosophy. These then were the forerunners of the revival of Spinoza among ourselves. The first book devoted to the subject was Dr. Willis's *Spinoza, His Life, Correspondence, and Ethics*, published in 1870. The translation of the Letters and the Ethics has been superseded, but in the earlier part of the book there is much that is still worth reading and a good deal of information given about the influence of Spinoza in the later developments is not easily accessible elsewhere. The first epoch of the study of Spinoza in this country may be said to close with the famous sermon preached by Dr. Jowett in Edinburgh in 1871, not long after his election to the Mastership of Balliol, when he scandalised the orthodox citizens by setting Bunyan and Spinoza side by side as men who had arrived by different roads, if not quite, yet nearly, at a common end.

With 1874, the year of *The Methods of Ethics* and the *Introduction to Hume*, we pass to another epoch in English philosophy. The first of the new men to write on Spinoza

was Edward Caird in his article on "Cartesianism," published in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in 1876, and reissued in his *Essays on Literature and Philosophy* in 1892. It was the first discussion from a master hand, and it is still the only brief account of the development from Descartes through Malebranche to Spinoza. In the latest work on the subject one still sees distinct traces of its influence. During the years that followed the philosophers were busy with Spinoza. Of minor discussions during that time one ought to note Flint's too short account in the *Anti-Theistic Theories* of 1879, original, critical, acute, putting stress on the non-Cartesian sources; Veitch's polemic in his *Introduction to Descartes*, published in the same year, hostile in spirit, denying Spinoza to be the logical outcome of Descartes, but making less impression than it might have done because of the unintended violence of the style; Green's discussion of the political doctrine in his posthumous *Philosophical Works* (1886), reissued in the *Lectures on Political Obligation*, a very fine criticism, not to be neglected; Karl Pearson's article on "Maimonides and Spinoza" in his *Ethic of Freethought* (1887), questioning the traditional view of the relation of Spinoza to the Jewish philosophy and maintaining the Hebrew origin of many of his ideas; Boedder's examination, in his *Natural Theology* (1891), of the first six propositions of the *Ethics*, acute, remorseless, unsympathetic, in counsel-for-the-prosecution style; Fraser's discussion in the first series of his lectures on the *Philosophy of Theism* (1895), calm, thoughtful, laying stress characteristically on the ethical difficulties; Croom Robertson's excellent sketch in his posthumously published *Elements of General Philosophy* (1896), specially valuable for the careful working out of the affiliation with Descartes. To these one ought to add Mr. Hale White's Prefaces to his translation of the *Ethics* (1883 and 1894), and the paper by the same writer in Mark Rutherford's *Pages from a Journal* (1900). These stand by themselves and make an appeal of their own. They are the words of one who has gone to the *Ethics* as to a Gospel or an *Imitatio Christi*, and has found there something that helped him to live. Of

translations there are Mr. White's version of the *Ethics* issued in 1883, and revised by Miss Stirling for the edition of 1894, and a version of the *De Intellectus Emendatione* by the same translators. Alongside of these one must range the two volumes of Mr. Elwes, first published in 1884 and containing the chief works. The only thing to be regretted is that the *Cogitata* and the *De Deo et Homine* were not included. One would welcome a supplementary volume containing them and perhaps the *Principia* as well.

But it is time to say something of the more important contributions that have been made to our knowledge of Spinoza during this period. Three writers have written at length and expressly on the subject of Spinoza's philosophy: Sir Frederic Pollock in *Spinoza, His Life and Philosophy*, published in 1880 and reissued in 1899; Dr. Martineau in the *Study of Spinoza* published in 1882 and in the *Types of Ethical Theory* published in 1885; and Principal Caird in the volume on *Spinoza* in Blackwood's Philosophical Classics, issued in 1888 and republished recently. To praise the work of these three writers is almost an impertinence, but it may be worth while to attempt a brief characterisation of them. Pollock's philosophical position is not very far removed from that held, at one time at least, by Lewes. He has a strong sense of the many unsolved questions in science and of the way in which these are ever arising. Philosophy, he thinks, is as really provisional as science. No philosophy is final. In every philosophy there is a vital core of ideas which may help us somewhat. Spinoza himself does not want us to become Spinozists and neither does Pollock. Spinoza can at best be a schoolmaster to lead us to some form of idealism, perhaps to an idealist monism like Clifford's. As regards the relation of philosophy to practical ethics, morality is never in any danger from speculation, Spinoza's or any one else's. Speculation always follows practice. It seeks to give a rational account of a morality already familiar and established. There is no necessary connexion between metaphysic and morals, and the ethical practice of the community rests on a far firmer basis than can be obtained

from any metaphysical speculation, no matter how acute and subtle. What chiefly attracts Pollock to Spinoza is his affinity with modern science. Spinoza, he thinks, is as scientific as any modern philosopher whatever. The scholasticism is only on the surface, and it is because Spinoza is so much more than a dogmatic metaphysician that Pollock is so interested. He will not call him a pantheist because the term is so vague. He finds it indeed impossible to pigeon-hole Spinoza. His system is not naturalism, not materialism, not subjective idealism. He thinks the position that Spinozism is nothing more than the development of one side of the principles of Descartes untenable. The most striking points are unaccounted for by Cartesian sources. He regards Spinoza's system as a development of his theology, but doubts if Spinoza was aware how far the transformation went. Sir Frederic Pollock, lawyer though he be, is a man of poetical mind and eloquent speech, and his spirit is in the broadest sense truly religious. His book has been very evidently a labour of love, undertaken because he wished to write about these things; parts of it rise into literature, and there is probably no other book which gives at once so complete and so sympathetic a picture of Spinoza and his philosophy. It is disinterested, appreciative, persuasive.

Dr. Martineau has written at great length about Spinoza, and to get a full account of his views we must read the long section in the *Types* as well as the separately published *Study*. Dr. Martineau does not seem to have felt the personal attraction of Spinoza to any great degree, and his attitude on the whole is coldly critical, removed alike from homage and from horror. He will not claim Spinoza's vote for Theism. He counts him an intellectual Puritan whose world was an organism of absolute decrees. Some of the most impressive passages in the *Ethics* he regards as little better than logical thimble-rigging. He recognises indeed that Spinoza's moral ideal goes beyond his premises, but thinks this was because his Southern fervour sometimes got the better of his cold intellect. This critical attitude is the outcome of the fact

that Martineau finds the disinterested calm of Pollock impossible for him. He has a philosophy of his own—poles asunder from Spinoza's—in which he has every confidence, and he cannot help setting the true philosophy, as he thinks it, over against the false. Martineau's book thus forms a fine introduction to the criticism of Spinoza. His general view of the philosophy does not differ greatly from Pollock's though his attitude towards it is so different. As to the genesis of the doctrine, he will not agree that Spinoza was never a Cartesian, and he thinks a knowledge of Descartes indispensable for the understanding of Spinoza. He accordingly gives in the *Types* a long account of Descartes, and a very full account of Malebranche, the fullest indeed to be found in English. In the *Study* the biographical detail is somewhat greater than in Pollock, and the sections on Spinoza's Spanish ancestry and his theological Christian friends in Holland are the best accounts of these matters. Dr. Martineau has brought to bear alike on the sources and on the relevant literature all the weight of an acute but unsympathetic mind, and for long it will be impossible to neglect his work. The writing is on the whole more difficult to follow than Pollock's, and wants that literary glow which Martineau possessed in such measure when his heart was fired with passion for his theme.

Of the three writers under discussion Dr. Caird seems to me to come nearest to real affinity with the whole of Spinoza. He was himself, I believe, conscious of a strong sympathy with him, and those who knew him personally in any measure, who knew his love of truth, his faith in reason, his unselfishness of heart, his joy in life, his sense of God, could not but recognise how ideally he was fitted to write of Spinoza. And that this affinity was early discerned even by those who had no personal knowledge of him, there is a little bit of curious evidence I do not remember ever to have seen noticed. Mr. Hunt, in the Introduction to his *Essay on Pantheism*, tells us that the question of Pantheism and its relation to the received doctrines of Christianity was first raised in his mind by a passage in Dr. Caird's *Sermons*, in which he found an idea

against which Leibnitz had set his face as the very essence of the errors of Spinoza. It must always be regretted that Dr. Caird's book appeared in the shape that it did. The material he had prepared was found greatly to exceed the space at his command, and in consequence the whole of the biographical section and part of the exposition had to be omitted. No one could have painted that life with a more masterly hand, and it would have given scope not afforded by the book as it stands for some of his greatest gifts. The point of view is as appreciative as Pollock's but more critical. For Caird, as for Pollock, Spinoza is a schoolmaster to bring us to some sort of idealism. But the line taken is different, and the idealism that results is very different too. To my mind the most characteristic merit of the book is the way in which it refuses to sacrifice the distinctively ethical teaching of Spinoza to a mere logical adhesion to the principles most conspicuous in the earlier part of his theory. Caird feels that the ethical teaching was as real to Spinoza as anything in his philosophy, and that we do him a manifest injustice if we suppose it to have come in quite illegitimately, the mere offspring of feeling, without any real affinity to the metaphysic. Rather ought we to hold that the ethic proper has its roots deep down in the metaphysic, is indeed the logical result of ideas and principles stated there. Inconsistency must be admitted, but not between the ethic on the one side and the metaphysic on the other. The inconsistency is to be found within the metaphysic itself, where the elements on which the ethic is based most largely lie side by side with those that are pantheistic in character. This incoherence was hidden from Spinoza himself, but once we have seen it, we cannot but seek to free his philosophy from it, so far as we make it our own. The general standpoint of Dr. Caird's book is Hegelian, but this does not mean that the writer has gone to Spinoza with one or two formulas and applied them to the case in hand. Nothing could be more ridiculous to any one who knew the book and its author. Here we have a man deeply interested in a great writer studying that writer for himself and passing a judgment upon him that is all his

own. It is a striking token of the thoroughness with which the work was done that Croom Robertson, who belonged to a very different philosophical school, thought it superior to the other books we have noticed, and especially praised its exactness. Readers with a theological interest will probably find it the most stimulating of the three. Some of its finest things are to be found in the places where the author turns aside for a moment from his historical exposition and states a problem of philosophy or sketches an attitude of mind or a canon of criticism. One can only rejoice that so excellent a book should have been made so accessible.

Up till 1901 these three, Pollock, Martineau, and Caird, were the only writers on Spinoza to whom one could refer the English student, and admirable as all three were, there was something wanting which none of them supplied. They had all written more or less with the general reader in view, they had sought to give a picture of the philosophy as a whole, and a detailed exposition of Spinoza's masterpiece was for all of them impossible. There was no critical account seeking to do for Spinoza what had been so admirably done for Kant by Edward Caird's account of *The Critical Philosophy*. This lack Mr. Joachim's book supplies, and one cannot give it higher praise than to say that it is worthy to stand beside its predecessors. Mr. Joachim is, I believe, a nephew of the great violinist, a German who has made England his home and Oxford his Alma Mater, Fellow and Tutor of Merton College as Edward Caird was when he left for Glasgow more than thirty-five years ago. Mr. Joachim's standpoint strikes me as more purely historical than that of the earlier writers. He is anxious to say the best that can be said for Spinoza, yet is perfectly detached. One feels all through that he only wants to find out what Spinoza really thought. The picture given of the philosophy seems to me to come nearest to Caird's. The general philosophical attitude, as in the case of so many of the younger men, has been largely influenced by Bradley's *Appearance and Reality*. I can even imagine Mr. Joachim finding fault with my catalogue of English works on Spinoza on the ground that

I had omitted Mr. Bradley's book from the list, and if he urged that there one would find an exposition of many of the most characteristic Spinozist ideas and a point of view at least as Spinozist as Hegelian, one might readily admit that there was much to be said for this contention. Mr. Joachim is for the most part expository, and his critical matter is kept as far as may be apart from the rest. It is useless to attempt any detailed account of the book here. It is a student's book, and a summary however full would give only an imperfect impression of its value. I have found myself very largely in agreement with its results, and it seems to me a model of calm and well-balanced discussion. No serious student of Spinoza's philosophy will fail to make careful use of it. The exposition of the first book struck me as the freshest and most convincing part, but it is good all through and much of the exposition and criticism could scarcely be bettered. The only point of any importance on which I should be inclined to criticise Mr. Joachim has regard to the section dealing with the politics. That seems to me much too brief and quite inadequate. It is true that Spinoza does not dwell at length upon the matter, but I am persuaded that his political philosophy is much more closely linked with the ethical than the commentators have generally supposed. It is not something thrown in from the outside and connected in a merely mechanical way with the rest of the philosophy. The theories of Hobbes shed much more light on those of Spinoza than they seem at first to do. The political problem was in these days as serious a one as the scientific and the theological, and it was the most practically urgent of the three. The old restraints upon passion had been very commonly removed, and it was imperative that something should be found to take their place. This explains alike the political theory of Hobbes and Spinoza and the Calvinistic discipline of Geneva. If we think of Spinoza as sketching two different ethics, we are not to regard the lower as the outcome of his pantheism. Rather is it grounded in the circumstances of his time and follows broadly the only line open to the anti-clerical and

anti-Puritan. Its real roots are not pantheistic. They are inconsistent with pantheistic principles. I should have liked if Mr. Joachim had included in his list of commentaries Trendelenburg's two papers in his *Historische Beiträge*. The points are put with great force and skill there. Neither can I understand why no reference has been made to Kuno Fischer's very able exposition in the second volume of his *Geschichte*. Luminous and forcible, it commands the admiration of the reader, and the results reached are often in close agreement with Mr. Joachim's.

WILLIAM JOHNSTON.

[*Note.*—The revision of this paper was among the last things done by the lamented author. An unhappy bicycle accident brought a premature and unexpected end to a career that was full of promise, and left many mourning the loss of a valued scholar and a brother beloved.—EDITOR.]

Untersuchungen über die Entstehung des vierten Evangeliums.

Von Julius Grill, Dr. der Theologie und der Philosophie, ordentlich; Professor der Theologie in Tübingen. Erster Theil. Tübingen und Leipzig: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1902. Pp. 408. Price 8s.

ANOTHER work on the Fourth Gospel, the contents and the problems of which continue to exercise a never-failing fascination upon theologians. This book, by a Tübingen theologian whose name is unfamiliar on this side of the Channel, is marked by ample learning and scholarship, is pervaded by a truly reverent spirit, and covers a field pretty much its own. We know no book on the Fourth Gospel which follows just the same lines or brings into the field just the same equipment. Students of the Fourth Gospel, whether they receive it as the work of the Apostle John, or, like our author, hold it to be the intentionally anonymous production of a writer surrounded by a highly developed Gnosticism, have felt the need of a treatise exhibiting with some degree of clearness and exactitude the tendencies of current religious thought and intellectual speculation which may be supposed to have influenced the mind of the Evangelist. Professor Grill makes a valuable contribution towards the supply of the desideratum. "If we are to be placed in a position," he says in his Preface, "to obtain for the investigation of the circumstances of the origin and date of the Fourth Gospel, a broader, and if possible, a more definite and certain basis than is furnished by the historical and critical methods hitherto in use and especially by the production of Patristic witnesses, a twofold requirement must be met. We must first and foremost dig still deeper to the roots of the vivid presentation set before us, so as to ascertain with some measure of clearness what are the

properly fundamental and governing ideas of that Gospel, as well as the relation in which those ideas stand to one another and the connexion between them and the analogous ideas of the scientifically ordered system of thought pervading not only the religion of the Bible but that of classical and Oriental literature as well. An attempt in this direction is contained in the first part of my *Investigations* now in the hands of the reader." The second and indispensable requirement is that the Fourth Gospel be treated not merely from the point of view of the theologian but from that of the student of Comparative Religion also, for "the Fourth Gospel in the last resort is not a monument of the oldest Christian theology but a weighty testimony, in all its parts the direct product of the life of the period, to the oldest Christian religion". This complementary discussion, we understand, will follow in another volume. It is the governing ideas of the Gospel and their affinities with current religious conceptions which Professor Grill sets himself to investigate.

He begins with the Prologue. He first discusses the question of the relation of the Prologue to the whole Gospel. The prevailing view represented by Harnack, Wendt, Zahn, and others, is that the Prologue stands by itself at the beginning of the Gospel, a kind of introduction prefixed to the Gospel proper to secure the interest of readers versed in the conceptions of Greek philosophy. In opposition to this view, our author, following his master Weizsaecker (to whose memory this book is dedicated), contends strenuously, that the Prologue is no mere detached summary of the contents of the Gospel but lies at the foundation of the whole presentation of Jesus Christ which it contains. The Prologue in this view determines the entire scheme of the Gospel, and its fundamental conceptions form the texture of it—the Logos idea with which it opens being broken up into the two conceptions of Life and Light, which are introduced in the Prologue, and enter so largely into Christ's teaching regarding Himself and His redemption throughout the Gospel. It is true that Jesus never calls Himself the Logos. But His spoken discourses are framed on the assump-

tion that He is the Logos, the principle and highest organ of creation as well as of revelation. His words are Logos words as regards their source, their nature, their credibility, their effect, their object and the impression they were designed to make. Moreover, the Divine qualities ascribed to Jesus are those appropriate to the Logos, eternity, omniscience, omnipotence, and when He is represented as "The Son of man" and "The Son of God" in the Fourth Gospel, these titles are only rightly to be understood in the light of the Prologue and in turn serve to strengthen and follow up the thought which it contains. The Logos conception of the Prologue, becoming two separate threads represented by Life and Light according to the saying of the Evangelist,—*"In Him was Life and the Life was the Light of men,"*—runs through the whole Gospel and determines its presentation of Jesus Christ the Son of God. "Thereby," says our author, "is not the riddle of the peculiar character of the Fourth Gospel solved, but only the key found, the proper use of which opens up the profounder views we desiderate into the circumstances and facts connected with the origin of this Gospel. Further investigation has necessarily to do with the Prologue itself, and has to elucidate the question as to the roots of its fundamental ideas in order to make possible a more precise and historically determined judgment as to its nature and significance" (pp. 87-88).

This investigation is approached through a careful and instructive examination of the contents and connexion of thought of the Prologue itself. From the conceptions there examined that of the Logos stands out as most prominent, and the Evangelist handles it in a manner that suggests a theological speculation within his acquaintance, and that obviously the Logos doctrine of Philo of Alexandria. Our author has read the works of Philo for himself with a view to the inquiry how far the Evangelist is influenced by the Greek speculations of the Alexandrian Jew. Philonic parallels to the Prologue not a few are quoted, some of them presenting striking verbal likeness, and, even where the verbal likeness is less pronounced, considerable likeness in the

thought. Philonic parallels to the Gospel as a whole are next exhibited—Jesus presents Himself as a *Heavenly Being* (John iii. 13), as *Revealer of the Name, and Express Image of God* (xvii. 3, 26; xiv. 9), as *Omniscient* (i. 48), *Almighty* (iii. 35), *uninterruptedly at work* (v. 16, 17), as *from Eternity* (xvii. 5), as *God's Instrument* (xii. 49), as *exclusive Author of Salvation* (iii. 17), and in many other exalted and Divine relations, and Professor Grill matches every one of those references with parallels more or less striking from the Logos doctrine of Philo. Of the more general references to which parallels from Philo are quoted one of the most interesting is that to the Paraclete (pp. 133 ff.). It is not settled with any unanimity among scholars whether Philo's Paraclete is to be referred to the Logos or not, although our author, with Drummond (*Philo Judæus*, ii., 237-239), Heinze and others, thinks not. Still the use by Philo of the word *παράκλητος*, which is confined to the Johannine writings in the New Testament and which does not occur in the LXX at all, is of itself significant. The conclusion of the comparison is that while the parallels from Philo do not suffice to prove that the Evangelist adopts the idea and the word Logos from the Alexandrine philosopher, yet the number and variety of the echoes of Philo's teaching, distributed over the whole Gospel, must be held decisively to point in this direction. Striking, however, as the parallelism is, there are fundamental differences in the presentation of the Logos-conception by Philo and the Evangelist respectively. This leads to an examination of the roots of Philo's Logos-conception, and on the question whether Philo's Logos is a Person or an abstraction, Grill again agrees with Drummond in holding that it cannot be a Person. This view is confirmed by an inquiry into the antecedents of Philo's view of the Logos, first in the Old Testament where "the word" is never exalted to the actual character of a Person, although Philo's Logos is rather Divine Reason than Divine Word, and then in the Greek Philosophy from which Philo has borrowed the word and the thought, and only so far as is necessary and possible has brought it into connexion with the Jewish mode of conception and expression in the Old Testament.

The Wisdom teaching of the later Judaism is of special value in connexion with this inquiry, and a likening of σοφία to the λόγος in express terms seems to show that Philo identified the two. This identity is strengthened by the ascription to σοφία of the distinguishing features of the λόγος. It is the *Supreme Divine power*, it is the *original and archetypal revelation of the Divine*, it is the *highest ethical principle for men*. There are passages where a distinction is drawn between them, but it is only apparent, and, as Drummond says (ii., 207), in a quotation given in a note by Grill, "under pressure of allegorical interpretation". The Wisdom literature exhibits the transition from the Old Testament use of "the word" to the Logos of Philo, but we see the process of development in Aristobulus, in the Pseudo-Aristotelic writing *περὶ κόσμου*, and the Tragedian Ezekiel. Philo in fact found the Logos-conception in various degrees of personification stamped already upon the thought and literature current in religious circles in Alexandria, and adopted it in his own speculations. As far then as the Logos of the Fourth Gospel is concerned there can be no question that the Evangelist alike in the choice of a designation for the supreme organ of revelation and in the setting forth of His nature and office, laid hold of the Logos doctrine of the Alexandrian religious philosopher. How far the Logos of the Evangelist differs from the Logos of Philo is seen in the author's interesting discussion of the Word-Logos, the Personal Logos, the Divine Logos, and especially in the elucidation of this last.

In discussing the Logos of the Fourth Gospel and its antecedents our author sets himself to consider the attitude which the Gospel takes up to the doctrine of the wisdom of God as it is found in the Old Testament and the Jewish Alexandrian literature. It seems strange to a degree which requires explanation that, though the Fourth Gospel has its roots struck deep in the Old Testament and connects itself directly with Philo, it never once makes use of the word σοφία, though of course the Logos of the Evangelist in more directions than one exhibits the features of that cognate principle. To find the explanation Professor Grill examines

the other New Testament books where it occurs, giving a valuable study of the word as it appears in the Synoptists and St. Paul's epistles, and then proceeding to an inquiry as to the position and character of σοφία in Gnostic theories, including Basilides, Valentinus, Heracleon and Bardesanes. The discovery is made that σοφία takes a highly significant place in the Gnostic scheme, and appears with striking unanimity in all the Gnostic systems as a degraded idea. The secret of the Evangelist's silence on a subject so entirely within the scope of his thinking is now disclosed: he is writing his Gospel at a period and within a circle well acquainted with Gnostic speculations. Gnostic error had to be fought and overcome, and therefore he avoids giving the sanction of his authority to any particular of the hostile system by the use of one of its favourite words. But though on these grounds σοφία cannot be mentioned by name, a substitute for it is found in the unobjectionable and cognate ἀλήθεια. Whatever we may think of this view—and it appears fanciful in the extreme—we find again a suggestive and useful study of the word ἀλήθεια which also figures, though Grill might hold in a less degraded character, in the full-blown Gnosticism of Valentinus.

Our author next proceeds to deal with the fundamental conceptions of Life and Light as they are exhibited in the Prologue and throughout the Gospel. He traces their antecedents with great minuteness and care in Philo, referring back to the Greek philosophy, to Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics, and showing that in Philo Life is the fundamental conception and Light derived and secondary. He traces them also through the Gnostic Systems, comparing the teaching of the Vedas and the Orphic cosmogony, finding the same association of the two ideas and the same subordination of the one to the other in the Old Testament, while echoes of Old Testament utterances are found again in the Apocryphal and Pseud-epigraphic Jewish writings. Of more consequence as an antecedent of John i. 4 ("In Him was Life and the Life was the Light of men") is the development of the thoughts in the other New Testament writings. The idea of ζωή in

the Fourth Gospel in its theological and Christological aspects and afterwards in its soteriological bearing, is then expounded, and its relation to the $\zeta\omega\eta$ of 1 John distinguished, for Grill does not appear to regard 1 John as coming from the author of the Fourth Gospel. With $\phi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ goes $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ as an element in the representation of the Logos and a quality of which the saved in Christ are to be partakers.

Not the least instructive section of this treatise is that which discusses the teaching of the Fourth Evangelist on the subject of the Incarnation and its significance in the history of Revelation and Religion. The relation of the Incarnation of the Word in the Fourth Gospel to the histories of the Nativity in St. Matthew and St. Luke is examined, and St. Paul's view and that of the Fourth Gospel are carefully compared. The idea of an Incarnation of the Divine is then discussed from the point of view of the history of religion, in which the Incarnation of the Word does not stand alone, but has forerunners even if on an imperfect and rudimentary stage. In similar cases known to the history of religion there is always an essential element wanting to the full conception of the Incarnation as presented in the Fourth Gospel, and parallels showing this are adduced from classical and other mythologies. Professor Grill's studies in the Vedantic philosophy stand him in good stead in the effort to illustrate the Incarnation from the Avatar of the Indian God, Vishnu. There is, he holds, an undeniable formal similarity between the Indian Avatar conception and the Incarnation idea of the Fourth Gospel, a similarity rendered more worthy of consideration that in both the "Son of man" is referred to as properly and originally a Divine Being. It thus becomes a question whether, and how far, the Indian philosophy influenced the writer of the Fourth Gospel through Gnosticism. The reference to the serpent lifted up in the wilderness as a symbol of the "Son of man" lifted up upon the cross appears to Grill to be a setting forth of the true "Son of man" by the Evangelist in opposition to the fantastic "Son of man" of Ophite mysteries and superstition. However this may be, our author declares it is not from any

contact of the mind of the Evangelist with outside modes of thought nor from any purely polemical interest that we are to obtain a real explanation of the idea of the Incarnation of the Logos peculiar to the Gospel, and of the conception of the Son of man equally peculiar and inseparable from it. The most important requirement for the understanding of it is and remains the insight into the essential connexion of those ideas with the conception of Life which is fundamental for this Gospel.

The treatise closes with a short examination of expressions in the Prologue not before minutely discussed, which, when historically handled, throw a further light upon particular elements of the fundamental conception of the Prologue as far as it has set forth the nature and working of the Logos. There is an appendix treating of the cryptic names Abraxas, Barcabbas and Barcoph, and Barbelo in the Gnostic terminology.

As regards the time when the Gospel was written, and other circumstances affecting its origin, the author hopes to indicate them when he has dealt with the subjects reserved for the second part of his work. We have already seen that he regards the Fourth Gospel as the work of an anonymous author face to face with fully developed Gnostic speculation, and in the meantime as regards its date he is content with the remark—"the former dating of F. C. Baur appears to me scarcely less tenable than the present dating of Adolf Harnack".

THOMAS NICOL.

A History of the English Church from the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward I.

By W. R. W. Stephens, Dean of Winchester. London: Macmillan, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 366. Price 7s. 6d.

The English Church in the Sixteenth Century, from the Accession of Henry VIII. to the Death of Mary.

By James Gairdner, C.B. London: Macmillan & Co., 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xix. + 430. Price 7s. 6d.

THESE two volumes belong to the "History of the Church of England," edited by the Dean of Winchester and the Rev. W. Hunt, the progress of which we have noted from time to time. The earlier of the two volumes represents the Dean's own contribution to his series; it appeared some time ago and we owe an apology for the long delay in reviewing it—a delay due to the fact that Mr. Gairdner's volume was announced for publication almost immediately after the earlier book was in our hands, and we waited to deal with both at once. The interval has been considerably longer than we anticipated. The Dean of Winchester has chosen the least controversial, though not the least important, period of English Church History. Not less in ecclesiastical than in political and constitutional history, did the Norman Conquest form an important landmark in the story of England; it amounted almost to a reconversion from Rome. The national Church of England, which has been fondly depicted as existing throughout the Middle Ages, was, in the beginning of the eleventh century, among the possibilities of the future. By the end of the eleventh century it was doomed to be a dream of the mid-Victorian period of historical study. William the Norman made his great expedition to England at a period when the power of the Papacy was greater than it had been for centuries. The Cluniac movement was at the height of its influence, and Gregory the Seventh was on the throne of Gregory the Great, when the Papal blessing was given to the standard of the Norman adventurer. William was not all that could be desired in a loyal son of the Church; he had married his cousin, and he was the possessor of a will which might yet involve him in difficulties with Rome. But Harold

was the representative of the strictly national feeling, and his Archbishop's consecration was, to say the least, doubtful. In such a position, Hildebrand could scarcely hesitate, and he rejoiced in William's success as in the confirmation of the work of Theodore in England. Stigand was replaced by Lanfranc in the Chair of St. Augustine, and the type of English Churchman changed from St. Dunstan to St. Anselm and Thomas à Becket. It is clear that the Dean of Winchester leans by sympathy and by association to the theory of the English Church expressed in the Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission. His book is dedicated to the memory of the great historian who drew up that report—the late Bishop of Oxford—and that report guided the disciples of Bishop Stubbs who taught history in England. It is a picture very attractive in itself—a truly national church, within the universal communion, but outside the purely Papal traditions, constantly maintaining its independence in the face of the Supreme Pontiff. But recent research has proved it to be a dream and a vision. It is true that English kings protested against the encroachments of the Pope, and it is no less true that the English clergy and people grumbled over Papal extortions. But the Church in England (it is difficult to attach any meaning at this date to the familiar phrase the Church of England) was as thoroughly Papal as the Church in France or the Church in Italy, and the really National Church began in the reign of Elizabeth. The old error lay in a confusion between Church and State; the mediæval Church was lauded for the very measures which the mediæval kings adopted in spite of ecclesiastical protests. It is still easy to take advantage of this confusion and to state the old case in specious form, and not a few who share the Dean's sympathies have (probably unwittingly) yielded to this temptation. It is the great merit of the present book that it is free of any such tendency. Learned, fair and sensible, it is a real contribution to knowledge, and some of its chapters (*e.g.*, that on Anselm and the concluding ones on the general state of the Church) are admirable pieces of historical exposition. On one point we are somewhat puzzled by the Dean's statements. In introducing the question of

the Constitutions of Clarendon, he says: "A clerk, one Philip de Broi, having been tried for murder in the Bishop of Lincoln's Court, was acquitted, after clearing himself by a legal compurgation. The king required the case to be retried before one of his justices in Lyn in Bedfordshire." If this is so, it represents a unique instance of interference with clerical immunities, and it is difficult to believe that Professor Maitland, in discussing the subject, was ignorant of so critical an instance dating from one year before the Constitutions—an instance which would seriously affect his theory. We do not know on what authority the statement is made; Edward Grim, the biographer of Becket, who is usually quoted for the Brois case, gives a somewhat confused account of the matter, but his story is inconsistent with the idea that Henry wished to try a clerk in a lay court. He says merely that the sheriff, who had a grudge against Philip, raised the question of the murder again, and that "bishops and others of either order were sent by the king to judge the clerk". Any more extreme version of the story must be viewed *prima facie* with suspicion; we have been unable to find the account on which the Dean relied, and are not therefore in a position to discuss it.

[*Note*.—Since these words were written the lamented death of the Dean of Winchester has deprived the Church of England of one of the most distinguished of her clergy. To the dignified position which he held Dean Stephens brought learning and culture, wide sympathies, a gracious and kindly personality, and genuine goodness of heart. Of his devotion to his Church and his office this is not the place to speak. But readers of the CRITICAL REVIEW will join with all students of ecclesiastical history in deploring the unexpected death of so accomplished an historian and so wise and worthy a guardian of the great Cathedral beneath whose shadow he lies.—R. S. R.]

Mr. Gairdner has a very different story to tell from the "Back to Rome" which is the *motif* of the Norman Conquest of the English Church. His careful and elaborate editions of State Papers of the Tudor Period make him peculiarly fitted to write this book, and it is, as we should expect to

find it, scholarly and accurate. It is written "from within," and it has many of the merits, and perhaps one of the faults, of a contemporary writer. We have seldom read a book which impressed us so much with the insight into the thought and feeling of another age with which years of study may endow a man. Its sympathy with the difficult position in which Englishmen were placed in the sixteenth century is the most striking characteristic of the book. How the Reformation appeared to contemporaries is told here as nowhere else. We do not mean to accuse Mr. Gairdner of prejudice; in that respect he writes from the vantage ground of the current year of grace: but the knowledge of what came after and of what happened elsewhere has not driven from his memory the impression made by the struggle upon the man of the sixteenth century who was neither Papal nor anti-Papal in his sentiments, but who was startled by changes over which he had no control and which seemed to remove the foundations of the faith. A careless reader may imagine that Mr. Gairdner has been too favourable to the Roman Catholic standpoint, but a more thorough examination will reveal the fact that this seeming partiality is only the natural consequence of the necessity of disposing of various Protestant legends to which the success of that party has given a currency that has lasted for nearly three centuries. While we regard the book as both fair and sympathetic, and while we are indebted to it for many additions to our knowledge and for some modifications of preconceived views, we must admit that, in one respect, it has the defect of its qualities. Its sense of proportion is rather that of the sixteenth than that of the twentieth century. This is a point on which contemporary opinion invariably differs from later views. It is quite possible that contemporary opinion may be right, but it is a little startling to find a whole chapter devoted to the case of Richard Hunne. But this is an exceptional instance, and as Mr. Gairdner is better entitled than any other living man to decide what was really important in the reign of Henry VIII., it would be presumptuous to press the point.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

Reason and Revelation: an Essay in Christian Apology.

By J. R. Illingworth, M.A., D.D. London: Macmillan & Co.,

Limited. 8vo, pp. xix. + 271. Price 7s. 6d.

DR. ILLINGWORTH first came to notice, at all events to our notice, as the author of two remarkable essays in *Lux Mundi*, one on the "Problem of Pain," and the other on the "Incarnation in Relation to Development". The quality of these was so distinguished as to make us to be on the outlook for any further work from him. There was a note of distinction in them which revealed a thinker of no mean order, with a gift of exposition of a very remarkable kind. Soon we had from him the treatise on "Personality, Human and Divine," which showed how familiar he was with the central problems of philosophy and theology. This was followed by the treatise on "Divine Immanence," and the result of these works was to give him a place among our very foremost thinkers, and a place second to none in the roll of apologists for the Christian Faith in the past and in the present. He has crowned his work by the publication of this treatise on Reason and Revelation. We have mentioned his former works, not only to show that Dr. Illingworth is no new worker in this field, but because there are subtle lines of connexion between this and his former works. One can understand his great argument from this work alone; it becomes more luminous when we read his works in the order in which he has thought them out. What was implicit in the earlier has become explicit here. We can appreciate the outcome the better when we become acquainted with the evolution of the great argument.

He has come in his last work to grapple with the old problem of Reason and Revelation, and he solves the problem in a characteristic way. He came to it furnished with

the knowledge of the problems of philosophy as these were presented to the great thinkers, who in successive ages have been the bearers of the torch of truth. But he is no mere philosopher, he does not forget that the problem of philosophy is ultimately the problem of life. He has studied history and specially he has studied the history of Christian thought and life. Ethics as well as religion have been the subject of his thought, and, above all, he is impressed with the togetherness of things, and the unity of experience, and knows that an isolated solution of any problem is not possible. Thus in the present volume the problem of Reason and Revelation is looked at from all points of view, and the argument is cumulative.

He first sets forth the claim of Christianity to be rational. His work in this, the opening chapter, is mainly historical. It consists of a series of testimonies from writers who had a right to speak for Christianity. It is only a selection. It is, however, a wise selection. Illustrations are given from the early Apologists, from the Fathers, from the Schoolmen, from Leibnitz, from Boyle, Locke, and Butler, and, in particular, it is pointed out that the claim of Christianity to be rational has been a commonplace of English theology from the time of Hooker. He passes in the second chapter to the criticism of reason by Kant and his successors. He is fair and just to the men who led in this great movement of thought. He appreciates the emphasis which Kant laid on the activity of the mind and its forms of thought in all experience. Kant made this a reason for the limitation of knowledge to phenomena and for denying a knowledge to the mind of things in themselves, but things in themselves were postulated by him as postulates of the practical reason. Dr. Illingworth passes on to show how Hegel denied the distinction between appearance and reality, and maintained that the object of rational knowledge is reality. The functions of Schleiermacher and Lotze in this movement are briefly yet sufficiently described. It is not given to every one to write on such high topics with the limpid lucidity of Dr. Illingworth. He has the rare faculty of translating the

dogmas of philosophy into clear, idiomatic English, the meaning of which can hardly be misunderstood. Some passages we had marked for quotation, but space forbids.

The third chapter deals with the distinction between abstract and concrete knowledge. In the former chapters we had Dr. Illingworth in the character of a historian of thought, in this chapter we have him as a thinker.

Briefly to recapitulate, then, what we have been saying; the process of knowledge is never a passive reception of impressions upon a blank mind, a *Tabula Rasa*: it is always an active effort of the mind, and as such involving elements of emotion and will, to find itself reproduced in the outer world, or to recognise the outer world as akin to itself. This process, metaphysically speaking, begins by what is technically called subsuming the world under certain fundamental categories common to all minds, such as those of unity, or energy, or cause; in other words, reading into the outer world those notions which we unquestionably derive, not from external impressions, but from internal reflexion. And the same thing is repeated in every fresh development, and in every department of knowledge; only that as we learn more, we bring with us not merely a few simple categories, but the more and more complex content of a progressively educated mind. Still the procedure is the same. To understand a new experience means to assimilate it to what we have already got in our minds; if the two are in obvious conflict we rearrange the content of our minds, and frame a new hypothesis or theory; but this theory or hypothesis, it must be noticed, is not impressed on us from without; it is our own mental creation; and we then proceed to compare it with the facts that we could not previously understand, in order to see if they will correspond with this fresh content of our mind. Thus from beginning to end the mind is at work to assimilate the outer world to itself (pp. 61, 62).

We think that this chapter is an admirable illustration of the author's power of philosophising and of placing the results of philosophy in the most lucid language. The next problem is, what are the limitations of reason? Both the capacities and limitations of reason, it is pointed out, are illustrated by the distinction between abstract and concrete knowledge. The capacity of reason is in proportion to its acquaintance with its subject-matter. The limitations of reason indicated by Dr. Illingworth are three: reason is limited by our inevitable ignorance of context, by our personal prepossessions, and by

our inability to verify our facts of experience for ourselves. It will be seen that the views of the limitations of reason set forth here are of a different kind from those elaborated by Hamilton and Mansel. With our author there are no inherent contradictions in the nature of reason itself; we are not required to choose between two contradictories, into which we are landed when we push inquiry to its limit. With Dr. Illingworth the limitation of our reason is simply that it is finite. The limitations described by him are real. As a consequence of these limitations human accumulated knowledge is for any individual only hypothetical or probable, and his certainty is moral. Reason is more adequate for practice than for theory, though speculatively it is always an ideal which beckons man onwards towards satisfaction. The theme is worked out, and the chapter is one to enjoy.

A chapter on "The Influence of Presuppositions on Christian Evidences" follows. While the chapter is ably argued, we do not reckon the argument to be so satisfactory as those conducted in the foregoing chapters. For one thing, there is no discrimination between legitimate and illegitimate presuppositions. It is too like believing because we wish to believe. It is confessedly one of the most complex of all questions in the sphere of philosophy and psychology. But there must be a valid criterion of belief. The statement of the book needs a preliminary discussion of the foundations of belief, and this is not given.

"The Relation of Christianity to Philosophy" is the title of the next chapter. In reading this chapter we are reminded of Hatch, Harnack, Loofs, and all that class of theologians who look at dogma as the work of Greek philosophy working on Christian soil, and regard dogma as a thing to be overcome. Dr. Illingworth has another view of the rise, progress and worth of dogma. This view of dogma implied in the chapter now in view receives definite expression in the chapter entitled "The Patristic View of Christian Evidences". We quote—

So far indeed are the dogmatic definitions of the early Church—on the doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation—from in any way "adding to

the faith," that they might almost be fairly described as negative rather than positive in their intention; positive of course in continually reasserting the two doctrines in question, but negative in their emphatic rejection of all rationalising explanation of them. Thus it is only by being isolated from its historic context that Christian theology can be made to appear unduly speculative; whereas in its context of contemporary speculation it is at once seen to be a refusal to speculate, a refusal to substitute rational deduction for the acceptance of revelation as revelation. The essence of the Christian position was that the life and teaching of Jesus Christ had revealed to the intellect as well as to the heart what neither the heart nor the intellect could have discovered by themselves; but which when revealed they could recognise as self-evidently true. And the object of dogma was simply to guard the revelation as a fact; precisely as a scientific fact when once established is dogmatically taught (pp. 124, 125).

After quoting from Origen, Athanasius, Augustine, St. Hilary and others as to the need and nature of dogma, he adds—

Such then was Christian dogma in the view of the greatest of those who moulded it. It was not intended to limit the freedom of reason to probe everything that falls within the scope of reason. Nor, on the other hand, was it intended to explain to reason things which reason could not otherwise have understood. It explained nothing; it simply aimed at giving the most accurate explanation attainable of certain facts, whose character as facts rested on the authoritative statements of Jesus Christ; and it treated these facts as mysteries—not in the sense of contradictions to reason, but in the sense of things with which reason is at present incompetent to deal; things which, if they were to be known at all, therefore, could only be known by revelation, and must be accepted with that implicit obedience which a revelation obviously demands (pp. 128, 129).

We have given these quotations because they contain a view of dogma, opposed to the view of Harnack, a view altogether worthy of consideration. Readers must find for themselves the qualifications set on these statements in view of the fact that there has been a development of dogma of another kind, under the leadership of an authority hypostatized for the purpose.

We can only mention the following chapters: "The Modern View of Christian Evidences," "The Influence of Character on the Formation of Presuppositions," "Christi-

anity an Appeal to our Entire Personality," "The Reasonableness of Faith," and "The Christian View of the Problem of the Evil."

The concluding chapter summarises the whole cumulative argument, and fitly crowns one of the ablest treatises on apologetics which we have had the good fortune to read.

Christian evidence is, broadly speaking, threefold; being partly philosophical, partly historical, partly present in our contemporary experience of our own age. First, there is the speculative consideration that the universe points to idealism, and idealism to theism, and theism to a revelation, and revelation to an Incarnation. Then there is the nature of the historic facts recorded in the Gospels, and applied in the Epistles, together with the character of these documents themselves. And lastly there is the living society, with which we are in present contact, claiming to be lineally descended from the men who first witnessed the Incarnation, and continuing their work in the world to-day; with the significant result that those who sincerely accept and adopt its teaching—those, that is, who act on the assumption that Christianity is true—do as a matter of fact solve the practical problem of human existence, with a degree of success elsewhere and otherwise, unattained and unattainable by men (pp. 242, 243).

JAMES IVERACH.

Die Einsetzung der heiligen Eucharistie in ihrer ursprünglichen Form, nach den Berichten des Neuen Testamentes kritisch untersucht.

Von Dr. Theol. Wilhelm Berning. Münster i. W., 1901.

Pp. viii. + 260.

THE present treatise—from the pen of a Roman Catholic scholar—forms a worthy contribution to the scientific discussion of a much-debated subject. In its thoroughness of treatment and mastery of the material it reaches the high and exacting standard which we have learned to associate with the best German work, and even those who will hesitate to adopt its conclusions (which are somewhat conservative) will gain much from its perusal.

After setting forth in a useful introduction recent literature, and summarising critically recent theories on the subject, the author proceeds to discuss the value and trustworthiness of the New Testament accounts of the Supper in general—their textual form and variants, authorship and origin, and their mutual relation (Part I., pp. 22-65). Here he decides in favour of the genuineness of Luke xxii. 19b-20 against D, and insists strongly on the dependence of the Lucan on the Pauline account (1 Cor. xi. 23 f.). In connexion with the latter there is an especially interesting discussion (pp. 52 ff.). In Part II. (pp. 68-153) the differences in detail between the two narrative-groups—the Petrine (= Matthew-Mark) and the Pauline (= Luke-Paul)—are dealt with and are ranged under the two headings: A, *the circumstances accompanying the Institution*, and B, *the words of the Institution*. Here it is pointed out (1) that allowance must be made for the factor of translation—Jesus spoke in Aramaic, which was also the language of the original witnesses who first made known the events of the Last Supper; (2) didactic tendencies and special

points of view must be allowed for in the evangelical narratives. "The Gospels are no mere collection of historical *data*, but apologies warm and instinct with life, whether their purpose be to demonstrate in the face of the Jews and Jewish Christians the Messiahship of Jesus Christ, or in the miracles and teaching of Jesus to prove to the heathen and Gentile Christians His Godhead; moreover, as edifying works, they manifest a desire to present, in the picture of the Saviour, a pattern for their own lives to all Christians. And so what to one evangelist would seem of consequence and all important for his argument (*Beweisführung*), may by another be treated as of secondary moment and incidental or even omitted altogether, and in place of it some other feature may be brought into prominence" (p. 70).

(3) At the time when these narratives were written—some thirty-nine to forty years after the founding of the Christian community—full and historically exact accounts of institutions which, like the Eucharist, had long been in practice would not be necessary.

Perhaps the most interesting section in this part is the discussion of the words *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*, which occur in the Pauline-Lucan account only (pp. 136-153). Did Jesus expressly command that the Supper should be *repeated* as a feast of memorial and communion? According to Paul He did. Yet how is the absence of these words in the Petrine group to be accounted for if they were really uttered by Jesus? The author points out that in citing them Paul is obviously appealing to what would be admitted by his readers as a fact beyond dispute. What he seeks to bring home to the Corinthians is not that the feast should be kept because Jesus had commanded it to be repeated, but that the celebration of it—which was frequent enough in Corinth—should be carried out decently and with reverence; and to emphasise this he quotes the Lord's express command (*εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*). On the other hand, the whole character of the Petrine account shows that the Supper was regarded as intended to be repeated—a new Covenant connected with, but superseding the old, and based on the paschal

celebration. The similarity of the command to that with reference to the Passover in Exod. xii. 14, *And this day shall be unto you for a memorial, and ye shall keep it a feast to the Lord*, is also "a positive argument" for its authenticity. Moreover, how could the celebration of the Supper in the early Christian community have so quickly established itself unless the Apostles had been able to appeal to an express command of Jesus?

Part III. (pp. 154-208) deals with the original source and form of the accounts of the Supper. Here the author seeks to show that all four accounts go back to a single tradition, modified by differences of translation (from Aramaic) and tendency, which led to omissions, amplifications and later assimilation in particular cases.

"The difference of the accounts is explained by the different handling of the tradition dictated by a special object in view (*durch einen besonderen Zweck*), while their agreement which, in particular places, extends to verbal expression, even to whole phrases, implies for the Last Supper a fixed oral tradition" (p. 160). Especially valuable is the section (sect. 12) which discusses the form of the celebration of the Supper in the early Christian period. Here, in spite of 1 Cor. xi. 16 and the Didache (chaps. ix., x.), the author argues that there was no difference in early practice in the order of the rite. He thinks that the forms given in the Didache do not refer to the Eucharist at all, but to the Agape introducing it. But is it conceivable that the Eucharist should be passed over in complete silence while two whole sections are devoted to the Agape—especially as almost immediately before (chap. vii.) details for the baptismal rite are given? To the present reviewer it seems much more probable that chapter ix. refers to the Eucharist proper (notice especially the technical expression 'the cup') and chapter x. to the Agape, which *followed* the Eucharist. The last three sentences of chapter x.—*Hosanna to the God of David, If any is holy*, etc., and *Maranatha*—will then have a retrospective force covering the combined celebration of Eucharist and Agape, unless, indeed, these sentences are a later liturgical insertion. The evidence of

the Early Fathers and of the liturgies is next examined—an important line of investigation. Sections 13 and 14 set forth *A reconstruction of a possibly early form of the Supper* and the *Aramaic wording* of the words of Institution (the latter an excellent piece of work).

Part IV. (pp. 209-257) is headed "The Last Passover of Christ and the first celebration of the Holy Supper," and deals with the following points: *Did Jesus celebrate the Jewish Passover?* (sect. 15), *The Passover Rite in the time of Christ* (sect. 16), and *The position of the last Supper in the Passover Rite* (sect. 17).

The author believes that the Last Supper formed part of, or rather followed immediately on, the Jewish paschal meal. He argues that while the introductory details leading on to the account of the Supper in the Synoptists clearly point to its paschal character, this is most clearly brought out in Luke (xxii. 14 ff.): *τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν* (ver. 15) refers to the Passover-lamb lying on the table as the words were uttered: verses 16 and 18 also imply the celebration of the Passover. The first cup in the Lucan account (vv. 17, 18) the author identifies with the cup of blessing (*כוס הברכה*), the third of the Passover cups, which was filled immediately after the consumption of the lamb, and, after grace, drunk. Then the fourth cup was mixed and the second part of the Hallel (Pss. 115-118) with the great Hallel (Ps. 136) recited. At the twenty-fifth verse of the latter (*He giveth food to all flesh*) the Institution took place, the bread being first consecrated and given to the disciples, and immediately after this the already mixed (fourth) cup taken, consecrated and given to the disciples with the command to repeat the celebration. Then followed the concluding verse of the great Hallel (ver. 26) and the Hymn of Praise (*Praised be thy name for ever, O our King, etc.* = *ὕμνησαντες*, Matt. xxvi. 30, Mark xiv. 26), and the meal was ended.

One naturally asks how the author harmonises this interpretation of the Synoptic narratives with the definite statement of the Fourth Gospel (John xviii. 28) according to which the crucifixion took place on the day *before* the

evening on which the Passover-meal was eaten—*i.e.*, on Nisan 14. The usual answer is given, *viz.*, that we do not know enough of the circumstances and customs of the time to be able to explain the difficulty. The author, however, proceeds to argue that the meal described in John xiii. 2 ff. is identical with that of the Synoptic narratives, and was, in fact, the legal Jewish Passover-supper of Nisan 15. It follows that the Passover was eaten by our Lord and the disciples on one night and by the priests on the following, for Dr. Berning rejects the view that John xviii. 28 refers to the Chagigah. The riddle remains unsolved.

Another difficulty involved in the author's view is the question of the genuineness of Luke xxii. 19b-20. If these verses are no real part of the original Lucan account—and the case against them is immensely strong—then Dr. Berning's reconstruction falls to the ground. A further defect is the failure to meet the grave internal difficulties that beset the Synoptic narratives. These are most forcibly stated in Chwolson's masterly monograph, *Das letzte Passamahl Christi*, etc., pp. 3 ff., where it is shown from the Synoptists themselves that the day of the crucifixion cannot have been a feast-day and therefore cannot have fallen on Nisan 15. It is also remarkable how slight (apart from the introductory narrative-setting) are the indications of the alleged paschal character of the meal described in the Synoptists, while they are altogether absent from the parallel narrative in John (xiii.). It is especially significant that none of the accounts contain any mention of the paschal-lamb, unless Luke xxii. 15 be an exception, which is hardly probable. It must be admitted that the latter passage at first sight seems to demonstrate the paschal character of the meal, but on closer examination this becomes less certain. In Westcott and Hort's text the verse runs as follows: ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν· λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ φάγω αὐτὸ ἕως ὅτου πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ. The saying—which bears the stamp of genuineness—is peculiar to Luke. It is noteworthy that the statement οὐ μὴ φάγω αὐτὸ is, as regards the speaker's present, per-

fectly unqualified: *I will not eat it, viz., τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα.* The difficulty was evidently felt by the early readers and copyists, who added οὐκέτι before οὐ μὴ φάγω and changed αὐτὸ into ἐξ αὐτοῦ—"I will not *again* eat of it". But it is at least conceivable that the original saying should be interpreted: *I have greatly desired to eat this (coming) Passover with you before I suffer (but it is not to be); for¹ I say unto you I will not eat it until it be fulfilled in the Kingdom of God.*

Perhaps the most difficult problem in connexion with the New Testament accounts is to determine the exact value and significance of the narration in 1 Cor. xi. 23 f. What is meant by παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου here? Is it simply a formula of citation? Or does it mean that Paul claims to have received a direct and immediate revelation from Jesus on the subject of the Last Supper? There may be an element of truth in both views, and perhaps the solution lies in a combination of both. Dr. Berning discusses the matter fully in pages 52 ff., and decides that the revelation included not merely an assurance of the high dogmatic import of the Supper, but also of the literal accuracy and exactness of the detailed account given in the passage. This view is not without grave difficulties. They are lightened somewhat, however, by taking the words μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι (ver. 15) as referring not merely to the cup (to the mention of which they are immediately joined), but as belonging logically to the beginning of the narrative—for Dr. Berning believes that the consecration of the cup followed that of the bread immediately without a break. May they not, however, be an early interpolation inserted in the interests of the view—which was early, perhaps, established in practice at Corinth—that the Supper followed, not preceded, the Agape? The clause certainly runs more smoothly and naturally with their omission. It seems to the present reviewer that the factor

¹ "Sometimes כִּי (= for) in a poetical or rhetorical style gives the reason for a thought not expressed but implied" (Driver in *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, s.v., כִּי, col. 474a, where instances are given). The same remark applies to the usage of the Aramaic אַרְי, which was probably the original of אֲרִי here.

of liturgical development—which must have begun to operate as soon as the Supper became a sacred institution in the Christian community—has not been sufficiently allowed for in estimating the New Testaments accounts.

Among many other points of interest in the book special attention may be called to the author's careful discussion of *διαθήκη* and the conception of "Covenant" in the Old and New Testaments (pp. 104 ff.), as well as his exposition of the sacrificial conceptions underlying the Institution of the "New Covenant" (pp. 127 ff.). The whole volume will well repay careful study.

G. H. Box.

The Life and Letters of James Martineau.

By James Drummond, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., Principal of Manchester College, Oxford, and C. B. Upton, B.A., B.Sc., Professor of Philosophy in Manchester College, Oxford. In two volumes. London: James Nisbet & Co., 1902. 8vo, pp. 453 + 519. Price 30s. net.

DR. MARTINEAU'S memory has been better served by his friends than has been the case with some other distinguished thinkers and scholars who might easily be named. The authoritative record of his life has been completed and published within a reasonable period after his decease. It is well that it is so. For in our hurried times the best of men fade from public recollection, and the value of their work is apt to be forgotten, when the narrative of their career is long delayed. In the present case two very competent authorities have been selected for the biographer's task, and they have done their part well. Hitherto we have been dependent upon Dr. A. W. Jackson's "James Martineau, a Biography and Study," an appreciative estimate of the man and his work which has been most useful, especially in the account which it gives of the philosophy and theology. In these two handsome volumes we have the completed Memoirs. They contain much that could not be included in Dr. Jackson's work, and they will be gladly received by many sympathetic readers.

The biography is the larger part of the combined work. It is constructed with great care by Dr. Drummond, with a circumstantiality, indeed, that seems at times too much. It enables us to follow the course of Dr. Martineau's life and labours from point to point, and it gives us all the materials for forming our own judgment of such passages in his career as laid him open to misunderstanding or seemed out of har-

mony with his general character. Of these the most serious, of course, was the unhappy and enduring break between him and his gifted sister Harriet, the fond and inseparable companion of his youth. And of that we have to say that, unless there is another side, nowhere disclosed as yet, the facts and communications submitted by Dr. Drummond should convince most readers that, if the brother erred in judging it to be in the way both of public duty and fraternal propriety to publish an incisive criticism of the luckless and unworthy book that occasioned all the trouble, his error ended there and the faults that embittered and perpetuated the alienation were the sister's. In the case of other important passages of his career and in the narrative of the changes in his opinions, Dr. Martineau's own letters and autobiographical records are introduced with much good sense and skill by Dr. Drummond. Yet we have to confess that with all this, and although the story interests us all along its course, there is the feeling that the biography might have been still better if it had been shorter, more compressed, and constructed in such a way as to make the picture of the personality more of a unity and the view of the conditions external and internal that made Dr. Martineau what he was more vivid and convincing. This does not mean, however, that we look upon the biographer's task as a light one in the case of such a subject as Dr. Martineau, or that we are ungrateful for what Dr. Drummond has accomplished at the cost of much honest and discerning work. The art of the biographer is indeed a difficult one.

As we follow Dr. Drummond's interesting and ample narrative we see the story of a strenuous and distinguished life unfolding itself. We see a career which opened in obscurity, and which through long years was appreciated only by the few, triumphing at last over most things that hampered it and closing in universal honour. We see misunderstandings gradually disappearing, prejudices overcome, and the grandeur of a great thinker and a lofty character worthily acknowledged by all classes of his fellow-countrymen, however far apart from him in many matters of importance, and by multitudes

on the Continent of Europe and across the seas. We see, too, the movement of a rich and capacious intellect, growing and expanding as it applied itself with life-long consistency to the highest themes, with all the changes of opinion that took place alongside his steadfast loyalty to a great faith.

Dr. Martineau had an extensive correspondence. His biographer has given us considerable selections from it. For these we are grateful. They contain much that is of interest and give us a pleasing view of his relations with such men as W. R. Alger, R. B. Aspland, Theodore Parker, the Rev. Charles Beard, James Freeman Clark, Matthew Arnold, and above all his gifted pupil and friend, Richard Holt Hutton, with whom, though he forsook his master's Unitarianism and passed over to a more positive faith, he remained on the most intimate and affectionate terms till the end. Some curious things are revealed in these letters. They show us, for example, how difficult it often was to understand Dr. Martineau. He was the master of a splendid style; but often the master became the slave. He could write not only with the grand air, but with perfect definiteness. But at times he wrapped up his meaning in such swathes of rich and ornate words that it lost all distinctness of shape and form, and was missed by the most capable men. Again and again we find him complaining of injustice done to him, even by men of the best gifts and character, who read his words in a sense which he did not intend them to bear; and when one looks into the case it will not seem so strange to him as it did to Dr. Martineau, that such misunderstandings of his meaning should have occurred. It is of more interest, however, to see how he took the painful and disappointing things that befel him, especially the unjust treatment to which he was subjected on some important public occasions. The story of the rejection of his candidature for the professorship of Mind and Logic in University College, London, can be read in these volumes as it appeared to himself as well as to others. It is a pitiful, almost a sordid story, in which some eminent names come out very ill. If there was one man entitled above all others to the position in question, it was James

Martineau. His opponent was a promising young student who had done little more than complete his university career, who afterwards indeed as Professor Croom Robertson did excellent work, but who at the time had his spurs to win. He enjoyed the advantage, however, of being a pupil of Alexander Bain. Those with whom rested the responsibility of the election included not only men like the Archbishop of York, but others like John Stuart Mill and Grote the historian, men who stood forth as the champions of freedom, the sworn foes of favouritism and sectarianism in university teaching and appointments. How did they act when put to the test? In the spirit of the grossest sectarianism and bitterest partisanship. For months they strove by all possible means to secure Martineau's rejection, and at last they succeeded, but by the narrowest majority and under the protest of men who made far less boast of their independence. Martineau took it in good part, and became the friend of the young man who had been taken up by these notabilities for the purpose of winning a position for the Utilitarian party. But he saw keenly into the irony of the situation. With a suppressed sense of the humours of the case and the ineradicable weakness of human nature, he tells us how he had ventured to ask Francis Newman, Dr. Thomson, and John Stuart Mill to give their judgment of his fitness for the Chair; how from Newman he received a prompt and generous reply; how the Archbishop did not even answer his letter till twelve months after the election had taken place; and how Mr. Mill sent him a reply so emphatic in its appreciation of his claims that it must have gone far to decide the case, if it had come before the electors, but which could not be used because the writer of it informed the recipient of it that he was to support the rival candidate, being unwilling to "miss the opportunity of planting, if possible, a disciple of his own school in a place of influence". Here is a spectacle for angels and men. John Stuart Mill testifying in private to the unrivalled claims of James Martineau, and in public throwing the whole weight of his influence on the side of the other and inferior candidate, in the petty anxiety to get an academic post filled by one of

his own party! And John Stuart Mill does not come worse out of this ugly business than do Grote and some others.

In other respects, too, the correspondence given in these volumes has an interest which will make us slow to think there is too much of it. It contains much that helps us to a better apprehension of Dr. Martineau's own position in theology and philosophy. The appreciations of thinkers like Bunsen, Maurice, Emerson, Guizot, Parker, Dalgairns, Channing, Francis Newman; the estimates of the great philosophers, Kant, Hegel, Lotze, Mill, Cousin, Sir William Hamilton and others; the changes in his mental attitude to Priestley, Belsham and their fellows—these and much else in the letters bring us closer to his mind, make it possible for us to look on his most characteristic opinions in the process of their formation and development, and contribute to a better understanding of the real inward meaning of his philosophy and theology.

It is to Professor Upton, however, that we are most indebted in this latter respect. He has given us a most painstaking and lucid account of Dr. Martineau's philosophy, following its growth from the earliest Hartleyan period till it reaches its mature and fixed character. With a skilful hand he traces the influences that went to shape it and to modify it from time to time. He provides us also with luminous expositions of Martineau's most important works, giving summaries of their contents and a genetic construction of their main positions. This is all admirably done—lucidly, succinctly, convincingly. It is of very great value. We see more clearly than ever how great the change was when Martineau parted with his early necessarian doctrine and with the whole circle of ideas within which he had moved when under the influence of the school of Priestley; how that mental revolution was brought about; and how strenuously he kept by the libertarian doctrine till the end of his career. But we see also, as we read the case, that the necessarianism against which his polemic was directed was essentially that of the Priestley type. Indeed much that he said and wrote on that subject had only a very loose relation to the more

careful forms of determinism. There is little to show that he penetrated into the real meaning of the theological counterpart of philosophical necessarianism or determinism as represented in the writings of Jonathan Edwards and some of the profounder Scotch theologians of former times.

It is, however, in his ethical philosophy that the real importance of his work is found. These volumes, and especially Professor Upton's surveys of Martineau's thought and teaching, make this clearer than ever. What he did in constructive theology is of subordinate moment. He was a Unitarian, and remained that to the end, although he disliked being labelled as such, and had small sympathy with many things done by his co-religionists. His Unitarianism was of a more fluid type than that to which he had been accustomed in his youth. He venerated Christ as the highest of realities and the most perfect Moral Excellence, but otherwise he had a conception of Him far apart from that of the older English Unitarianism. So wide was the difference that he could declare that if he "discharged the current Jewish conceptions" from His Messiahship, he could attach no definite meaning to such phrases as "his mission," "the saving of his brethren," "the realisation of the kingdom," "his prophetic message". He felt acutely the distance at which the Unitarian doctrine of God, as it was usually expressed, stood from the Trinitarianism of the ancient creeds, and sought to throw a bridge across the chasm. But the theological explanation which he gave with that object in view, namely, that the Father whom the Unitarian worshipped corresponded really with the Second Person of the Trinitarian Symbols, did not effect much. Nor was he more successful in the adjustments which he attempted between his own general theological position and other cardinal points of evangelical Christian doctrine. But whenever he touched ethical questions, there he showed himself the master, and in nothing was he so much the master as in vindicating and expounding a high ethical Theism. There his chief distinction lay, and there he did his greatest service to his time.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

The Death of Christ : Its Place and Interpretation in the New Testament.

*By James Denney, D.D. London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1902.
Cr. 8vo, pp. xix. + 334. Price 6s.*

The Century Bible : St. Mark.

*Edited by S. D. F. Salmond, D.D., F.E.I.S. Edinburgh :
T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1902. Pp. 377. Price 2s. cloth ;
3s. leather.*

THIS volume is an exceedingly able defence of that doctrine of the Atonement which is known as atonement by substitute. The most notable feature of the book is that this theory is vindicated by the author with unique confidence and extraordinary enthusiasm, and without recognising that the representatives of any other theory have even a claim to be heard. Dr. Denney has no doubt that his interpretation of the death of Christ is the New Testament interpretation, and its characteristic feature is its finality. The word spoken by the Apostles regarding it is the last word, and Dr. Denney stops there because the Apostles go no further. That is his position, and, whether we agree with him or not, there is no mistaking his meaning. It is refreshing to read the writings of an author who is never ambiguous, and who writes with such joyful confidence in the positions he has reached. But the defects in the discussion arise out of its merits.

Beginning with the evidence of the Synoptic Gospels as to Christ's own teaching, he carries us through the early Christian preaching of Christ's death in Acts to the testimony of St. Paul, which is discussed at great length ; to the view given in the Johannine writings, and the Epistle to the

Hebrews, with the result that he discovers such substantial unanimity among the New Testament writers as to justify the last chapter, in which he discusses the place of the doctrine of an objective atonement in preaching and theology. We cannot follow the exegetical studies contained in the volume in detail. It is enough to say that Dr. Denney does over again, but in his own way and with consummate ability, what Dr. Dale did many years ago in his important work on the same subject. It is done, too, in full view of, and taking well into account, the present position of the Higher Criticism of the New Testament. Yet it must be said that there are many minds to whom this, while it cannot but be an impressive, very impressive, will not be a satisfactory book. The writer's tone of confidence will make a certain type of reader give pause. And one cannot but review very anxiously the doctrine of Scripture on which the argument is reared.

Let us take this last point first. It seems to us that such an orthodox theological structure as we have in this book, ought to rest on a much stricter doctrine of Scripture than Professor Denney holds. This was the criticism which at once occurred to readers of his former book, entitled *Studies in Theology*, and it is equally pertinent in relation to this volume. Speaking of the way in which, in his judgment, "Scripture converges upon the doctrine of the Atonement," Dr. Denney urges: "This, at bottom, is what we mean when we say that Scripture is inspired. . . . The truth is, the unity of the Bible and its inspiration are correlative terms" (p. 314). Granted. But wherein does the unity of Scripture lie? To Dr. Denney it lies in its oneness of testimony, from cover to cover, to the atoning work of Christ, interpreted as he says the New Testament interprets it. This is his doctrine of inspiration. "There is no sense," he says, "in saying that every separate sentence is inspired; we know that every separate sentence is not. There are utterances of bad men in the Bible, and suggestions of the devil. . . . We will never know what inspiration is until Scripture has resolved itself into a unity" (pp. 315, 316).

Now, what is the result of this? To Dr. Denney Scripture is unified, and therefore inspired by its uniform testimony to his favourite doctrine. Even if it be so—and that can only be made out, it seems to us, by a system of typology based on a critical view of the Old Testament which would not meet with Dr. Denney's approval—every student of Scripture might claim that it was unified for him by its uniform testimony to his favourite doctrine, which might be the Incarnation, or a purely ethical view of Redemption. We do not quarrel with Dr. Denney's view of Scripture authority and inspiration, which is that the Bible is an inspired book—not in the cheap sense in which we may speak of Æschylus or Shakespeare being inspired, but because God draws near to me in the Bible as a redeeming God. But the redeeming God and the soul meet, it must surely be held, at other points besides that of a particular theory of the death of Christ, which rests on analogies and on a view of God as the custodier of the public law of the universe that do not, whatever Dr. Denney may say about it, satisfy all spiritual longings, and do not carry one really into an intelligent apprehension of the mind of God to man. And therefore we are bound to feel that even Dr. Denney's undoubtedly fine exegesis is marred by his preference for a particular theory. Even many of St. Paul's utterances are capable of being read otherwise than as Dr. Denney reads them. There was a context in the minds of Paul's readers and a Rabbinical set of mind in Paul himself that must modify our reading of much that came from the great Apostle.

In truth, much of the inadequacy of such a working theory of the death of Christ as we find in this book is due to the tendency to view the death of Christ from a merely transactional point of view, as a thing that was done outside the sinner's personality. We admit Dr. Denney's claim that it preaches well, because it is the preacher's most effective way of appealing to the conscience, and of course it is so far true; but there are few men who think on this subject that do not feel the mystery of it, and the more they think they are the more dissatisfied with a purely substitutionary theory. The

fact that a theory of the death of Christ can be expressed in two lines of a revival hymn is itself enough to start the question : Is there not more in the death of Christ than this ? There are many to whom the conception of forgiveness, resting on a judicial transaction, does not appeal at all. There are many who feel that they can approach the Atonement only through the Headship of Christ. There are those—but Dr. Denney has little patience with them—who hold that the Atonement must be looked at from the standpoint of the Incarnation and the Person of Christ, and to whom Dr. Denney, in putting forth as he does this theory of Atonement as the foundation of the true view of the Person of Christ, seems to be beginning at the wrong end (p. 317). We have never been able to see that theories of the death of Christ are of necessity mutually destructive or exclusive. It is a many-sided theme, and “redemption by sample,” “representative penitence,” and all so-called “moral theories” embody a partial aspect of the great truth, a truth about which one can only be a learner and groper to the end. One can afford a little eclecticism on this subject, and an eclectic would make room for Dr. Denney’s view as one among many, possibly that which should be stated, as he says “first of all”; but Dr. Denney has no hospitality for any other opinion than his own on a theme which “angels desire to look into”. He has written an able book on a difficult subject. In his pages the vicarious theory certainly comes to its own. But for all its seriousness and passionate earnestness, and an intellectual force which makes one say that this is “orthodoxy with a new tone in it,” there is a onesidedness in it which makes itself felt, and we more than doubt whether such solid masonry has a foundation that can safely and permanently bear it up.

DAVID PURVES.

PRINCIPAL SALMOND’S *St. Mark* is a notable addition to the volumes in this excellent series. The Introduction is a thorough and fine piece of work, proceeding on the

generally accepted view "that Mark's Gospel is the ground sketch of the evangelical narratives". Dr. Salmond's remarks on this point are interesting. "The change of sentiment which has taken place on the subject of the Second Gospel is indeed one of the most notable facts in the history of New Testament studies in our own day. In ancient times little was made of this Gospel in comparison with the others. Its genius was not sufficiently understood. Its value was not adequately recognised. Even the great Augustine could speak of Mark as only the 'follower and abbreviator of Matthew,' and while many pious and learned minds occupied themselves with the preparation of careful expositions of the other three, few seem to have done a similar service to this shortest of the Gospels." Having set forth "the chain of witnesses" to this Gospel in the Early Church, and dealt with the question of the author and his relation to Peter, a paragraph is devoted to its "sources," in which Dr. Salmond is willing to admit a slight indebtedness to the *Logia* of Matthew; the "Compass, Contents, and Plan" of the Gospel are set forth; St. Mark is compared with the other two Synoptists, and the writer shows very clearly that Mark is the earliest of the three; that he wrote in Greek, from Rome, for Gentile readers generally, "before 70 A.D., but probably not much before it," and with no special "aim" save that of giving "a plain, reliable account of things as he knew them to have occurred"; that he wrote the narrative in its integrity, as we now have it, and with those "characteristics" which have frequently been noted, but never more fully than in these pages. A summary of the testimonies of the Fathers, and of the literature on St. Mark, with a careful analysis of the Gospel, completes the Introduction. It will be seen that Principal Salmond rejects, for what seems sufficient reasons, the theory of an *Ur-Markus*, of which the Second Gospel is supposed to be a curtailment. There is a great deal of sound scholarly work in the Introduction, much more than a superficial reader could discern, and it is stated in clear and interesting periods.

We have sampled the commentary on the text, and can
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say that it presents both to teacher and preacher a great amount of well-digested material.

There is a careful index, and the little volume, like the others of the series, is got up in a portable and most attractive form.

DAVID PURVES.

A History of English Utilitarianism.

By Ernest Albee, Ph.D., Instructor in the Sage School of Philosophy, Cornell University. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 427. Price 10s. 6d.

THERE was room for this history, and it sets forth with great lucidity an important section of the history of ethical thought. The great work of Leslie Stephen, as Dr. Albee well points out, is occupied mainly with the social and political side of the Utilitarian movement. The only other book which we know as occupying very much the same ground is the work of Professor Watson of Kingston University, Canada, entitled *Hedonistic Theories*. Strange, is it not, that the two books dealing with English Utilitarianism should hail from beyond the Atlantic? Dr. Watson is Glasgow bred, and was a distinguished student under Edward Caird, though his work has been done in Canada. As we turn over the pages of both books we find that they treat largely of the same authors, and examine the same development of thought. Dr. Watson treats of Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Bentham, John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer, while the authors treated of by Dr. Albee are Richard Cumberland, Shaftesbury and Francis Hutcheson, Berkeley, John Gay and John Brown, Hume, Hartley, Tucker, Paley and Bentham, John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer and Professor Sidgwick. It will be seen that the present work is much more extensive than that written by Dr. Watson. We may call the present history one that exhausts the subject, and gives the English reader a full and trustworthy account of English Utilitarianism.

Dr. Watson's point of view we know. His book is a statement and criticism of Hedonism from the idealistic point of view. Generally the position of Dr. Watson is that of Green, with the difference to be expected from two

independent thinkers of a high order who are in substantial agreement. It is not so easy to find the philosophical creed of Dr. Albee. He seems himself to be a Utilitarian, and he writes with sympathy with that attitude of mind. What modifications he might make in the statement of Utilitarianism we hardly know, but we think he would not accept that compromise with Intuitionism which was reached by Professor Sidgwick. We have read the book with pleasure and satisfaction. It traces the rise and growth of the theory, and sets forth the views of the individual writers with great lucidity. It is the fruit of great labour, and it represents a work done, and that will not require to be done over again.

It may be well to let Dr. Albee state in his own words the outcome of his labour, as he sets it forth in the Introduction:—

Nineteenth century Utilitarianism represents a constant, though not uniformly successful, attempt to transcend the narrow (selfish) theory of the moral motive, with the result that the Utilitarian theory of obligation has been profoundly modified, and brought into much closer relation to the highest concrete moral ideals. In truth, the degree of divergence between the spirit of typical eighteenth century Utilitarianism can only be appreciated by those who have traced the development of that theory with considerable care.

It is one of the things for which a student ought to be grateful to Dr. Albee, that he can through the present work trace for himself that development, and measure the contribution of each individual thinker towards that transformation of Utilitarianism which he speaks of in the preceding extract. While every writer is carefully and adequately described, and his opinion carefully set forth, yet the treatment which some receive is more elaborate than that given to others. No doubt the treatment is proportioned according to Dr. Albee's estimate of the worth of their respective contributions to the theory of ethics. One of the most important parts of the history is that which describes the contribution of John Gay to the theory of Utilitarianism. It has the merit of novelty, and henceforth writers on ethics and students will be glad to assign to Gay his right position in the development of Utilitarianism. A most interesting account is given of the

obligations of later writers to Gay, obligations not always acknowledged.

As an exposition of almost unrivalled merit we classify that given of the ethical views of Hume. Dr. Albee has studied Hume for himself, and shows himself to be better acquainted with his views than Green the editor of Hume showed himself to be. Hume, for many reasons, receives scanty justice at the hands of moralists, metaphysicians and theologians. It is all the more necessary to seek to do justice to that great thinker, who summed up a whole period in his writings, and caused subsequent generations to be conscious of the assumptions which philosophy has unconsciously made. Dr. Albee has closely studied the ethical views of Hume as these were set forth in their first form and in their second. What the difference is we do not say here, but a full and accurate account of it is given in the chapter on Hume.

Of great importance are the chapters on Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. We are not sure that Dr. Albee has fully grasped the full meaning of that most elusive thinker and writer, and somewhat inconsistent thinker. He has a great admiration of Mill, so great that he finds fault with Professor Sidgwick for doing injustice to Mill. "It is worth noticing that the author (Professor Sidgwick) was careless in his first edition, to the extent of seriously misinterpreting Mill's theory of desire" (p. 367). It is very difficult to do justice to Mill, for the various statements he has made, say, with regard to the meaning and function of desire, cannot be reconciled with one another. It is impossible to discuss the matter within our limits. In fact the work has been done, and thoroughly done, by Dr. Douglas in his work on *The Ethics of John Stuart Mill*. Dr. Douglas gathers together, from all the works of Mill, those passages which refer to desire, and a reader may see at a glance the oscillations of Mill in relation to this important subject. Dr. Albee has done more than justice to Mill and less than justice to Sidgwick.

There is also a fair, competent, and full study of the work of Herbert Spencer in this relation. Dr. Albee has studied

the early ethical work of Spencer, written by him before the conception of evolution had fully dawned on his mind. We follow the account of the evolution of Spencer's thought with intense interest, and we note, with some surprise, how little the conception of evolution has had to do with the ethics of Spencer. In fact many writers of insight deny that the ethics of Spencer is an ethic of evolution. They have plausible ground for that contention. We can only say that the account of Spencer's ethics given here is both sympathetic and critical.

The last writer on whom Dr. Albee dwells is Professor Sidgwick. On this chapter we shall not say much. It will have to be rewritten in the light of the latest work of Sidgwick. We refer to his *Lectures on the Ethics of T. H. Green, Mr. Herbert Spencer and J. Martineau*, recently published. A valuable work, not only for the criticisms of opposing systems, but, also, for the explanations and further elucidations of his own system, which might be described as Utilitarianism on an intuitional basis. Dr. Albee's study of Sidgwick is valuable, considering the material at his command; it needs revision and restatement in the light of the fuller material now accessible.

The publication of this book ought to be helpful as a guide to the further elaboration of ethical theory. As Sidgwick sought to transcend the antinomy between the intuitional and the utilitarian views, so there is room for a further advance, an advance which will enable the idealists to do justice to the teleological view of ethical action, and enable the utilitarian to appreciate the view which makes self-realisation the end of ethical action. Dr. Albee's book will greatly help in this direction.

It was a notable event in the development of recent ethical theory, when Utilitarianism thus for the first time really took account of Butler's starting-point and method; and if the result would seem to be the inevitable dissolution of traditional Utilitarianism itself, there is perhaps little ground for regret. Neither J. S. Mill nor Professor Sidgwick were adepts in rigid logical consistency; but the very fact that they could hold together the half-truths of seemingly antithetical systems, enabled them to perform a service for the development of systematic ethics

which only the future can duly appreciate. Both were essentially seekers after truth, and not system-makers. In fact, it would be difficult to mention two moralists who have shown more perfect candour in pointing out difficulties of their own systems, of which they were conscious; and if they helped to lead a succeeding generation to the recognition of truths which they never definitely formulated for themselves, their contribution to ethics was not the less, but the greater. Few English moralists of the nineteenth century, so recently ended, are deserving of more grateful appreciation than these two eminent Utilitarians, who did their work so well that they helped their successors even to transcend the Method of Ethics for which they themselves stood.

In these fitting words Dr. Albee ends his learned and competent work. Are we to expect from him a work in constructive ethics? Such a work is needed, and he seems to be the man to do it.

JAMES IVERACH.

Reischle's Outlines of Christian Theology.

*Christliche Glaubenslehre in Lehrsätzen, von D. Max Reischle.
Zweite Auflage. Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1902.*

THIS small volume consists of the outlines of lectures delivered by the author to his class, first printed for private circulation, but now, in response to a widespread demand, given greater publicity. While the form of the book prevents the writer from stating fully the reasons for his conclusions—and thus the treatment often appears inadequate, and even arbitrary—yet there is this compensating advantage, that the skeleton of his body of divinity stands out distinctly, and the general features of his theological method may be more easily grasped than would be possible in a more extensive and elaborate work. A book by the same author on value-judgments was reviewed in the May number of the CRITICAL REVIEW, 1902. The interest of that contribution to the solution of a difficult problem quickened my expectations in approaching this volume; and I have not been disappointed. Within the limits necessarily set by its purpose, it is a stimulating and suggestive effort to restate the Gospel from a genuinely evangelical and consistently experimental standpoint. The author frankly confesses himself an exponent of “the newer theology, especially that which attaches itself to Ritschl”. Nevertheless his indebtedness to that great theologian has not lessened his independence; and he has avoided the excesses and the defects which have provoked so much distrust and hostility against his theological master. He may be said to belong to that branch of the school which is in closer contact with the thought and life of the Lutheran Church in Germany.

The task which he accepts for Christian dogmatics is “a scientific exposition of Christian faith, and indeed of its

contents, accordingly of the world of faith which it affirms as reality". As it "does not enquire only for the valid ecclesiastical doctrine, but for the universally valid Christian truth," it is to be reckoned not among the *historical*, but the *normative* "disciplines". In the first part of the book *the foundation* is laid, and in the second *the structure* is reared. In what follows in this review the foundation will be more closely examined than the structure. In laying it, the writer offers us (1) "a statement of the essence of Christianity as religion," (2) "an investigation of the truth of the Christian religion," and (3) "an exposition, on the basis of these, of the organic connexion and the difference of the Christian religious confession of faith, and the theological scientific doctrine of faith". Characteristic is it of his method, and most commendable and worthy of imitation, that he does not begin with any general definition of religion, or even of Christianity, but with "the historical phenomenon of Christianity". The centre of Christianity is faith in Christ, which on the one hand is related to a conception of God as Father, and on the other to a consciousness of salvation. This historical phenomenon is the starting-point of the investigation into "the peculiarity of religious life in contrast to the other aspects of the spiritual life". Three features everywhere in greater or less measure distinguish religion, (1) "the certainty of a power or powers over the world," (2) "the relation of feeling and will" to this or these, (3) "the effort to secure a communion with Deity and dominion over the world". Worthy of note and praise is the improvement on Ritschl's position in giving to communion with Deity the first place, and dominion over the world the second in the purpose of religion. Although in every religion there is expressed the desire for blessedness or deliverance from evil, yet the objects of faith are not to be regarded as creations of this desire, but as revealed realities, belief in whom is sustained by religious communities. The author accepts the statement that "all religious knowledge consists of value-judgments," but "only on two conditions. (a) The conception 'value-judgment' must not be placed in contrast to the

conception 'existence-judgment'; it is much rather essential to the judgments of faith to affirm a *reality*. (b) The judgments of faith, especially the Christian, must *not* be understood as affirming that reality only in the sense of a *postulate*, which would be set up for the sake of its worth; they assert the same rather on the ground of evidences in the world as given, or of 'revelations'." This explicit statement deserves special attention, as it is fitted to remove frequent and persistent misconceptions regarding the value-judgments, misconceptions which have prejudiced many in Britain against the Ritschlian school. Significant also is the stress on the *objective* element in the definition given of the Christian religion. "*Christianity* may be defined as regards its *objective* content as the Gospel of the love shown in Jesus Christ by God, the heavenly Father, who saves and trains us for His kingdom. *Subjectively* considered the *Christian life* consists in this, that we in trustful surrender to Jesus Christ, win the communion of children with God and sanctification in purity and love, but in both an eternal life, already beginning here, but awaiting completion beyond." With the other members of the Ritschlian school, the author rejects the theoretic proofs for the truth of the Christian religion as inadequate, because of the character and limit of theoretic knowledge as well as the nature of religious and specially Christian faith in God. A practical proof is however offered, the grounds of which are those "to which Christian preaching itself appeals, and of which the simple Christian in his religious life bethinks himself, when he assures himself of the truth of his faith over against doubts. These grounds lie (a) in the recollection of what we *have in our faith* for our inmost life; (b) in the recollection of *signs*, in which the rule of a holy, saving and training love meets us as a reality in a way which convinces our spirit." This is nothing else than the argument from experience to which the late Dr. Dale attached such importance. But the admission is made that this needs to be supplemented, as Christian faith has its foundation in revelation. Yet the appeal to experience and the evidence of revelation are closely related, for "(a) what is valuable in Christian faith, namely,

the perfecting of man and mankind unfolded in it, is reality in the existence and activity of Jesus Christ; and (b) the reality, to which Christian faith holds fast, is recognised in its essence only when it is understood and also experienced in its saving worth". This revelation has its centre in Christ, but extends to all in the New Testament that interprets Him, and all in the Old Testament that prepares for Him. Hence "propositions of faith are the descriptions of the invisible spiritual reality, of which the Christian can and ought to become aware in his confidence in the revelation of God in Christ". The scientific doctrine of faith distinguishes itself from the Christian confession of faith by "*the methodically conducted reflexion*" on these questions, "on what grounds we have a right to be convinced of the reality of the invisible world of faith, in which the Christian lives, what belongs to it, and how it is related to the cognisable (empirical) world". The two main features of the dogmatic method adopted are, (1) it finds the centre of revelation and the source of faith in the saving person and work of Jesus on earth; (2) it seeks to show how each doctrine may be appropriated in personal faith.

Although the author's method is *Christocentric*, yet in rearing the *structure* of Christian doctrine, he deals first with *God and the world*, next with *God and Jesus Christ, the Lord*, and lastly, with *God and the Holy Spirit*. He justifies this order by pointing out that in the first part he has exhibited "the revelation given in Jesus Christ as the foundation of all of faith's knowledge". In his doctrine of God he does not, as the traditional theology does, begin with any philosophical ideas of God, but with "the nature of God revealed in Jesus Christ". This order of treatment is to be commended. Christian faith ought, according to Christ's own evident intention, to occupy itself with the Father whom the Son reveals before it concerns itself with the Person of the Son. As limits of space forbid as full an examination of this *Second Part* as of the *First*, one illustration of the mode of treating a doctrine must suffice. In dealing with the person and the work of Christ, the author begins with "the man

Jesus as mediator between God and mankind," goes on to "Jesus Christ as the exalted Lord," and ends with "Jesus Christ as the manifestation of the eternal Word of God". The most characteristic features of his theology may be seen in his treatment of "the conception of the divinity of Christ". Admitting that this "has an inalienable right in the context of Christian faith," yet he insisted that "(a) it must be appropriated from the *practical*, not from the speculative side: to recognise the divinity of Jesus Christ means in faith to acknowledge and experience Him as Saviour and Lord. (b) It must be based on, and its contents must be defined from, the *earthly* Jesus Christ in the sense of the existence and activity of God in Jesus Christ. (c) It must be understood in the *spiritual-ethical* sense which corresponds with the essence of God as holy love; only on this basis is its highest 'metaphysical' reality reached. (d) It must always be explained by the more distinct and in the New Testament more frequent *υἱὸς θεοῦ*, in order that *εἰς θεὸν ὁ πατήρ* and *χριστὸς δὲ θεοῦ* should not fall short." Without endorsing all the author's conclusions, I can heartily commend this work as likely to be most helpful to those who are not satisfied with traditional methods in theology, and can respect independence and courage.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

Texts and Studies. Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature. Edited by J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D. Vol. vii., No. 2. S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel, collected and arranged by F. CRAWFORD BURKITT, M.A. Cambridge: University Press, 1901. 8vo, pp. ix. + 91. Price 3s. net.

MR. BURKITT introduces us first to the chief editions of Ephraim's works, and deals sharply with the Roman edition, which he characterises as "one of the most confused and misleading works ever published". He then draws up a list of those writings which may be accepted as the genuine works of Ephraim, proceeding on the principle that only those are to be admitted which are extant in MSS. "earlier than the Mohammedan invasions". Then follows a detailed specification and examination of the quotations, each being taken by itself and its main points of interest or of difficulty set forth. Certain appendices are also given, treating specially of the quotations from the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel, some of the less well-attested works of Ephraim, and some writings wrongly ascribed to him. All this is done with great care. At various points Mr. Burkitt has to contest the views of Mr. G. H. Gwilliams. The result which Mr. Burkitt reaches is of importance in several respects, especially as regards the question of the date of the Peshitta and its consequent relation to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* represented by the Curetonian Syriac and the Sinaitic or Lewis Syriac. The conclusion which Mr. Burkitt draws from his minute examination of forty-eight passages quoted is, that there are eight passages in which there are coincidences of language with the Peshitta as against the Curetonian and the Sinaitic; that these are quite insufficient to suggest the actual use of the Syriac Vulgate; that there are at least three times as many agreements of Ephraim with the

Curetonian or with the Sinaitic as against the Peshitta ; and that Ephraim consequently furnishes no proof of the use of the Peshitta.

The Atonement and Intercession of Christ. By the late CHARLES DAVIES, M.A., Trevecca. Edited by D. E. JENKINS, Portmadoc. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xxvi. + 237. Price 4s.

The late Principal Davies, a man of gifts and character, exercised in an unobtrusive way a remarkable influence over certain parts of Wales. He published two small books, one on *The Church*, in 1862, and another on *The Inspiration of the Bible*, about 1871. Otherwise his writing was confined to contributions to certain Welsh periodicals. The volume now before us consists of a series of articles which were sent by the author when he was yet a young man to a small Welsh monthly issued from the Aberystwith Press. The treatment of the various parts of the general subject consequently is brief, but it is full of good sense, candid, and to the point. The volume opens with a short statement on the application of the phrase "for the whole world" in reference to the Atonement, in which the real point of the difference between the Arminian doctrine and the Calvinistic is well put. Then follow concise discussions of the office of Christ as Advocate, the force of the term *propitiation*, the Atonement in relation to the Mediatorial Office, the Priestly Office, and Intercession. Every subject is handled in the light of a careful examination of the biblical terms.

The Testament of Our Lord. Translated into English from the Syriac, with Introduction and Notes. By JAMES COOPER, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow, and ARTHUR JOHN MACLEAN, M.A., F.R.G.S., sometime Dean of Argyll and the Isles. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1902. 8vo, pp. xii. + 269. Price 9s.

This is a joint work—Canon Maclean being responsible for the collation of the Syriac text, the translation, and large part of the Introduction, Notes and Appendices, while to Dr.

Cooper we owe the initiation of the undertaking and what remains of the actual work beyond the limits stated. Both authors have special qualifications for the task, Dr. Cooper having a zealous interest in subjects of the kind represented by the book, and Canon Maclean having resided long in the East in connexion with the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Assyrian Churches. The work is done by competent hands, therefore, and the volume makes a suitable addition to the Ante-Nicene Library.

The *Testament* itself deserves to be brought in this way under the notice of English readers. It has various points of interest. As Dr. Cooper puts the case in his brief Preface, it is the production of the very period "when the great transition in the Church's fortunes from Imperial persecution to Imperial favour was leading to the inevitable transformation of her buildings and her services to suit her altered circumstances"; it reflects the great controversies—Arian, Macedonian, Apollinarian—of the period; it is a "mine at once of devotional expression and liturgical lore"; and it is a "witness to the state of doctrine and the Ecclesiastical order and organisation in Eastern Christendom in the middle or third quarter of the fourth century". Dr. Cooper perhaps overstates its importance in these respects. But it is undoubtedly of considerable value, and it has the further interest of novelty. It was only in 1899 that the full Syriac text (together with a Latin translation) was published. For this we are indebted to the Patriarch Ephraem II. Rahmani.

The Introduction deals at some length and in a scholarly way with the scope and character of the book, the manuscripts, the parallel literature, the question of a supposed Montanist original, the theology of the work, and the literary questions. The question of date is very fully handled. The evidence is taken to point to three possible hypotheses, *viz.*: (a) that the author was an Apollinarian writer dating about 400; (b) that he was an anti-Arian writer belonging to about the middle of the fourth century; (c) that he was an anti-Arian writer of that period (the middle of the fourth century) whose work was added to by a later editor. Of these

hypotheses the second is judged the best, and a date about A.D. 350 is thought to cover most of the facts. As to the place of writing, the position adopted is a cautious and modest one. Asia Minor is judged the most probable region of origin, while it is admitted at the same time that Syria is not out of the question. We are glad to have a book on which so much care has been expended.

Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte, ihre Quellen und den Gang ihrer Entwicklung. Von CARL WEIZSÄCKER. Zweite Auflage. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 378. Price 7s. net.

Das Apostolische Zeitalter der Christlichen Kirche. Von CARL WEIZSÄCKER. Dritte Auflage. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902. 8vo, pp. viii. + 700. Price 16s. net.

It is strange that Weizsäcker's *Untersuchungen* did not appear in a second edition during the author's lifetime. A new issue was indeed needed before he died, but the issue of it was left to other hands to carry through. This second edition consequently is little altered from the first, and recent developments of criticism are not dealt with. Weizsäcker's own views did not remain the same in all respects, notably on the Johannine question. But, though the book comes to us just as it was when it first appeared, its value still is great. It is of importance to follow the author's early views. These, indeed, more particularly with regard to the Synoptical question, are of great interest and value. None of the more recent contributions to that question surpass this one in grasp or in lucidity of exposition. It still remains one of the best introductions we possess to the discussion of that large and intricate problem.

Of the merits of his *Apostolisches Zeitalter* it is needless to speak. They have been long and widely recognised. It is a pleasure to see the book in a third edition. On the primitive Jewish Church, the Apostle Paul and his theology, the Pauline Church, and the further developments, as well as on the constitution of the Church, and related questions, Weizsäcker's

discussions and conclusions demand and repay the closest attention, although they may often arouse acute dissent. He has the great advantage also of a clear and pointed style. On the subject which he handles we have no greater book yet than his. All who have subsequently written on the beginnings of the Christian Church owe much to the *Zeitalter*, however far removed they may be from Weizsäcker's critical position.

Geschiedenis van de Boeken des Nieuwen Verbonds. Door Dr. J. M. S. BALJON, Hoogleeraar te Utrecht. Groningen : Wolters. 8vo, pp. vii. + 624. Price Fl. 5.90.

Commentaar op het Evangelie van Mattheus. Door Dr. J. M. S. BALJON, Hoogleeraar te Utrecht. Groningen : Wolters. 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 435. Price Fl. 4.50.

These volumes are witnesses to the author's industry. They are the good fruits of the scanty leisure at the command of one who has to bear the burden of heavy official responsibilities. They are written in an easy and somewhat popular style, and with little of the parade of erudition. They are the outcome, however, of competent scholarship ; and it is evident that the writer has read widely, although the works of English scholars seem to have received less attention than they deserve. The commentary on Matthew is an instalment of a plan announced in Dr. Baljon's preface to a book which he published in 1889 on Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. The matters coming under the head of introduction are disposed of with comparative brevity. On the main questions, however, we get clear statements and very sensible discussions. The problems connected with the testimony of antiquity to the original language of Matthew are very fairly handled, the most recent literature on the subject, from Gla's work to that of Belser and Trenkle, and Van Rhijn's article in the *Theolog. Stud.*, 1897, being noticed. The strength of the book is given to the exposition, which, without having any very distinguishing quality, is careful and useful, combining the practical with the scientific and critical. The other volume,

the *History of the Books of the New Testament*, is a laborious performance and one of large compass. It embraces the literary history and criticism not only of the canonical books, but also of the related non-canonical literature—the Gospels of the Ebionites, the Hebrews, the Egyptians, those bearing the names of Peter, Philip, Thomas, Matthias, Nicodemus, Basilides, etc., the Preaching of Peter, the Apocryphal Acts, the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions, etc. Nor does even this exhaust the contents of the book. Nearly 200 pages are devoted to the History of the Canon, and the History and Criticism of the Text. It is an immense field, therefore, that Dr. Baljon undertakes to traverse. In view of the limits of his space, he has discharged the task which he set himself with a remarkable measure of success. His general position is indicated by his method. He begins with the Pauline Epistles, proceeding to the Catholic Epistles next and then to the Apocalypse (which is dealt with separately after a brief statement on Apocalyptic literature), and ending with the historical books. The Pauline Epistles are taken in the following order—Galatians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, Philemon, Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians. The Pastoral Epistles and the Epistle of the Hebrews are ranked together as Pseudo-Pauline. Dr. Baljon has been a grateful student of Weiss, Zahn, Holtzmann, Jülicher, Harnack and others. But he can justly claim to have made an independent study and to have reached his results by a way of his own. Both as to method and as to conclusions much might be said in qualification of Dr. Baljon's statements. But the two main criticisms that at once suggest themselves to an English reader are of a general kind. The author's attention is given too exclusively to Dutch and German scholars, and his treatment of some of the most important problems suffers by compression. The Synoptic question is disposed of in ten pages, the Apocalypse and Apocalyptic literature in twenty-four, the first Epistle of John in five. As a compendious statement, however, the book has very considerable merits.

Das apostolische Symbol, seine Entstehung, sein geschichtlicher Sinn, seine ursprüngliche Stellung in Kultus und in der Theologie der Kirche. Ein Beitrag zur Symbolik und Dogmengeschichte. Von Dr. FERDINAND KATTENBUSCH, ordentlichem Professor der Theologie in Giessen. Zweiter Band. Verbreitung und Bedeutung des Taufsymbols. Zweite Hälfte. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. 353-1061. Price M.23.

With this volume Professor Kattenbusch completes his task. It has been one of exceptional laboriousness. The inquiry was projected on an immense scale, and it has been conducted with a minute and extensive comprehensiveness which seems to have left nothing out of account. The erudition is of such a sweep, and the investigation is carried with so remarkable an insistence into the furthest corner in the case of each particular, that the reader is in constant danger of being overwhelmed with details. But if one wishes to have at his command an exhaustive history and book of reference to which he can turn with confidence when questions arise regarding the venerable Symbol, he will find it in Professor Kattenbusch's work. The use of this elaborate treatise, also, is greatly facilitated by excellent indices.

The legends concerning the origin of the Symbol, the import of the testimonies of Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement and Origen, and the history of its reception in the Church of the East, have been dealt with in the former instalment. The present volume takes up the story of the Symbol in the Church of the West, and proceeds then to deal with the old Roman form in particular, treating of each article in turn. This important section of the work is supplemented by a series of valuable observations on the contributions made to the subject by Harnack, Kunze, Funk and others. The *Textus Receptus* is next brought under investigation, in respect of its age, its derivation, and the meaning of its several clauses. The work is concluded by a welcome summary of results and notices of the most recent literature. Among the conclusions to which the author has been led by this protracted inquiry are these—that the Roman form is the basis of all like

Symbols; that that form can scarcely be of later date than the year A.D. 100; that there is no sufficient reason for doubting that it originated in Rome; that there is evidence to show it to have been in circulation in Gaul, Africa, parts of Asia Minor, and other places in the second century; but that with respect to such territories as Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, we have not the materials for deciding how the case really stood.

Leaders of Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century. By SYDNEY HERBERT MELLONE, M.A. Lond., D.Sc. Edin., Minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Holywood, County Down; Examiner in Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 302. Price 6s. net.

This book originated in a course of lectures on the "Source and Meaning of Belief in the Divine Being," which were delivered in the Divinity School of Meadville, Pennsylvania. The lecturer preferred to deal with his great theme on that occasion, by the way, as he explains it, of "a comparison and estimate of some typical forms of religious thought". The thinkers selected, and now dealt with in this volume, were John Henry Newman, James Martineau, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer and Robert Browning. These five were chosen because in the author's view their "principal and fundamental teachings, while differing widely, throw much light on each other and on the great problem already named," namely, the problem of God. It is also explained to us that what led to the main position of the book was the apprehension of the fact that the "two methods of Theism which are usually known as Rationalism and Mysticism" required to be reconciled. In Dr. Mellone's opinion the Rationalistic method has had ample justice done to it in the nineteenth century, and the Mystical is now likely to have its turn.

The volume which has taken shape in the way thus stated by the author is one of much interest. The keynote of the

argument is *experience*. The writer proceeds on the principle that experience is the ground of all forms of belief—experience rationally interpreted and recognised to be infinitely various. The book avoids the use of metaphysical terms as far as possible, yet its statements at times are somewhat abstract. On the whole, however, it carries one pleasantly along, as it affirms the basis of human knowledge to be constituted by experience and its rational interpretation, and draws out the applications of that position. The expositions and criticisms of the representative thinkers contain many good points. Newman's reverence for antiquity, his insistence on dogma, his theories of belief and development are well handled, and a very good account is given of the tenor of his *Grammar of Assent*. The sketch of James Martineau is one of the best—we should say the very best—of all the studies. The nature of Martineau's Theism and its foundations are explained, and ample justice is done to his place in recent religious thought. Dissent at the same time is indicated from the idea that the passage from conscience to God is a *mere* inference, and the third line of thought in Martineau's system is taken to be the corrective of this. That is the position that our ethical knowledge of God is not simply an inference from the moral consciousness, but a "deeper insight into what the moral consciousness verily is". The fifth chapter is one of great interest. It deals at length with the question: What is religious experience? And it brings us to the definition of Revelation. Revelation, according to our author, appears to be that "constant self-communication of the divine life to man and self-revelation of the eternal reason," which makes it possible for man to be always "rising above all his past experiences and past achievements". In the closing lecture Robert Browning is taken as the exponent of the value of Work in the sense of "effort, energy of spirit, in moulding experience and so affording new data for knowledge"—a very partial view, surely, of the poet's message. And here we find the completer statement of the author's idea of religion. It is a statement which contains indeed some good and true elements, but which gets more abstract

and further removed from what has reality and life for ordinary humanity the more it is expanded. It comes to this: Religion is the interpretation of an experience; the intellectual interpretation gives us religious doctrine or theory; but the experience is "not merely a part of the finite individual". What is it then? It is something that "involves an inflowing of the Divine Life," and concentrates itself in our "consciousness of the authoritative ideals—Truth, Beauty, Goodness". And it is in our consciousness of these as "*our* ideal, and yet as *real* far beyond what we *are*," that there lies "the germ of an immediate consciousness of God as their Source and Sustainer".

Apocrypha Syriaca. The Protevangelium Jacobi and Transitus Mariae. With Texts from the Septuagint, the Corān, the Peshitta, and from a Syriac Hymn in a Syro-Arabic Palimpsest of the fifth and other centuries. Edited and Translated by AGNES SMITH LEWIS, M.R.A.S., Hon. Phil. Dr., Halle-Wittenberg; LL.D., St. Andrews. With an Appendix of Palestinian-Syriac Texts from the Taylor-Schechter Collection. London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1902. 4to, pp. lxxii. + 71 + 154. Price 15s. net.

We owe this volume, which forms No. xi. of the series known as the *Studia Sinaitica*, to the able and indefatigable labours of Mrs. Lewis of Cambridge. It is splendidly printed as regards both the English text and the Syriac original. It is embellished by a number of excellent photographic illustrations and it has a learned introduction. Everything, in short, that can in any way help us in understanding and appreciating the two curious pieces of Syriac literature seems to have been collected and placed at our disposal.

These two writings, the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and the *Transitus Mariae*, are printed from a manuscript purchased by Mrs. Lewis at Suez in 1895—a vellum palimpsest. The upper script represents selections from the Fathers in Arabic of the ninth or tenth century. In the present volume it is the under script that is reproduced. A few leaves of the manuscript being lost, the missing parts of the Syriac text

are supplied from another manuscript brought by Professor Rendel Harris from Tûr Abdin in Mesopotamia. The upper writing is assigned by Mr. A. Cowley to the early tenth century, and the lower is placed "about 750 A.D., or at any rate in the eighth century". Mrs. Lewis herself is inclined to put the date of the text of the *Protevangelium* and the *Transitus* at the latter half of the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth. In her translation she follows that of the late Professor Wright. That the narrative itself is entirely unhistorical is abundantly clear. It may have been intended by the author himself, as Mrs. Lewis suggests, to be nothing more than a pious romance. It is in the influence it exerted and the relation in which it has stood to Mariolatry, the festivals of the Greek Church, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, the adoration of the Sepulchre of Christ, etc., that its interest lies. "The whole cultus of Mary in the Papal Church," says Ewald, "rests upon this book." He regards it as the foundation "for a hundred superstitious things which have intruded with less and less resistance into the Churches since the fifth century and have contributed so much to the degeneration and to the crippling of all better Christianity".

Biblical and Literary Essays. By the late A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh. Edited by his successor, Professor J. A. PATERSON, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 320. Price 6s.

The Called of God. By the late A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh. Edited by Professor J. A. PATERSON, D.D. With Biographical Introduction by A. TAYLOR INNES, Advocate. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 336. Price 6s.

These two volumes are the first instalments of the literary *Nachlass* of the gifted scholar whose loss is so deeply felt, not only by all students of the Old Testament but by a multitude of grateful pupils and devoted friends. They are carefully edited by one who was long associated with the lamented

author and now fills his Chair in the New College, Edinburgh. They will be followed without long delay, we hope, by other volumes of larger scope which will put the public in possession of much of Professor Davidson's best and most characteristic work. For it fortunately happens, that while like the late Dr. Hort of Cambridge, he was never in haste to publish during his lifetime, he has left behind him a large quantity of valuable matter, carefully prepared and representing the studies of a lifetime.

The first of the two volumes named above contains a limited selection out of a mass of lectures delivered on various public occasions and articles contributed to journals. Five of the eighteen papers appeared in 'the pages of *The Expositor*'; the remaining eight are published here for the first time. They extend over the whole period of his professional work, and represent different aspects of his theological activity. Dr. Davidson's range was wide. His fine literary instinct and his penetrating scholarship carried him far beyond the narrow bounds of the linguist. In the present volume we see him not only grappling with the problem of Old Testament prophecy and the Wisdom literature of the Hebrews, but discoursing with fine perception on such subjects as Arabic Poetry, Mohammed and Islam, the English Bible and its Revision, Modern Religion and Old Testament Immortality, etc. The papers on the Wisdom of the Hebrews and the prophets Amos and Hosea will be particularly welcome to Old Testament students.

But Dr. Davidson was not only a scholar and teacher of exceptional rank. He was also a notable preacher. The volume of essays contains one of great interest in which he gives us his conception of the "Rationale of a Preacher," and the second volume shows us how he gave effect to his idea of preaching in his own compositions for the pulpit. He was slow to preach, and he cultivated none of the arts that make for a superficial popularity. But none could hear him without feeling his power and originality and carrying away with him unforgettable impressions, thoughts that kindled the fire within, the sense of a new light

thrown in upon one's own experience or need by some sudden flash of self-revelation or confession on the part of the preacher. Such discourses as those on Saul's Reprobation, Elijah's Flight, and others not less striking, given in this volume, once heard clung to the memory for ever. The qualities of his preaching are skilfully indicated by his life-long friend, Mr. Alexander Taylor Innes, in the biographical introduction. The vivid, appreciative, admirably drawn sketch of Dr. Davidson which is given us there, adds greatly to the value of the volume, which is also enriched by two striking portraits.

The Church of the New Testament. The Presbyterate. A Defence of Presbyterianism. By the Rev. WILLIAM PATERSON. London: H. R. Allenson. Small cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 248. Price 3s. 6d.

The position affirmed in this volume is that the Presbyterate is the form of Church polity clearly set before us in the New Testament; that the Church was formed on the model of the Synagogue, the constitution of which was distinctly popular and presbyterian; and that the shape which His Church was to take was not left by Christ wholly to the discretion of His followers or the suggestions of expediency. The author is in sympathy with Gillespie and others of the great expositors of Presbyterianism in older times "who were clear," as he says, "on the essentials of the polity being binding and of great value," but allowed that in what was merely circumstantial, there was room for many things "being adjusted by reason and Christian forbearance". He is utterly opposed to the High Anglican theory and to the Ritualistic movement in all its forms. His polemic is vigorous, and he does not mince the terms in which he deals with the statements of the extreme supporters of the Prelatic Theory of the constitution of the Church. He has bestowed much pains, however, on his argument and has gathered his material from many different quarters. He writes throughout also with the strength of conviction.

His plan embraces an examination first into the Synagogue

and its constitution, the Mission of the Seventy, the training of the Twelve, and the founding and naming of the Church. He goes next into an investigation of the officials, ordinary and extraordinary, of the New Testament Church, the testimony of the Didaché, and the leading features of the New Testament Church. He has discussions also of Absolution, the Power of the Keys, the dogma of Apostolic Succession, the Historic Episcopate, etc. He brings his work to an end with a brief sketch of the history of Presbyterianism, a reference to proposals for reunion and a criticism of objections to the Presbyterate. The writer's patriotic feeling gives animation to his pages.

The Cross and the Kingdom as Viewed by Christ Himself and in the Light of Evolution. By the Rev. W. L. WALKER, Laurencekirk, author of *The Spirit and the Incarnation*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. 8vo, pp. xii. + 325. Price 9s.

This book is a fitting sequel to the author's former publication. His book on *The Spirit and the Incarnation* deservedly attracted attention as a devout, independent and stimulating contribution to theology. Its subject was the living Christ as the Incarnation of God and the present Saviour of mankind. The subject of the present volume is the Divine ethical power which comes through the Cross of Christ. It is a great theme, and it is handled here with much ability and with perfect reverence. Taking the Cross as the central fact both in the preaching of the apostles and in the history of the world, Mr. Walker deals first with what he calls "the necessary implication of the Cross"; in connexion with which he dwells specially on the witness of experience to the fact that the Gospel of the Cross exhibits the reality and awfulness of sin, reveals the forgiving love of God, becomes the power of a new life, and gives comfort, peace, courage, power, and an assured hope.

The second part takes up the question of the genuineness of our Lord's sayings recorded in the Gospels. Here attention is properly called to the fact that almost all our

Lord's words on the subject of His death are found in the Gospel which is now generally regarded as the oldest, and most of them in the triple record. The negative position of Pfleiderer is subjected to very effective criticism, and the extreme improbability of the supposition that all these sayings were inserted *post eventum* is forcibly brought out. The significance of particular sayings and experiences is next expounded. Here again we have much that is exegetically true, and much that indicates a real insight into our Lord's own testimony. We miss something at the same time in the interpretation of some of His most definite utterances, and still more in that of His profoundest experiences, as witnesses to the peculiar relation in which He stood to sin.

The fourth part is one of great importance. Here the interpretation of the Cross is the question in hand. Inadequate or erroneous theories are reviewed, among which are named those that view the Cross as necessary in order to reconcile God's righteousness with His love and grace; or as meant merely to bring sinners to repentance and so to forgiveness; or as merely a *manifestation* of the Love of God; or as required in view of the *suffering* of the world, without any special relation to the setting forth of the evil of sin. The author next states his own view, which is to the effect that the Cross is the culmination of vicarious suffering, and that its redemptive value lies in the fact that it manifests the evil of sin, leads to the expression of forgiveness on God's part and repentance and righteousness on man's part, and diffuses the *true spirit*, the very Spirit of Christ, among those for whom He suffered. The last part has for its subject "The Cross in the Light of Evolution". The objections to the ordinary doctrine of the "Fall" and "Death" are met, and the harmony of the Cross with evolution is affirmed. This is put upon the ground that the Cross is a supreme revelation of *suffering* and *sacrifice* as the great means of advance and of sin as evil, and above all as the power which "continues and completes the process of evolution—the process of uplifting men above the life of the flesh into the life of love, the life of God's Kingdom, the eternal life of the sons of God".

From this rapid survey the reader will see the author's main position, and will have some idea of the candour and ability with which it is thought out. Yet we cannot say that it comes up to the full New Testament doctrine of the Cross. For one thing, Mr. Walker fails to see how important a place the idea of the Divine Wrath has in the interpretation of the Cross. He ventures even to assert that "wrath is a purely human conception," and that we are not warranted to transfer to God such feelings as belong to finite beings with imperfect knowledge and love. He overlooks the fact that the same reasoning would apply to the ascription of any other mental or moral quality in human nature to the Divine Nature. He forgets, too, the very large place which is given in Scripture to the idea of the Divine Wrath in relation both to the Divine Holiness and the Divine Love, and the essential place which our greatest moralists, from Plato on to Butler and others of more recent times, have allowed to the capacity of righteous indignation in moral natures. For another thing, Mr. Walker misses the real meaning of *penalty*, and by consequence denies the existence of any penal element in Christ's sufferings and death. He rests content meanwhile with a doctrine of the Cross which comes far short of that reached by men like Dr. Dale and Mr. Lidgett. But this is probably only for the meanwhile. So candid and careful a student of the New Testament and of Christian experience will in all probability proceed further.

The Prayer Book of Ædelwald the Bishop, commonly called "The Book of Cerne". Edited from the MS. in the University Library, Cambridge, with Introduction and Notes, by DOM A. B. KUYPERS, Benedictine of Downside Abbey. Cambridge: University Press, 1902. 4to, pp. xxxvi. + 286. Price 21s. net.

This is a splendid example of the work turned out by the Cambridge University Press. The publication is of the most tasteful and handsome form, beautifully printed, and adorned by two attractive facsimiles, one of the curious frontispiece to Luke's Gospel, and another of the opening page of the

Lorica. The book itself which is justly characterised by its capable and learned editor as "one of the treasures of the Cambridge University Library," has attracted the attention of scholars before now. It was the long-cherished wish of the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw to bring out at least a part of it; articles were written on it by Professor Westwood and Mr. F. A. Paley; and Mr. Henry Bishop, who contributes an important note to the volume, has been interested in it. But Dr. Kuypers has the honour of preparing the first edition.

Though the book has been known for some time as "The Book of Cerne," it does not seem to have had any connexion with Cerne till sometime in the Middle Ages. The questions of its origin and date are ably dealt with in a learned Introduction, and the conclusion is reached that the MS. most probably was written in Mercia and not later than the first half of the ninth century. The text is transcribed with careful indication of uncertainties in reading and occasional suggestions of emendation. It contains the passion according to St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke and St. John, an Acrostic, a collection of Prayers, Hymns, etc., the Psalter of Ædelwald, and an Apocryphal *Descensus ad Inferna*. There is an Appendix showing the text of the Royal MS. 2 A. xx. in the British Museum; and there is a series of valuable notes.

The question of the sources of the prayers which are given in the second part is considered with much care. It is found that they contain nothing to suggest that they were of Mercian origin, though contained in a Mercian manuscript; and reasons are given for thinking that they were drawn from many different quarters, and that we have to recognise in them two great currents of influence, Irish and Roman. The book is of interest in several ways. It has a special interest for the student of liturgical literature; and among other things it shows us a type of Biblical text which was in use in England in the eight and the first half of the ninth centuries.

Genesis. Uebersetzt und erklärt. Von HERMANN GUNKEL. 2. verbesserte Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. xcii. + 440. Price M.9.80; Halbled. M.11.80.

This notable contribution to the exposition of the book of Genesis has not had long to wait for the honour of a second edition. The new issue appears to be substantially the same as the original edition. There are minor improvements, but the main positions remain unchanged. This holds good both of the general conception of the way in which the narratives in Genesis are to be treated, and of the interpretation of particular passages. The book has been reviewed at length in the pages of this journal (vol. xii., p. 3), and it is enough at present to refer to the estimate formed of it there by a competent judge. The book has been reviewed by many different hands, and the author has had the criticism of men like Giesebrecht, Bertholet, Steuernagel, Frankenberg and others in view in preparing this new edition. He has had the benefit also of important suggestions by Professors Zimmern of Leipzig, Erman of Berlin, and Sethe of Göttingen on matters of Babylonian and Egyptian lore. Thus he has been induced to make certain changes and revisions which he regards as of some moment, and to which he calls attention on p. x. They are not numerous, however, nor do they make any material alteration in the scope or contents of the volume. The only alteration of any importance in his general point of view is that he is less inclined than before to explain the myths or traditions of Genesis as imaginative forms in which race-relations and race-occurrences became dressed out, and that he is disposed to allow more for the ethnographic and ætiological in the construction of these parts of Genesis. Professor Gunkel's work has much in it that provokes dissent and raises questions. The importance of it in relation to the prevailing trend of Old Testament Criticism is perhaps not yet adequately appreciated. It is bound to turn discussion into new directions and to open up further questions.

The Apostles' Creed : Its Origin, its Purpose, and its Historical Interpretation. A Lecture, with Critical Notes, by ARTHUR CUSHMAN MCGIFFERT, Washburn Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 206. Price 4s. net.

Much attention has been given of late to the ancient Symbol known as the Apostles' Creed. Among the contributions made to the solution of the various questions connected with that document by Caspari, Kattenbusch, Swete, Harnack, Zahn and others, Professor McGiffert's is one of the most important and also one of the most independent. The volume has grown out of a lecture delivered at the Harvard University Summer School of Theology in July, 1899, the bulk of the book consisting of a body of critical notes attached to the lecture. These notes are of great value. They represent much scholarly research, and embody the results of patient scientific inquiry. Six of them deal with the Old Roman Symbol, its text in the fourth century, its date, the original form of its text, the place of its composition, its purpose and its relation to the baptismal formula. A closing note contains an examination of the present text of the Apostles' Creed. There is a mass of useful matter in these notes, and the evidence is given succinctly and clearly on which the author bases his main conclusions.

These conclusions are of much interest, all the more that they differ considerably from those adopted by Kattenbusch, Harnack and other recent writers. The form of the *Apostolicum* which we now possess being an enlargement of a briefer and much earlier document which has come to be known as the "Old Roman Symbol," Professor McGiffert's inquiry is occupied mainly with the latter. On the subject of its ascertainable date he opposes those who contend that it was in use when Marcion visited Rome, and that it was known to Justin Martyr and to some of the Apostolic Fathers. He takes Irenæus and Tertullian to be the earliest witnesses to its existence, and holds that it cannot be traced further

back (with the exception of a few phrases) than to the latter part of the second century. His criticism of the evidence adduced in support of the other view is brief and conclusive. It is impossible to infer the earlier existence of the Creed from the occurrence of certain of its phrases in the writings of the earlier Fathers. The Creeds were not made up of new and unfamiliar terms constructed specially for the purpose. For the most part they took up terms which had been in use and had in course of time commended themselves as suitable. On the question of the text, too, of the ancient Symbol as known to Irenæus and Tertullian, he dissents from those scholars who think it was the same as that known to Rufinus. The evidence, as he reads it, goes to show that in the time of these Fathers the phrases "only begotten" (after "Christ Jesus"), "of the Holy Spirit" (after "born"), "the forgiveness of sins," and probably also the article on the Church and the designation "Our Lord" after "Christ Jesus His Son," had not yet found a place in the Creed.

He agrees again with all other students of the Creed that it was from Rome itself that the old form of the Symbol made its way through the Church of the West, and he comes further to the conclusion that Rome also was the place where the Symbol was composed. In this he parts company with Caspari, Zahn and Sanday, who are of opinion that it originated in the East, and agrees with Kattenbusch and Harnack. The reasons for this conclusion, drawn from the nature of the Symbol in use in Syria and Palestine at the end of the third century, the evidence for an earlier existence of the Symbol in the Western Church than in the Eastern, etc., are briefly stated. Another interesting question which is well handled is how, in view of what appears in the *Didache* and other early sources, we are to account for the existence of an elaborate *baptismal* confession, such as the *Apostolicum* seems to have been meant to be, in the latter part of the second century. Professor McGiffert's explanation is that by that date heterodox views were being taught; that the Marcionite movement in particular was causing trouble; and that the Old Roman Symbol arose, like the

other great historic Creeds, as a protest against error. He opposes, therefore, the prevalent idea, supported by Kattenbusch, Harnack and others, that the *Apostolicum* was a "positive statement of the Christian faith framed quite independently of existing errors and with a primarily evangelistic or missionary purpose". He examines the various articles with the view of showing how they bear out his idea of the nature of the Symbol, making much, *e.g.*, of the use of the term *παντοκράτωρ* in the clause "I believe in God the Father Almighty". Here, too, a good case is made out on the whole, although not in every particular. It is scarcely an adequate account surely of the introduction of the phrase *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* to say that "evidently the mention of the Holy Spirit in the Creed was due simply to its occurrence in the baptismal formula upon which the Creed was based".

Notices.

WE have also to notice *The Diary of David Brainerd*¹ and *The Journal of David Brainerd*,² two volumes which well deserve a place in the useful and attractive series of *Books for the Heart*, edited by the Rev. Alexander Smellie, M.A., standard volumes indeed in devotional Christian literature, presented in excellent form by the careful editor, furnished with an appreciative introduction, and welcome as an invitation to us to renew our acquaintance with a notable Christian man and his wonderful work among the Red Indians; *A Primer of the Christian Religion*,³ by George Holley Gilbert, Ph.D., D.D., a small volume, elegant in printing and form, giving in the method of question and answer, with abundant references to the New Testament text, a simple statement of the Christian religion on the side of the *facts* which constitute it rather than the theories connected with it, done in the main in a clear and satisfactory manner, though occasionally betraying critical bias, as, *e.g.*, in the representation given of *baptism* as it appears in the New Testament, in which Matthew xxviii. 19 is set aside while passages in Acts and Romans are retained; *The Gospel according to St. Mark*,⁴ by Sir A. F. Hort, Bart., M.A., Assistant Master at Harrow School—an edition of the Greek text intended for the use of schools, with a good introduction and a sufficient supply of well-chosen notes, a scholarly volume prepared with excellent judgment and providing the kind of matter that will be a valued help to those commencing the study of the Greek

¹ London: Andrew Melrose, 1902. Pp. liv. + 377. Price 2s. 6d.

² London: Andrew Melrose, 1902. Pp. x. + 292. Price 2s. 6d.

³ New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 76. Price 4s. 6d. net.

⁴ Cambridge: The University Press, 1902. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xxxiii. + 202. Price 2s. 6d. net.

New Testament; *Euclid, His Life and System*,¹ by Thomas Smith, D.D., LL.D., a contribution to the series of *The World's Epoch-Makers*, edited by Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, the work of a veteran not less distinguished in mathematical science than in missionary service, giving an admirable sketch of the geometry that preceded Euclid's system, a statement of the value of the Euclidean geometry, an estimate of its importance to the scientific world, an account of the progress of geometrical science, and many other things of importance to the mathematician, while all through the book we have frank expressions of the author's personal opinions on matters of more general interest—the theory of Evolution (which is pronounced to be “inept in the region of material science” and “suicidal in the region of mind”), the quality of modern literature, laxity of reasoning, the place which geometry should occupy in general education, etc.; *Christian Heresies*,² by the Rev. Sydney Claude Tickell, A.K.C., a small, handy book such as the theological student looking forward to examination is eager to get, in which the Heresies on the fundamental question of the “Being of God” are classified, so that their essential points may be easily grasped, depicted with their definitions, authors, and chronological relations in a carefully constructed table, and further explained in a “Biographical Appendix”; *Chapters on Preaching*,³ by the Rev. George Fletcher, Tutor in Pastoral Theology and Church Organisation in the Wesleyan College, Richmond, Surrey, an expansion of lectures delivered by the author in the discharge of his professional duties, well adapted to the needs of young preachers, showing a wide acquaintance with recent literature on the subject and much good sense in the statements which it makes on the preacher's message and mission, his preparation for the pulpit, the secret of effective style, the use of the Old Testament in preaching, the extent to

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 227. Price 3s.

² London: Elliott Stock, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 47. Price 1s. 6d. net.

³ London: Charles H. Kelly, 1902. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 176. Price 2s.

which preaching must be affected by the times, the relation of the sermon to the other parts of the service, etc.—a volume which will be read with interest and profit by students of theology; *Shining and Serving*,¹ by J. R. Miller, D.D., another volume on the practical religious life, exhibiting the best qualities of the author's well-known method of handling sacred themes for the purposes of edification, treating in a warm, popular, persuasive style such subjects as the "Transfigured Life," the "Path of Promise," the "Dew of thy Youth," etc., and giving, out of the writer's own experience, much that may help and encourage others in Christian effort; *Peplographia Dublinensis*,² a series of memorial discourses preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, during the years 1895-1902 by the Bishops of Derry and Edinburgh, Professors Gwynn, Mahaffy and Lawlor, Dr. John Henry Bernard, and the Rev. Messrs. Sherlock and Roberts, giving excellent sketches and appreciative estimates of Archbishops Ussher and King, Bishops Wilson, Berkeley and Stearne, Edmund Burke, Henry Grattan and Viscount Falkland—a book of much interest and value not only to the alumni of the great Irish seat of learning, but to all outside that academic pale who have any knowledge of the careers and services of the distinguished theologians and statesmen commemorated in these readable and instructive discourses; *The Art of Noble Living*,³ by Robert P. Downes, LL.D., a book of devout thoughts and lofty aims, eloquently written, made the more instructive and stimulating by frequent appeals to history and biography, setting before us a high ideal of life, and giving much good counsel on youth, character, obedience, self-culture, influence, service, society and religion in their bearing on the realisation of the ideal of true and noble living; *The Pentateuch in the Light of To-day*,⁴ by Andrew Holborn, M.A., a small volume which should meet a widely-

¹ London: Andrew Melrose. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 262. Price 3s. 6d.

² London: Macmillan & Co., 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 219. Price 3s. 6d. net.

³ London: Charles H. Kelly, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 422. Price 3s. 6d. net.

⁴ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. Pp. viii. + 113. Price 2s.

felt need, designed as it is to form a "simple introduction to the Pentateuch on the lines of the Higher Criticism"—reliable in respect of its scholarship and giving in terms free from technicalities a view of the main questions regarding the sources and construction of the Mosaic books which should make an intricate subject easily understood; *Nineteenth Century Preachers and their Methods*,¹ by the Rev. John Edwards—a republication of popular papers which appeared originally in *The Preacher's Magazine*, giving brief but interesting sketches of a select number of notable preachers (including Beecher, Brooks, Boyd Carpenter, Dale, Farrar, Guthrie, Ker, Maclaren, Magee, Parker, F. W. Robertson, Spurgeon, Watkinson, and Samuel Wilberforce), together with two papers on "The Ordinary Man" and "Preaching to Children," in which some good practical suggestions are made; a second edition of Professor W. Herrmann's acute and comprehensive manual of *Ethics*,² forming the fifteenth section of the *Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften*), in which the divisions of the subject followed in the first edition are maintained and the general line of statement adhered to, while regard is had to the more important criticisms to which the book has been subjected, and certain minor improvements and additions are introduced which add to its value as a handbook; *Professor Harnack and his Oxford Critics*,³ by Thomas Bailey Saunders, dealing mainly with the view of Harnack's *What is Christianity?* which is taken by Professor Sanday in his *Examination*, and in particular with the contention that Harnack's book offers us a "reduced" Christianity, a Christianity without a Christology—a defence conducted in a commendable spirit of loyalty to his master, though in our judgment far from conclusive, and betraying indeed a singular

¹ With an Introduction by the Rev. Arthur E. Gregory, D.D. London: Charles H. Kelly, 1902. 8vo, pp. x. + 173. Price 3s. 6d.

² *Ethik*. Von Dr. W. Herrmann, Professor der Theologie in Marburg. Zweite Auflage. Tübingen und Leipzig, 1902. 8vo, pp. xi. + 204. Price M. 3.60.

³ London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 91. Price 1s. 6d. net.

inability to understand the real position of the critics of Harnack's book, and a disposition to fasten on them views which are not theirs, as when, *e.g.*, he represents Professor Sanday, when he gladly allows that Harnack takes the "right side" on certain questions, as committing himself to the opinion that "the Synoptic Gospels do not give the facts as they were," "that miracles do not happen," etc.; a new edition of Professor Haupt's *Commentary on the Epistles of the Captivity*,¹ in which the learned author has thoroughly revised his work, reconsidered his interpretations in the light of the newer literature, especially the books of Weiss and Zahn, and found occasion to modify some of his previous conclusions, particularly in his expositions of Ephesians and Colossians—a contribution of great value to the study of these Epistles, bringing the original Meyer abreast of the most recent inquiries; a new edition of Wendt's important work *Die Lehre Jesu*,² a book which has been deservedly recognised as one of the best studies of our Lord's teaching that have appeared in recent times, penetrating, suggestive and independent, improved in various respects in this new issue and made both more useful and more acceptable, the two volumes of the original edition being now brought within the compass of a single volume of moderate size by the exercise of compression in dealing with the Fourth Gospel and the discussion of critical principles; *The Study of the Gospels*,³ an admirably written and informing volume by Canon Armitage Robinson, which has grown out of a series of lectures delivered in

¹ *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament.* Begründet von Heinr. Aug. Wilh. Meyer, viii. u. ix. Abteilung. 8. bzw. 7. Auflage. Die Gefangenschaftsbriege. Von der 7. bzw. 6. Auflage an neu bearbeitet von Dr. Erich Haupt, Konsistorialrat, o. Prof. d. Theol. an d. Univ. Halle-Wittenberg. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. vi. + 104 + 247 + 180. Price 10s. 6d. net.

² *Die Lehre Jesu.* Von Hans Heinrich Wendt. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. x. + 640. Price 12s. net.

³ London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. Pp. xi. + 161. Price 2s. 6d. net.

Westminster Abbey, and in which the learned author gives a clear and popular statement of the results of much careful and independent inquiry into the origin and date and authorship of the Synoptic Gospels, the use of Mark by Matthew and Luke, the use of the non-Markan document by the First and Third Gospels, the authorship of the Fourth Gospel and other related questions—a small book containing much valuable matter and not a few interesting and illuminating observations; *Scenes and Studies in the Ministry of Our Lord, with Thoughts on Preaching*,¹ by the Rev. James H. Rigg, D.D., Principal of Westminster Training College, a series of discourses which the venerable author has been able to prepare for publication out of the mass of pulpit matter accumulated through a ministry of more than half a century, and in which such subjects as “The Baptist and Christ,” “The Sisters of Bethany,” “The Footwashing,” “Peter’s Fall and Restoration,” etc., are handled in a telling, instructive, unpretentious manner; *The Sermon on the Mount*,² by Benjamin W. Bacon, D.D., of Yale University, an examination of the literary structure and didactic purpose of the Sermon in accordance with the principles of the Higher Criticism, containing many acute remarks, though taking great liberties with the arrangement and reconstruction of the matter; the sixth volume of the Sixth Series of the *Expositor*,³ edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D., containing important articles by Professor Vernon Bartlet on “Barnabas and his Genuine Epistle,” Professor Clemen on “The First Epistle of Peter and the Book of Enoch,” Professor Rendel Harris on an interesting question of Textual Criticism, the Rev. A. E. Garvie on the “Inner Life of Jesus,” Principal Fairbairn on the “Fourth Gospel,” etc.; the thirteenth volume of the *Expository Times*,⁴ edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., a volume inferior to none of those that have

¹ London: C. H. Kelly. 8vo, pp. vi. + 261. Price 5s.

² New York: The Macmillan Publishing Company, 1902. Pp. xii. + 262. Price 4s. 6d. net.

³ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

⁴ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. Pp. vii. + 568. Price 7s. 6d.

gone before it in wealth and variety of well-selected matter, and in general suitability to the needs of preachers, students, and all interested in the great questions of religion and theology; a very readable lecture on *Buddhism and Christianity*,¹ by Professor Alfred Bertholet of Basle, comparing the two systems, presenting the main points of the ethics of the former, and showing that in that respect it is the system, which, together with that of Laotze, makes the nearest approach to the Christian religion; a new edition, revised and enlarged, of Professor Friedrich Blass's *Grammar of New Testament Greek*,² a work which students of the New Testament have found it to their great advantage to use alongside *Winer* and *Buttmann*, which will be of still greater service in this new and improved issue, and which has distinctive features and outstanding merits now so widely recognised that we may dispense with any particular description, recommendation or criticism of it; *The Education of Christ*,³ a small book by Professor W. M. Ramsay of Aberdeen, described as "Hillside Reveries," in which will be found many beautiful and suggestive remarks on the influence of the scenes of Galilee and Jerusalem on the mind of our Lord.

¹ *Buddhismus und Christentum*. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902. 8vo, pp. iv. + 64. Price 1s. 6d. net.

² *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1902. 8vo, pp. iii. + 348. Price 6s. net.

³ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902. Pp. xii. + 139. Price 2s. 6d.

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Theological Thought in Norway.¹

THE four quarters of the nineteenth century, so far as the religious life of Norway is concerned, are identified respectively with the names of Hauge, Grundtvig, Johnson and Petersen. The death of the last of these distinguished men early this year, and the issue of *Norsk Theologisk Tidsskrift*, "Fredrik Petersens Minde Helliget" (dedicated to the memory of Fredrik Petersen), give us the occasion to review some phases of Norwegian theological thought in recent years.

The first quarter of the century was characterised by two different and unequal currents. The one was Rationalistic and Pelagian, and on it the clergy, especially in the towns, sailed, and with them the professional men, merchants and well-to-do people generally. When the country became jubilant over its recently won freedom from Denmark and independence of Sweden, and was revising its laws and marking out political lines altogether new, many of the clergy entered the political arena and oftentimes took sides opposed to the popular will. Among the peasants, who form by far the largest proportion of the population, the current took the opposite direction as the result of a religious revival due to the life and work of Hans Nielsen Hauge, a self-taught peasant, who, through the reading of some pietistic books, found salvation and believed himself to be called to proclaim the Saviour's love to all whom he could reach and influence. During a period of seven years, ending in 1804, Hauge traversed the whole of Norway, walking at least 6,000 miles, preaching several times a day, conversing with individuals and carrying on an extensive

¹ "Fredrik Petersens Minde," *Norsk Theologisk Tidsskrift*, 1903. Christiania: Grøndahl & Sons. Price Kr. 1.50. "Det Lutherske Skriftprincip," af Prof. Fr. Petersen, 1900. Grøndahl & Sons.

correspondence with his friends and disciples. Soon the whole country was aroused by his evangelistic zeal. He saw the errors of the State Church—Lutheran and very Erastian—and in some points he differed doctrinally from it, but he did not encourage any secession. His purpose was to instil a more religious spirit into the people and the Church. He insisted on the uselessness of depending on Church ordinances, priestly rites and mere sacramental grace. He made much of conversion, regeneration and sanctification. Great were the controversies carried on between the theologians on the one hand and the pious peasant on the other; and the peasant prevailed. Naturally there was very little sympathy between the aristocratic and the plebeian currents at first. Hauge was persecuted and imprisoned at the instigation of the Rationalistic clergy. But there were some noble exceptions, among these being Bishop Brun of Bergen, an intellectual giant, who was so much thought of by the peasants that they even wished him to be proclaimed king of Norway instead of Bernadotte.

During the second quarter of the century another personality impressed the religious life of the land, *viz.*, Bishop Grundtvig. He was a Dane, sprung from the people, and intensely attached to them. He was one of the most versatile men of his day, a poet of no mean order, perhaps the most prolific hymn writer that ever lived. Grundtvig was a Lutheran priest, greatly distressed at the Rationalism of his age and Church. In his quiet little charge at Copenhagen he preached zealously, his favourite topic being the faith once delivered unto the saints. One day, in 1826, it suddenly occurred to him that it is not the Bible that forms the foundation for, and source of, our faith; for there are so many conflicting views in it that every sect appeals to it. There must be some simpler Word of God than that! How strange no one had ever discovered it before! It was the baptismal confession! This brief creed, with its three articles, so simple that a child can understand, must necessarily be older than the New Testament; for baptism is earlier than the Church, and the Church earlier



than the New Testament. There, he declared, we have the condition necessary for salvation, and these three articles we must believe. These are the actually "living words of God". What then is Scripture? It is no real Word of God; it is only a testimony which is to explain and unfold the life effected by the three articles, but which cannot communicate life. Scripture is not a *living* word, but only a written and therefore a *dead* word. The day of historic criticism truly had not dawned in Grundtvig's age! But the point of most significance is his maintaining that if Christianity is to be a practical living influence, it must be made so simple that a child can understand it. Grundtvig's main points are these—Spirit is power; Spirit reveals itself only in the Word; Spirit works only in freedom. Hence his demand for freedom in Church and State as in the schools. Only in freedom can Christianity and the Scandinavian spirit of the people thrive and work. So he demanded a true popular education, which at an early stage was secured by the establishment of the People's High Schools, which for so long have been so famed. These schools are in direct opposition to the Grammar Schools; for he held that the education in the latter, from a people's point of view, is foreign, and from a Christian point of view, pagan. The culture he wished disseminated was Scandinavian-Christian, dependent on the "living word," for it is "the daughter of life and the mother of life, whilst the written word is and remains dead".

The popularity of Grundtvigianism in Norway was due in great measure to Pastor W. A. Wexels of Christiania. His preaching, like his whole personality, had the mark of deep, holy earnestness, and yet of evangelical meekness. His works were distributed over all the country and had an influence of the widest character.

The followers of Hauge, however, did not find enough of the law in Grundtvig and his disciples. The Haugians were specially opposed to Grundtvigianism when they discovered that it allowed the possibility of conversion after death, at least for the souls that had not received in life the offer of

the gospel of Christ. This point and, still more, the strong churchmanship of Grundtvig, making much of the clerical calling and denying the right of laymen to preach in public, resulted in a wide breach between the Haugians and the Grundtvigian clergy and their supporters.

There was thus a revival among the people due to the peasant Hauge, and a revival among the clergy and the upper classes and others due to Grundtvigian influence; and a reconciliation between them took place through the great revival, in the fifties, that affected the whole country, especially many towns that formerly had been totally worldly. This brings us to the third quarter of the century. The men who now leave their stamp on the religious life of Norway are Pastor Lammers and Professors Caspari and Johnson, the latter of whom gives his name to the period. The main feature of the preaching of that time was an intense and touching appeal to the unconverted. Asserting the utter depravity of human nature, the Johnsonians were opposed to the Grundtvigians, who held that some remnant of the Divine nature still exists in man. This new awakening was supported by a theology that, on the whole, might be looked upon as a revival of the Lutheranism of the seventeenth century. Caspari in the domain of learning deepened and developed the old orthodoxy; Johnson did the same on more popular lines; and as he eagerly supported lay preaching he brought about a reconciliation between the Haugians and the clergy. Among the leaders who worked for this return to Old Lutheranism were Bishops Bugge and Heuch, the latter being still alive and an able controversialist.

Professor Gisle Johnson, from whom the period is named, has been, after Hauge, the most influential personality in Norwegian Church life in the century. He was professor first of systematic theology and then of Church history in Christiania, and belonged to the Lutheran Restoration school, influenced by Schleiermacher. These Restoration theologians started from a conscious faith determined by the Church's creed and the testimony of Scripture, and endeavoured to set forth systematically the Church's faith in

its agreement with Holy Writ. Johnson was in his element here, placing at the head of his system, not a series of unconnected prolegomena, but a connected representation of the assumptions and nature of the Christian faith. In Johnson the Old Lutheran orthodoxy, whose standpoint is practically maintained, is brought under the arranging influence of systematic thought; whilst at the same time it is expressed as a living personal content of conscious faith. He thus seeks to unite the stability of orthodoxy with the fervour of pietism and the consistency that thought demands. And the whole system stands on modern ground in so far as it seeks to base itself on faith as a personal moral-religious conviction. It is therefore easy to understand that the system in its day quickly gained great support in Norway, and that so much the more because its champion was a keen logician who at the same time bore in his soul the embers of revival.

The Johnsonian orthodoxy was quite supreme in Norway when Dr. Petersen, in 1875, was appointed to the chair of systematic theology in Christiania University. At that time a stream of culture, severed from Christianity, burst in upon Norwegian social life, and in the State Church they had the qualifications neither to understand nor to meet the movement. The Johnsonians recognised its opposition to the Christian view of life, and judged it as resting on a false and insurgent emancipation from the authority of Divine revelation. But they did not understand that, with all its opposition to Christianity, with all its unbelief, it was but the expression of an ideal; it implied progress, and it possessed a modicum of truth which it ought to be the task of Christian theological thought to master. And it was here that Dr. Petersen found his pioneering work for the Norwegian Church and its theology. Up till his death in January this year he has certainly been the most influential teacher in the theological faculty, the one from whom the students and theologians received the most fruitful impulses for their future work in the service of the Church. By very extensive lecture work, and by writings which occupy a prominent

place in Norwegian theological literature, he addressed himself to the religious and theological community, and immediately gave a great impetus to Christian thought and theological work in his country, with most beneficial results.

Petersen from early youth had been strongly influenced by Kierkegaard, and in that school his keen critical power had been exercised and sharpened, and, above all, his religious fervour had been deepened and his moral ideality highly developed. His education was much more general and extensive than usual among Norwegian theologians, and he early noticed the contrast between the Old Lutheran dogmatics and modern realistic thinking. With a deeply rooted personal Christian faith, and a mind working along modern lines, he possessed essential qualifications for the solution of the problem, which, after his appointment as professor, he immediately took up, *viz.*, how to wage war both intellectually and righteously against the unbelieving tendency so current and at the same time advance theology a step further; with the one hand he would build up and with the other he would wield a weapon. Professor Petersen saw and even emphasised that unbelief, or rather the culture movement which at that period was taken into the service of unbelief, in reality took charge of interests which the Church had hitherto neglected, and contained thoughts about the world and about mankind which churchmen must also think out and which they must use for the enriching and correcting of their Christian views. He blamed the Church for its tendency to isolate itself from the secular sciences and the intellectual life of the people, and to mistake a prevailing system for the everlasting truth itself. And he both demanded and laboured that the theology of the Church should appropriate the fruits of progressive culture in order thereby to promote the Church's growth in Christian knowledge. He thus condemned the Old Lutheran orthodoxy as quite out of date, at least in its setting forth of the faith; and, naturally, at first, his views were vigorously combated by the clergy, who would not admit that there were errors in their theology and that they were in bond to an antiquated system. Now, after

more than twenty years, it is acknowledged on all hands that Professor Petersen from the first was right. Indeed, what has given his appearance the rank of a theological transformation, and what gives his work the significance of an independent phase in Norwegian theological development, was just his energetic demand for deliverance from the Old Lutheran system, and his vigorous impulse towards a rethinking of the Christian content of faith, which clothes it in a dress more suitable for the times. As the real pioneer of such a work Professor Petersen has become the characteristic personality in Norwegian theology in the last quarter century, and his name will be identified with this period as Johnson's was with the quarter century preceding.

The only Norwegian theologian who can be named along with Petersen is the late Dr. E. F. B. Horn, a distinctive and independent thinker, several of whose books have been noticed in the CRITICAL REVIEW. In 1875 Horn published an important work on *Atonement and Justification*, and made such a daring attempt to throw new light on the Atonement question that even Petersen at first did not recognise in him the theological colleague which he in reality was. Dr. Horn, with a rich and stimulating authorship and an inspiring personality, did much to animate many and to strengthen the hands of Professor Petersen and the younger men who, like Brochmann, Bugge and others, were influenced by him.

Dr. Petersen's works have been mostly apologetic. As early as 1880 his treatment of the question, "How ought the Church to meet the unbelief of the age?" occasioned a great controversy. His contributions to the solution of the problem he had set included during the following years such works as *On Creation, Providence and the Guidance of God, Research and the Christian Faith, Why I Believe on Jesus Christ, Modern Ethics or Christian Ethics, Freethinkers and the Moral Value of the Christian Faith, Religion and Science*.

The subjects with which these books deal are essentially of a double nature. On the one side the author treats of the Christian faith in God as creator, provider and ruler; he deals with faith in miracles and prayer; and he seeks to

show that the scientific recognition of the conformity of the world to law does not exclude but enrich the faith. On the other side he treats of the Christian Ethics, both according to its moral content and according to its religious basis, and he maintains that the Christian Ethics is the expression of, and corresponds to, man's true nature.

In *Why I Believe on Jesus Christ* we have a sketch of a man's development from the immediate belief in authority, through doubt, to a personally acquired faith in Christ; and the author gives a purely positive account of the characteristic genesis of Christian assurance. The heart's need of moral perfection and the deep religious bent which stamp this book, breathe in reality through all the others and invest them with something of a personal force, which in so essential a degree determined Petersen's influence on the students of the university and the clergy of Norway. Behind all his lectures and books stood a deeply convinced Christian personality which sought after greater and greater clearness of thought; and practically Petersen created a theological language and style of his own. In this distinctive style of his there does seem occasionally to be a lack of lucidity and close connexion; but at the same time his style indicates a salutary departure from the heavy theological parlance of former days, and lets his thoughts appear in modern dress so as to be intelligible to the average educated man of the present day.

Professor Petersen did not attempt any connected representation of moral philosophy or of the religious system. Empiric and realist as he was, he distrusted all attempts by logical deduction to derive the true content of Christianity from a single central idea. And such solutions of problems as he offers, he does not give forth as definite, unchangeable results. Critical towards himself not less than towards others, he would only have his results regarded as modest contributions towards a work of thought which it was not the business of a single man or even of a single generation to carry out.

Petersen has chiefly dealt with one dogmatic question, *viz.*,

the doctrine of Holy Scripture. His attitude on this subject deserves to be specially mentioned not only because it has had significance in a purely dogmatic respect, but also because it has served to promote the development of the historic study of Scripture in Norway. The theory of Scripture, of the Old Testament, represented by the great Church historian, Professor Caspari, and of the New Testament, by Petersen's contemporaries, Professors Bugge and Munch, was not the expression of a quite realistic view of Scripture and understanding of Scripture. Consequently, when Petersen published his views on Inspiration he drew on himself the charge of rationalism and, as usual, started a controversy which had very liberalising results. Ten years later, in 1898, he published *Scripture and Theology*, in which he expressed his firm confidence in the Scriptures as the source of Christian knowledge. But at the same time he recognised how much the view of the Bible has gained and will gain through historic inquiry; and he has no fear of danger from critics who, in the right spirit and with fidelity, devote themselves to the scientific historic study of Scripture.

Petersen has also dealt with *The Lutheran Theory of Scripture*, in relation to the old and the new orthodoxy and to the Ritschlian tendency in Germany, represented by Kaftan. Dr. Petersen seeks to show how the Lutheran theory of Scripture only first reaches the position which Luther instinctively anticipated, when it has been developed from being "an external authoritative principle suited for children" to be "the expression of a full-grown man's spontaneous adherence to the word of salvation and truth". And he indicates that this problem will best be solved by a sifting through of the material given in Scripture and by proving how this material serves the religious life; and he has no fear, even if there may be parts of Scripture which neither directly nor indirectly serve the religious life and prove not to belong to the Divine revelation.

Professor Petersen belonged to no definite theological school, and he made no attempt to form a school. He rather sought with all his powers to incite his students and disciples to

personal and independent work on the basis of the faith. Both from his standpoint and from his temperament his was a conservative nature whose occupation with critical thoughts was stamped by as great caution as acumen. But at the same time he was ever willing to receive instruction from any kind of honest and worthy research, and was perfectly convinced that all such research would prove to be to the advantage of the Church and of the faith. His whole personality was a practical proof of the possibility of the combination of deep Christian faith and free scientific thought. He always gives in his books the impression of a deep love and regard for science in all its branches and a steadfast assurance of its high significance for the religious life. On theological thought and theological work in Norway his influence has been great and beneficial to a high degree, and, although it is too early to pass a decisive and final judgment on his work, it may be asserted that he will in future be pointed to as the pioneer of progress in the Norwegian theology of his day.

JNO. BEVERIDGE.

The Theology of Christ's Teaching. By the Rev. JOHN M. KING, D.D., Principal of Manitoba College, Winnipeg. With an Introduction by the Rev. JAMES ORR, D.D., Professor of Apologetic and Systematic Theology, United Free Church College, Glasgow. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902. 8vo, pp. xxiv. + 484. Price 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is in many respects a remarkable volume. It is the production of a man who lived a most strenuous life, building up Churches in Canada, grappling with the difficulties attending the formation of a School of Theology in the far North-West, and bearing the burden and care of many an ecclesiastical enterprise. His life in the country of his adoption was so full of activities of various kinds, and so charged with public responsibility, that the wonder is he ever found any opportunity for study. Yet this book shows that he did contrive, by rigorous economy of his time and by the enthusiasm of his nature, in a surprising degree to keep himself abreast of theological inquiry and literature, and to work out his own conclusions on the most important questions. There is also much to admire in the modern spirit of a work produced under the circumstances in which Dr. King was placed. His theological instincts were naturally conservative; he was far removed from the great centres of theological thought; and he had been trained before the critical movement came in. Yet both in the subject selected, and in the method in which it is treated in this memorial volume, he showed how appreciative he was of the newer ways of handling theological questions. As an example, too, of the kind of teaching to which he accustomed the young men who were gathered, from many quarters, within the new Theological College erected in a part of Canada which only some forty years ago seemed to be on the very outskirts of civilisation, the book is of great

interest in itself and most creditable to the penetration and diligence of the author.

There are no doubt things in this volume which, judged by the severely scientific standards of theological inquiry and New Testament exegesis, may seem to lack a good deal. But the general treatment of the subject has the excellent qualities of good sense, serious and well-directed study, and careful, well-balanced statement. Beginning with a chapter on the Old Testament Scriptures and Christ's attitude to them (which is perhaps the least satisfactory section of the book), Dr. King takes up our Lord's Teaching on God, His own Person and Mission, His Miracles, His Death, and proceeds thereafter to state the main points of His Teaching on Sin, the Holy Spirit, Regeneration, Faith, Forgiveness, Justification, the Church, Prayer, Retribution and Reward, the Second Coming, and other truths expressed in the Gospels. On most of these topics Dr. King has something good to say, and he says it in his own way. The book is very different no doubt from the treatises of men like Weiss, Beyschlag and Wendt. But it has its own worth, and makes an interesting memorial of a man who did a distinguished work for Christian truth and Christian life in the great Canadian Dominion.

The Quest of Happiness: a Study of Victory over Life's Troubles.

By NEWELL DWIGHT HILLIS, Pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan & Co., 1902. Pp. xxiii. + 549. Price 6s. net.

This is another volume from the facile and persuasive pen of the successor of Henry Ward Beecher, which will be welcome to many readers. It is attractive in style, devout in spirit and richly illustrated, both pictorially and by similitude and story. It is no hasty production, but bears evidence of much careful thought and wise attention to form. It deals with the secret of true happiness—"the blessedness that comes through obedience to those laws of God that portray His will and image forth His character". This subject is expounded in a series of interesting chapters, which treat in succession

of happiness in its relation to man's growth, success and usefulness; of happiness again as latent in every form of trouble and suffering; of the inequalities of happiness as more seeming than real by reason of the inequalities of talent; of the fact that there are no circumstances nor conditions prohibitive of happiness; of the problem of work and occupation in relation to happiness; of happiness through the pursuit of money, through conversation and the cultivation of the social life, through the home, through the friendship of books, through the ministry of nature, etc. In expounding the principles involved in the general theme the author makes considerable use of the parabolic method. In the forewords to the chapters he tells us of one named Comfortas who was crowned king by the angel of sorrow, his story being a parable of God's "education of man and the teachers He has appointed for the life school". It requires no little skill and tenderness of touch to construct a good parable. Dr. Hillis has done it with a fair measure of success. The argument of the book also moves on from point to point in a clear and telling way. Occasionally there is a lack of definiteness. But the book as a whole will add to the writer's reputation and will be found to be rich in ideas bearing on the ethics of the Christian life.

The Creation of Matter; or, Material Elements, Evolution and Creation. Thomson Lectureship Trust. By the Rev. W. PROFEIT, M.A., Glenbucket. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. + 176. Price 2s. net.

This volume gives the substance of a course of lectures delivered to theological students in Aberdeen. It deals with the question of origins—the question whether the system of which we form a part existed from eternity as we see it now, or how it assumed its present form. It looks at the theories of chance aggregation, combination and development, the eternity of matter, etc. But it addresses itself specially to the question whether the world is the result of an eternal matter operated on by an eternal mind, or is made up of created matter. And the writer's object is to show that "matter is the creation of mind; that in its primal elements,

however far back we may have to go to find them, there are so many signs of mind as to render it evident that they are the product of an understanding that is infinite, of a hand that is omnipotent”.

In working to this conclusion Mr. Profeit deals first with the general question of signs and signs of mind—direct signs and indirect signs—that we can read off on the dispositions and arrangements of matter and on matter itself. Here he deals effectively with the *ordered* character of all matter. He proceeds to handle the subjects of atoms and molecules, chemical combination, light and the ether in itself, light and the ether in its relations to material molecules, sound and music. From these topics he leads us on to *life*—proto-plasm, cells and organisation; from that to the relations between the perceiving and the perceived natures; and finally to the subject of the evolution of species. On all these topics Mr. Profeit writes as one who is familiar with science and who has deeply pondered the problems of existence and the constitution of things. In the closing chapter he sums up his argument and shows how it carries us to the position that the only adequate explanation of the facts which make the problem is that “the material elements are ordered by mind and neither by necessity nor by chance; that the primal elements are made and created, and that all things are ordered by Infinite Power and Wisdom”. The book deserves careful study. It is modestly written and is full of reliable matter. It ought to be widely read. It should be of great use, especially to those on whom the adjustment of religious faith to scientific knowledge weighs heavily.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Philosophy of Conduct : a Treatise of the Facts, Principles and Ideals of Ethics.

By George Trumbull Ladd, Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. London : Longmans, Green, & Co. Large 8vo, pp. xxiv. + 663. Price 21s.

ONE of the outstanding merits of the works of Professor Ladd is their completeness. He is one of the most voluminous writers on philosophy we know, and on each topic he writes with elaborate fulness. It is not our purpose to enumerate all the treatises written by Professor Ladd, nor to refer to their characteristic features, but we may say that he has crowned the edifice by this treatise on the philosophy of conduct. The very title is significant. His aim is at least "to raise the most ultimate problems of conduct as our experience forces them upon the reflective thinking of mankind". It is a treatise of human moral life and moral development. He recognises that ethics must always be practical. "It has its roots in facts of experience ; and its fruitage must be an improvement of experience." It will be well to state the problem in his own words. "The experience with which ethics deal is of conduct ; that is to say, the whole circle of morality lies within the practical life. And yet the experience of man's moral being and moral evolution is also of such a nature as to demand a philosophical treatment throughout ; for until fact is transcended the ethical is not reached. As I have clearly shown in this book, a merely empirical ethics, which is without metaphysics, leaves the mind in a region where all that has regard to the highest principles and more ultimate sanctions of conduct is darkened, if not wholly obscured, by doubt, confusion and bewilderment" (Preface, p. viii.).

Ere we proceed to describe the treatise, we may be allowed to make a remark on the manner and style of Professor Ladd.

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He ought, in a treatise of this size, to take pains to put no unnecessary hindrance in the way of the reader. The treatise extends to 663 large octavo pages, and to master every one of these is necessary for the appreciation of the work of Professor Ladd. The meaning is there if we seek for it, and it is a worthy meaning when we find it. But the style is non-conducting. It resists the efforts of the reader to put himself in relation to the meaning of the author. It is cumbrous, it is awkward in construction, it has too many words for the meaning, and, in short, it needs to be distilled, and to be condensed, and to be worked at until it becomes lucid. Why should Professor Ladd throw this work on the reader, who has enough to do to master the thought, even if it had been presented in the most lucid manner? As John Morley once said of a distinguished Scotch professor: "It is allowable for a man to write worse than Plato, and we know no man who has taken such advantage of the allowance as this professor has done". Professor Ladd has taken large advantage of the allowance. It is a pity, too, for he has a great and important message for mankind, and it is sorrowful that it has been so marred in the giving of it.

The introductory chapters deal with the sphere and problem of ethics, method and divisions of ethics, the conception of the Good, and considered as an introduction to the treatise they leave nothing to be desired. We give the concluding sentences of the introduction. "Conduct, as we have seen, is the sphere of ethics. In so far, then, as the ideals of happiness and of art are dependent upon conduct, they somehow fall under the sphere of ethics. Still further, if the developing ideal of man, even, or specially in its moral aspect, rises so fast above the horizon that the slow climbing upward of his thought, imagination, and endeavour, seems constantly to be further and further, not only from its complete realisation, but even from the complete agreement as to precisely what that Ideal is, this increasing distance between the conception and its realisation, and this expanding of the conception, are not necessarily a good ground for scepticism, or for the refusal on any man's part to aspire and to strive.

That is not always best or most influential which is most clearly discerned and scientifically defined. And it may be not only the surest destiny, but the highest privilege of man to have his thinking baffled and his imagination outstripped whenever he attempts to use such a phrase as this, the Highest Good, or that which is perfectly and inclusively good " (pp. 55, 56).

The treatise falls into three main divisions, the moral self, the virtuous life, and the nature of the right. As regards the part which deals with the moral self, we begin with an analysis of the moral consciousness. Here the author makes use of psychology, and specially refers to the results won by himself in his psychological investigations as these are embodied in his various works on psychology. He discriminates between two classes of moral feelings, and describes ethical feeling proper. Along with this twofold division he also uses the threefold classification of the moral feelings, of moral judgments, and of moral decisions. He rightly claims for his analysis of the moral consciousness a completeness and a thoroughness not attained heretofore in any ethical treatise. We have not space to point out the merit of his analysis, nor to indicate how helpful it is to the ethical student. The analysis of the feeling of obligation, to which a whole chapter is devoted, is epoch-making, and must have a directing influence on the future progress of the science. Nor is his work in this part unduly ruled by psychology, only psychology is made to yield what guidance it can give to the more complex science of ethics. From the feeling of obligation he passes to "other ethical feelings," to ethical judgment, to moral freedom, and to the moral self. In regard to the moral self, while it is abundantly recognised by the author that the principle of evolution applies here as it applies to all finite things, there is recorded a caution which many are apt to neglect. "The equipment which makes man capable of conduct at all, and which furnishes his first incitement to strive after the ethical ideal, as well as the feelings and resulting judgments that evaluate conduct, can never itself be accounted for as the mechanical result of an evolutionary

process. The conception of endowment is the only one which will meet the facts in the case" (p. 202).

The second division, entitled the virtuous life, gives, first, a descriptive account of the virtues, as virtues of the will, of the judgment, and of feeling, and, second, an analysis of the conceptions of duty and of moral law with a discussion of the principles involved in these conceptions. Here one cannot help admiring many things which are manifest to the attentive reader. One notices the easy mastery of all the relevant literature of ethical speculation, and the firm grasp of the ethical problem as it has presented itself to the thinkers of the past, and as it appears to the men of the present who have worked at it. This part has supreme value as a historical contribution to the literature of the "virtuous life". It is noteworthy, also, as it shows how firmly the writer grasps the matter, and rules his material and moulds it into the form demanded by his own conception of the meaning of virtue. Vast learning, but learning held in control and in subordination to the main purpose of the book. Many are mastered by their learning, Dr. Ladd has mastered his. So he leads us from a classification of the virtues to the unity of virtue, to duty and moral law, to the universality of moral principles, to moral tact and the conflict of duties, and finally to the good man. The discussion is very long, but there is nothing irrelevant in it. On looking back, we find that there is hardly anything that could have been omitted without loss, that is to say, with regard to the main steps of the argument. But we think that the main steps might have been stated more briefly, and that they might have gained something by a process of condensation.

The third division is partly critical, partly historical, and partly metaphysical. He strives to show that the ultimate problem of ethics, like all ultimate problems, can admit only of a metaphysical solution. He therefore states the ultimate problem as he conceives it. Then he subjects to criticism what he regards as inadequate solutions of the ultimate problem. The main forms which he criticises are the various forms of Utilitarianism and the Kantian legalism.

The criticism of Hedonism proceeds on familiar lines, and does not call for any remark. The criticism of Kant is well stated and is powerful, all the more powerful because Dr. Ladd has really mastered the philosophy of Kant. He has also to criticise some of the forms of idealism which he considers, in order to make room for his own scheme or statement of idealism. Here he refers to his own metaphysical works, but some of these we do not know. If we did know them, perhaps the idealism he advocates might appear less vague and indefinite than it is in these pages. We have not been able to grasp it in anything like detail, and we shall say nothing more about it. But the value of the subsequent discussion is not impaired by the vagueness of the statement of the author's idealism. We have found the discussion of the well-worn theme of morality and religion to be fresh, vigorous, well-informed and helpful. We are not so sure of the chapter on the ground of morality and the world-ground, mainly because the author seems to fall into that form of idealism which we call individualistic idealism. Apart from that we think that this book is one of the greatest contributions to the study of ethics made in our time.

JAMES IVERACH.

**Die Seligpreisungen, 16 Predigten :
Das Lied von der Freiheit der Seele, 8 Predigten.**

Von Karl Lühr, Pfarrer in Gotha.

Die achtfache Thür zum Himmelreich, 8 Predigten.

*Von Friedrich Baun, Pfarrer in Belsenberg (Württemberg).
Heidelberg : Evangelischer Verlag, 1897. Pp. 64. Price
M.o.6o.*

**Das Vaterunser, 16 Predigten :
In Gottes Haus, 8 Predigten.**

Von Stadtpfarrer Umfrid in Stuttgart.

Das Vaterunser, 8 Predigten.

*Von Pfarrer Haupt in Venedig. Heidelberg : Evangelischer
Verlag, 1901. Pp. 68. Price M.o.6o.*

THESE are two excellent volumes of sermons, and the price is unusually small—a very important consideration. Preachers who desire suggestive reading upon the Beatitudes and upon the Lord's Prayer will find them of great service, and to those who use them for purposes of devotion they cannot fail to be profitable. The discourses were published in connexion with a series of Tracts, or "Pfennig sermons," which were issued weekly for gratuitous circulation. The editors responsible for the series were Professor Drews of Jena, the Rev. F. Issel of Betberg and the Rev. Dr. Kind of Berlin. Prizes were offered by the editors in September, 1896, for the best sermons on the Beatitudes, and in June, 1899, for the best sermons on the Lord's Prayer. It was not a very hopeful way of securing two good volumes, but the discourses they have chosen to publish are excellent. The two volumes are the work of four writers who contribute eight sermons each.

The exposition of the Beatitudes is by Karl Lühr of Gotha, and Friedrich Baun of Belsenberg. The sermons of the first writer arrest attention by their unexpected exegesis, and by the orderly way in which they are worked out from one leading thought. Men are enslaved by the world, and, if they do not know it, the slavery is all the greater. The way to spiritual freedom is shown by Christ in the Beatitudes. We are set free from the slavery of the world by self-conquest and self-mastery. The poor in spirit escape the slavery of outward possessions, they that mourn are delivered from sorrow, the meek are strong against the attacks of others, and those who hunger and thirst after righteousness overcome every lower desire. The remaining Beatitudes speak also of those who enjoy spiritual liberty. The Christian's victory over the world is emphasised in a way suggestive of Ritschlian influences. The sermons are to be praised for their practical teaching as to the details of Christian duty, that upon the Beatitude of the Merciful being a good example. Many of the sentences are more involved than is necessary, and appear to be unmusical, as if the writer had not composed aloud. It would be also impossible to preach them as they stand, but, as they are in German and not in English, it is easy to be mistaken about this.

The second series of sermons by Friedrich Baun is entitled "The Eightfold Door to the Heavenly Kingdom". The writer gives an evangelical interpretation with many familiar phrases. He speaks of simple things and of everyday experiences, as the best preachers to the people always do. Lühr and Baun both quote the same hymn: the first does so to supplement and to correct it, the second to endorse what it says.

The exposition of the Lord's Prayer is by Otto Umfrid and Walter Haupt. Both writers keep in touch throughout with the great subjects of sin and salvation, setting forth with real insight the guilt of sin and the way of peace. They find in the prayer an introduction, seven petitions and a doxology, according to the usage of the Lutheran Church.

Umfrid entitles his sermons "In Gottes Haus". In the

first of the series he shows in what sense he understands the title and in the last he gives a full explanation of it. When we pray we stand in the House of God. At the first word we are in the Entrance Hall, thence in succession we go to the Chapel, the Throne Room, the Council Chamber, the Store House, the Steward's Office, the Armoury, and the King's Gardens, in each of them offering a fresh petition. The conceit is borrowed from previous writers and good use is made of it. Every discourse by Umfrid has a well-chosen introduction which consists of a quotation, a paradox, or a striking incident. The argument is made clear and the interest is maintained by illustrations from history, anecdote or Scripture. There are many eloquent passages, the facts of religious experience are well set forth, and the duties of everyday life are enforced. Every sermon ends with a poetic quotation and with a brief prayer which sums up the whole.

Walter Haupt begins each sermon with a quotation in verse, a reprehensible habit if the sermon is to be preached, but a source of pleasure to any one reading it. The writer is interested in the topics, events and problems of the present day, and draws many illustrations from them. This gives his work a constant novelty which is stimulating. He has the art of keeping and increasing the interest of the sermon, as he proceeds with it, and sometimes he can drive home a great lesson as if by stroke after stroke. His scriptural illustrations are numerous, and often contain short character-sketches that are excellently given. His references to the example of our Lord are specially good. We do not wonder that "The Lord's Prayer" by Umfrid and Haupt had a wide sale and created a deep impression upon many readers in Germany. If any one has read Maurice's sermons on the Lord's Prayer, he will find little that is new in some of the later English volumes. It is a pleasure to read these German expositions which have been written away from the Maurice tradition.

CHARLES F. FLEMING.

The Bible and Modern Criticism.

By Sir Robert Anderson, K.C.B., LL.D., with a Preface by the
Right Rev. Handley C. G. Moule, D.D., Bishop of Durham.
London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902. Pp. 294. Price 7s. 6d.

A VOLUME on this subject by an acute and able layman, whose profession has trained him to sift witnesses and weigh evidence, and prefaced by a testimonial from a well-known bishop, who, while detaching himself from some details in the argument, avows his mental and spiritual sympathy with what he calls "the great *envoi* of this remarkable book," deserves to be treated with respect and reviewed with care. The layman is Sir Robert Anderson, K.C.B., LL.D., who in several previous volumes has drawn swords with the higher critics, and, let it be said at once, knows what he is speaking about. The bishop is the well-known evangelical successor of Dr. Westcott in the See of Durham, whose services in the devotional field of literature are universally acknowledged. The title of this book is the heading to a correspondence in *The Times*, in which some years ago Sir Robert Anderson took a prominent part. His attitude towards the Higher Criticism is mainly and consistently antagonistic, and has been finally confirmed by the recent issue of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, edited by Professor Cheyne, of Oxford, a man "whose name," he admits, "stands high as an authority on all subjects of this kind". We have our own opinions of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. We admit so far the force of this writer's smart observation that "it is in this sphere the *enfant terrible* of the family circle". But we decline to think that it says the last word which the critics have to say.

Perhaps the most interesting, as it is the most acute, portion of the book is its discussion of the question of inspiration. The bishop certifies that "wisely does Sir R.

Anderson disclaim any neat theory of inspiration; as wisely does he emphasise the true, the profound humanity of the Bible". And certainly the writer says that "the Bible itself advances no theory of inspiration, and that no theory was formulated until modern times". But, after a very acute discussion of "the verbal inspiration difficulty," which he says is "unworthy of notice," and after laying down that old fallacy that a fact is one thing and the theory of the fact another, and that the fact of inspiration is to be held while the theories are let go, he really proceeds to establish the fact in a fashion which carries with it a stricter theory than even the bishop would accept. Very ingeniously he argues that you cannot dissociate a word from the mental process which gave it birth. If a man has not the conception which we associate with the word "eternal," he cannot receive that conception merely "by your shouting *olam* or *aionios* into his ear". And that words have no intrinsic value he shows by an illustration, the profanity of which we forgive for the sake of its humour. "At Calais," he says, "call out the French word for lady, and they may imagine you have lost a travelling companion; at Dover they would certainly think you most profane!" From that it is argued that the Scripture writers wrote in their own words, and could not, except by a miracle greater than that of the loaves, have written in modern English. But God never works unnecessary miracles, and He did not work the miracle of verbal inspiration. This is acute and distinctly fresh, and people who insist on such a miracle are dismissed as being children who will take a watch to pieces instead of using it as a timekeeper. But he makes his argument do too much work. Having, convincingly we think, made it rule out verbal inspiration, he makes it also rule out objections to verbal inspiration. Such objections, in so far as they rest "on the phenomena of language," must, like the theory they object to, be dismissed, for they rest on no solid foundation. This is the lawyer with a vengeance, dismissing a theory by the front door and letting it in again by the back door! For that it does get in again is manifest from much that follows in the volume, in which

he shows the unreasonableness of the objections urged against verbal inspiration, comparing them to objections to the personality of God, made on the plea that it involves "anthropomorphism"; and he argues at length that, while the demand for an uncorrupted text of Scripture is impossible and unreasonable, yet the Jews took such care of their Scriptures that we really have such a text! It is the most complete piece of special pleading we have met with on the subject, and is calculated to deceive the very elect.

The essence of Sir Robert Anderson's criticism of the critics is really, as often happens in such a case, a personal grievance. The critical hypothesis upsets his special views of prophecy. He speaks of prophecy having been ostentatiously neglected until Hengstenberg appealed to its testimony in answering the rationalists. "The elucidation of the doctrine of the types," Hengstenberg declared, "now entirely neglected, is an important problem for future theologians." And Sir R. Anderson adds, "How can any one who is ignorant of the doctrine of the types and of the grand scheme of Divine prophecy understand the New Testament aright?" As a straw will show how the wind is blowing, so this paragraph really explains the writer's antipathy to criticism. For the critical hypothesis—proceeding on the evidence that the true order in the Old Testament is not law then prophecy, but prophecy then law—of course upsets such a view of prophecy and such a system of typology as Sir R. Anderson clings to. He quarrels angrily with that mere commonplace of modern views on prophecy "that the prophetic writings which deal with the events of the captivity must be assigned to the captivity era". This theory, he holds, "is a necessary part of the rationalistic crusade against the supernatural element in Scripture". Is it?

The lawyer has his place in the cross-examination-of-witnesses style in which he deals with discrepancies in the Gospel narratives, and on which Sir R. Anderson throws not a little fresh light, and in the acute way in which he exposes a good deal of the critical perversity that enters on an inquiry with a fixed preconception as to what it is going to find, and

exhausts its power of attention upon trifles that seem to point in the direction on which the critic's mind is set. The legal acumen comes in just here, and comes in its proper place, and the dexterity with which it is used is interesting, and well fitted to check the undoubted vagaries of some critics. But that very attitude of mind is a disqualification for dealing with prophetic ideals and conceptions of revelation which involve spiritual intuition and some sense of the wide sweep of the Divine purpose.

The book is clever, but it is not clean. We are not surprised, therefore, that, as it begins in a sphere of illustration, with which happily its readers are not so intimate as its writer, it ends in an atmosphere of such pretentious sanctity as to lead him to affect knowledge of the spiritual meaning and hidden harmony of Scripture which the writers employed by Professor Cheyne and Dr. Hastings cannot pretend to. Sir Robert Anderson tells us that he lives "in a sphere which most of the writers seem to have never entered, and of the very existence of which they display no knowledge" (p. 252). In a sense in which he didn't intend his words to be understood this is happily true; in the sense in which he meant them they are the words of a spiritual arrogance which is also happily quite unique.

"We are fighting for our all," says Sir Robert Anderson near the close of the volume, and quoting the bishop's preface to his book. We make the bishop and the lawyer a present of their weapons. We should not care to use them.

DAVID PURVES.

Communication on The Relation existing between the Persian Biblical Edicts, the Achæmenian Inscriptions and the Avesta.

From Professor L. H. Mills, D.D., Oxford.

THE object of this communication is to show that the way is open between the Persian edicts of the Bible and other exilic or post-exilic elements on the one side, and the strophes of the Gāthas or the better pieces of the later but still genuine Avesta on the other, and that this road lies directly through the Iranian and Irano-Babylonian Inscriptions. The matter is one of importance, not only for the illustration of the ideas of one religion by those of another, but also for the debate on the origins of religious thought. The problems offered by the Achæmenian Inscriptions are, we may say, now practically solved, and so are those of the Avesta. The Avesta is closely allied, we hold, to those Achæmenian Inscriptions, in language, doctrine and history; while the Inscriptions themselves are acknowledged by all competent authorities to be the actual work of the men who are declared to be the authors of the Biblical Persian edicts.

Upon what grounds can we accept any such relation as is made out? Upon the ground of the identity of the principal features and ideas in the two great systems of religion, the Achæmenian and the Zarathushtrian, and the probable identity of the principal suppositions, persons, or personifications in each. Foremost of all we have that most signal event, the decipherment of the name of the chief Zarathushtrian god. The results of that event have been very far-reaching already; and we know not how far they may still be destined to extend. I refer to the decipherment of the characters which represent the name of Auramazda upon the walls and rocks of Persepolis, Behistūn, etc. We have become used to such achievements,

and we may have become insensible to the importance of this one. It formed, nevertheless, an epoch in the advancement of our knowledge of ancient times and places. What must have been the satisfaction felt by Sir Henry Rawlinson as the possibility of such an identification dawned upon him! There had been those doubtless who had surmised that the Avesta must have expressed the religion of more than a mere fragment of Iranian tribes settled somewhere to the south-east of the Caspian Sea. But here was an inquirer on the point of bringing to proof what had been at the best only fitful conjecture. The word Auramazda came out by degrees as the student toiled, and a whole new department was opened in our knowledge of the past. Seldom have more momentous scientific results depended upon the discovery of a single word. The letters of Darayavus with those of Auramazda, etc., also furnished the clue to other recurring groups recognised upon the tablets, and a throng of decipherments followed. A mass of statements were found which described the victories of Darius in defence and in invasion. And these corroborate the historians where they do not correct them.

The most obvious of the conclusions to be drawn from these exceptional facts seems for some reason to have been seldom drawn or at least to have had little practical effect. Otherwise every Bible student would have a translation of the Achæmenian sculptures by him. The great majority of Bible scholars have accepted the recorded edicts of Cyrus, Darius, Artaxerxes, etc., as in the main genuine, and no one that I have ever heard of doubts that the great Achæmenian Inscriptions were really the products of the kings whose names they bear.

These latter, together with the vase inscriptions of Cyrus, and others, fully corroborate the Biblical edicts. Even if they had not survived in our Bibles, the Inscriptions would have led us to believe that edicts similar to those now recorded in Chronicles, Ezra, etc., must have been issued. The Inscriptions of Cyrus, confirmed by those of Darius and his successors, plainly show us that the Persian government took full sovereign action in the case of large tribal movements

within its vast territory. Persia probably did not actually *originate* the idea of a return of the Jews to their ancient homes; for ideas of redemption and return ferment in the mind of all exiles. But the Persian government doubtless saw at once the policy of replacing this peculiar people, the Jews, in the central post of Syria, where they might act as scouts or as a buffer force on the high-roads toward Egypt. And this plan having been adopted, it was carried out with a strong though discreet hand. A few columns of Inscriptions make the picture stand out clearly before us. Persia moved the Jewish tribes like pawns upon the board as she so often did with other nations. And edicts were of course made use of at every turn to make her wishes known and to convey the impression of her authority. And as the policy was carried out, cities, walls and public edifices were built; and above all there was the erection of temples as the very first duty to a community after subjugation. With twenty-three nations, great or small, within the scope of Persian rule, such humane procedure alternated with annexations and invasions, wars of defence and suppressions of revolts. The continual formation, revision and renewal of treaties filled up the time and taxed the attention of the leading imperial statesmen, and called above all for the ever-wakeful consideration of the king. No wonder, we may say in passing, that the tone of these royal Inscriptions is so self-centred. Huge events which assailed the thrones of the men who wrote them were continually transpiring in every quarter of these vast regions, almost one-third of the then known world.

The Inscriptions are a bit out of the people's life. The kings themselves doubtless viewed the work with satisfaction as it progressed, and with relief when it was finished; if, indeed, they did not often and with pardonable vanity watch it progressing sentence by sentence and day by day under the chisels of their sculptors. The thought and fervour in the Inscriptions, whatever may have been their chief motive or their mistakes, make them worthy to stand beside any edicts, even those of Cyrus and the rest. Outside the Bible and the Avesta I can recall no documents of their age which

have anything like their tone—a tone which at times shows a certain wrestling in the spirit of their prayers. If one small race becomes pious under a Yahveh Elohim, why should we hesitate to recognise the fact that an Auramazda represented an analogous religious principle, if not so profound a religious fervour? Do not the terms in the Iranian-David's uttered prayer show that a religious life was widely extended in the lands which were inspired by such a name, and that it was of a strong and earnest type? The practical righteousness of the Persians, indeed, under the influence of Asha, may not have been much lower than that of Israel before the exile. What might stagger us is the immense dimensions of the territory. When we are asked to face the idea that Persian households over the length and breadth of the vast Iran really prayed like the great monarchs on the Inscriptions, we begin to hesitate. Yet I, for one, cannot see why. If a king of Persia had any faith at all, he must have confided in his deity continuously. As for Darius himself, whose new postal couriers traversing his great domain brought in reports without number from all parts, it is hard to believe that he was at heart a sceptic. He was far more likely to have had his great religion upon the brain. Even Greece had not yet begun to doubt and question. His daily vocation was to think out large problems involving political change, settlement or re-settlement, and all the while he was possessed by the idea that he ruled by right divine. And why should we doubt that many an underling was fired with similar convictions?

Israel, no doubt, had supreme advantages. Isaiah alone was worth an army. But such advantages do not make it impossible that another people, resident elsewhere, with a more extended territory, and with homes more wide apart, should have been animated by definite religious views. We have actual specimens of the tone of religion which prevailed at the very time in a part of the empire sufficiently remote both from Darius's nominal capital, Persepolis, and from his actual one, Ecbatana. The old Avesta hymns, the Gāthas, are at least as positive proof of a pious fervour in

their public as the recurring expressions in the Inscriptions are a witness to them. No one, so far as I am aware, who has informed himself on the subject has any doubt that there existed the remnants of a fervently religious people to the east of Iran or in the north-west. We need not here discuss the region too closely. And the religion which they possessed surpassed that of Darius in some notable particulars, though it was of the same general cast. No one doubts that a religion closely akin to that of the Achæmenians, as near to it, say, as Christianity is to Judaism, was spread over large portions of the empire which were kindred to the Persians in respect of race. The Aryan-Indian religion, in the peninsula of Hindostan, was also as yet an ungathered mass of elements of the same profoundly interesting character. The Avesta was worked up from a primeval Avesta-veda like the early Indian hymns. Here, then, we have the religion in its rudiments spread according to the documentary evidence over a vast part of ancient Asia. I will not say that it became very "spiritual" in India in that early period; nor do I forget that it was overgrown there by a tangled luxuriance of poetry and fable, or that it was followed by philosophical surmises of profound far-reaching force.

The objector, however, may intervene here. He may challenge the very main feature in the entire supposed analogy between the Inscriptions and the Avesta. What has become, he may ask, of the Evil Spirit upon these so urgent columns? Zarathushtra hewed out for us a distinct antithesis in his theogony. His predecessors had doubtless been slowly approaching his position as his successors rounded off his scheme. But nowhere else at such an early date as any real critic claims for these strange pieces do we find anything like such a conscious placing of the two opposed ideas. The dualism of a pre-Gāthic Avesta, now for ever lost, with that of the sister lore of the pre-Vedic Veda, showed only the usual scattered groups of antithetic elements in the rich masses of Indogermanic myth and fable; but these were there so little systematised that the good and evil elements were sometimes left combined in the same individual deity.

It is in the Avesta that we first recognise something more than that. There we have the first record of a philosophically conceived theological doctrine of a spirit of evil and a spirit of good. In the Iranian hymns with their Gâthic-Vedic metres we have in this respect a phenomenon altogether unique. If then the Inscriptions are so close akin to these hymns, where is the great Evil God, the Angra Mainyu, within their spaces? Will it do to say that he had not yet become developed? Will it do to say this, when he had been sung some centuries before in old Irano-Indian metres at Teheran, that is, at Ragha, Rages, etc., and was so sung at the very time when Darius handed his proclamation in draft to his stonecutters—sung in some early Yasna in scores, yea, in hundreds, of religious centres to the north or north-east of Darius's capital hundreds of miles away, and in metres, let me repeat it, identical with those which were then at the same moment resounding in the quasi-temples of the Punjâb?

We need not linger even for a moment over any such theory as that this marked dualism of the Avesta system had not yet been developed in Persia proper, or that it was unknown there at that date. Angra Mainyu was well known, as all concede, at least not long after the face of Behistûn was cut. And if so, then in view of the fact that he had been thought out by Zarathushtra at the very least two centuries before, and that his name was chanted at the very moment in widely separated parts of the huge empire, when the first chisels began to do their work, we should not doubt that he, Angra Mainyu, was known there too. No one surely could for a moment believe that Persepolis and Behistûn were the only places in the enormous country where the name of Angra Mainyu was not then known. That Darius Hystaspes had never heard that name is scarcely credible.

What, then, has become of it if it is absent from the Inscriptions? Was there not occasion enough for Darius to use it? We hear denunciations and imprecations at well-nigh every period. Why then does not the name of the great demon occur in these Inscriptions as it does so often in the other lore, and as that of his opponent, "Mazda," also does in these? We

might answer that question by putting another, Do we call up the name of Satan at every evil juncture in *our* Inscriptions or in *our* Edicts? But apart from that, we have also to look at the fact that there are large portions of the Avesta itself, and these full of the very works of Angra Mainyu, where his name as such never once appears;¹ and these make masses of writing many times greater in bulk than the Inscriptions of Behistūn and Persepolis put together. If this is the case with lore of that kind, may it not be so with the other? Or are we to have one judgment for a book and another for an Inscription? We have also to remember the limitations of these Inscriptions. There was little space to spare for the rounding off or multiplication of terms. And labour has also to be taken into account. It took time in those days to carve out even one letter of the kind in question, upon the face of Behistūn, by men working on scaffolds 300 feet above the plain. Skilled workmen were no more anxious then than now to get through labour in a given time, and the impatient king must have waited many a year before the whole was done, exquisite as the workmanship appears to be. Are we to suppose that Darius had space or time or means to waste in carving out the well-known name of the Evil Spirit, while Zarathushtrians could often leave the accursed syllables unsaid or scarcely said?

Darius had to deal with what Satan *did*, and his inscriptions are vocal with the imprecating words. He did not heed the name; he thundered out the *fact* at every sentence, the work of the dreaded evil god, expressed by a single word meaning "He did the lie," at times "the plotting lie". The druj act, the harmful lie of faithless stratagem, is the very first iniquity described in the ancient hymns. The druj

¹ Mainyu, of course, was Vedic also, as very nearly everything Avestic was and is; but as Vedic it was a mere shred of the idea, occurring in the sense of "evil anger," at times personified. It was Zarathushtra who brought it into its definitive and concrete shape. And yet there are chapters in the Vendīdād all about the demon where it never comes. Vendīdād I. is full of it; but it is not found in pretty nearly ten whole chapters after it.

demon of deceit was the embodiment of Angra Mainyu's crime, female figure as she was, and opposed by Asha, angel of the holy law. There is no demon-word in all the Avesta so common. And so is it with the Inscriptions. Everywhere we have "He lied". Need we ask for the name Angra Mainyu, when we have the chief iniquity of the Evil Spirit?

It is possible, indeed, that there may have been some peculiarity in Darius's faith which led him to keep the name less in evidence. But, in any case, we have the revolting object after all upon the Inscriptions at least constructively. Adurujiya is a denominative, "He played the lying foe," and droga (or drauga) is a form from druj. So that the Great Evil Being is constructively included in his deeds, implicitly named both in a noun and in a denominative.

L. H. MILLS.

Die Grundwahrheiten der Christlichen Religion.

Ein akademisches Publikum in sechszeñn Vorlesungen vor Studierenden aller Fakultäten der Universität Berlin im Winter 1901-2 gehalten von Reinhold Seeberg. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme). 8vo, pp. 166. Price M.3.

Two years after the delivery of Harnack's famous lectures on *Das Wesen des Christenthums* the students of the University of Berlin listened to another course on the same theme from another of their professors—Dr. Reinhold Seeberg—the learned author of a most valuable history of dogma (*Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 2 Bände). These theological lectures were attended by students of all faculties and were so admirably adapted to the audience as to arouse great and sustained interest. The lecturer carries his weight of learning easily; he possesses in an eminent degree the power of terse yet lucid exposition, and has the gift of a racy, often epigrammatic style. From the preface we learn that the lectures were delivered without manuscript or notes, and that their publication is due to the zealous interest of a hearer, who made a fair copy of his copious notes; this excellent report the author has revised and published under the title *The Foundation Truths of the Christian Religion*.

Dr. Seeberg's point of view is that of an orthodox Lutheran, but he is no extremist, and writes as one whose chief desire is to mediate between opposing schools of thought. His own position is on the right, though very near the centre. He has breathed the atmosphere of Berlin without becoming a disciple of Harnack; indeed, on many fundamental questions he is in general agreement with Dr. Hermann Cremer, who has published a similar series of lectures. He has, however, more in common with the Ritschlians than the greatly

esteemed Greifswald scholar, and it is easier for him to adapt his tactics to the new situation. There is a marked absence of the polemical tone, the author's aim is rather the establishment of truth, as he sees it, than the refutation of the opinions of other seekers after truth. Ritschl is mentioned once; Harnack's name never occurs. The reference to Ritschl defines the author's position and illustrates his method; he has been showing that dogma is no hindrance to advancement in religious knowledge, and he adds: "At any rate, it need not be a hindrance; if it is, the blame attaches not to dogma, but to its representatives," for too often its interpreters have been bound by the letter and have proved incapable of assimilating new ideas. But the objection is raised: "This is not the straight and royal road, it is the crooked and thorny way of artificial and forced interpretations and mental reservations". Dr. Seeberg replies that a traveller on some of these straight, modern roads soon discovers that they have windings and intricacies of their own; "on such a path a distinguished theologian like Ritschl leads his readers," in his endeavour to represent "the new as not only ancient, but primitive".

"After Harnack" it was, of course, impossible for Professor Seeberg to deliver these lectures in Berlin without joining issue with his brilliant colleague in regard to the new interpretation of the essence of Christianity. When plain speaking is necessary, there is no shrinking from it, as, *e.g.*, when the author repudiates the thought of excluding Christ Himself from the Gospel He proclaimed to men. After a statement of the "prodigious" claims of Christ, which imply that every soul is empty and poor, unhappy and incomplete, that does not share His thoughts and His life, we read: "It is not our task to justify these claims, but it is certainly not our task to explain them away. Christ was not such a mild, amiable man as to-day we often make Him. If anything is historically certain, it is that Christ regarded Himself as the Lord of the world, that He made the salvation of men to depend on Himself. He—He Himself—was the Gospel, the new glad tidings that He brought. . . . We are not here concerned with judgments of worth, but with clear historical

facts ; nor is our purpose apologetic, as the word is commonly understood, though apologetics are not confined to writers whose point of view resembles ours."

The subject of Lectures I.-VII. is "The Truth of the Christian Religion," the object being to investigate the claim of Christianity to be the absolute religion. The ancient world is happily described as rich in ideas, but poor in ideals. "To-day we are still living on the ideas of the ancients, but for our ideals we are indebted almost without exception to Christianity. The ideas lay far away in the transcendent regions of metaphysics ; the apex of the metaphysical pyramid was the thought of God, enwrapped in the mists of the remote Absolute, and without life or reality. But the ideals were close at hand, small and insignificant in comparison with that gigantic pyramid of ideas : true, these ideals were living and real, but they were concerned only with every-day life, whereas the soul needs a God near and ideals remote." In this respect Christianity differs from the religions of the ancient world with their deities so remote and their ideals so near ; but the power which the spiritual life of a person exerts upon us depends upon his nearness, whereas the power of ideals to draw out the energies of the soul depends upon their shining upon us from a far-off region, which cannot be reached without exertion, nor without making use of the steps by which alone it is possible to climb from the depths to the heights.

Three tests are applied to Christianity in order to ascertain whether or not its claim to be the absolute religion is well founded : the tests of logic, history and adaptability to the spiritual needs of man. The questions which Dr. Seeberg sets himself to answer are : "Is Christianity logical and consistent in its thought-processes, whilst the other religions are illogical and inconsistent ? Does history confirm this conclusion ? Finally, does Christianity absolutely satisfy the needs of the soul ?" The details of the author's replies to these questions cannot be given here, but the result of his inquiry is that the supremacy of the Christian religion is established by the appeal to reason and to history ; its claim

to be the absolute religion is also amply justified, inasmuch as it does actually supply the spiritual needs of men, bestowing on them what other religions can but promise. Christianity satisfies both the passive and the active elements in human nature; the analysis of the Christian consciousness shows that the passive elements find satisfaction in yielding to the conviction of the sovereignty of God, whilst the active elements find full exercise in devotion to man's true end, which, according to Christianity, is nothing less than the kingdom of God. Faith is man's response to the revelation of the supreme authority of the Divine Will; love is man's response to the revelation of a goal which far surpasses all earthly joys. An excellent chapter expounds the true nature of faith and love: the true Christian is he who believes and loves; faith is the surrender of the soul to the Divine Will, and love is the devotion of the soul to the Divine ends which it accepts as its own.

The subject of Lectures VIII.-XVI. is "The Truths of the Christian Religion". In an earlier lecture Dr. Seeberg had already dwelt on the fact that Jesus Christ is the first historical personality who exemplifies the Christian religion, and on the fact to which the Christian consciousness testifies, *vis.*, that the words of Jesus elicit faith or absolute submission. His canon for the interpretation of the New Testament teaching on "the Person of Jesus" is "to understand the historical Jesus it is necessary to keep to the testimony of those who were the first to experience the operations of the spirit of Jesus". Studying this witness according to a principle which Harnack approves, he arrives at different results, because his survey of the facts is more comprehensive. The first generation of believers were convinced that Christ was living and active; "not only John and Paul, but also the Synoptists express this conviction, for nothing is more unhistorical than the theory that the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels is a pious, judicious Rabbi; on the contrary His earthly life and work is, in the view of their authors, only the beginning of His work". To the objection that their words express later views, Dr. Seeberg replies that there is

a distance between our Lord's words about Himself and the words of His disciples, but it is only relative; in His discourses in the Synoptic Gospels it is "historically quite certain that Jesus described Himself as the Lord and Judge of the world, whose second coming would be in glory".

In the lecture on "The Work of Christ," the subject is approached from the side of Christian experience. The aim of the author is to arrive at such knowledge of Christ as will account for what He does; the question, therefore, is: What is Christ to the believer? Of what is the Christian conscious? "In communion with Christ our sins are most clearly perceived and most severely condemned, but at the same time we know that our sins are forgiven; believing on Him we are happy in spite of our sins". This chapter contains much that is valuable, and proves conclusively that all the New Testament writers agree in setting forth the way of the cross as the only way of redemption, but only it is incomplete and unsatisfactory because the author does not consistently carry out his own principle of faithfully adhering to the witness of those who first believed in Christ. His dread of theories of the Atonement which represent God as changeable, "now angry, now loving," and of theories which obscure the revelation on the Cross of the love of the Father, is so great that he unhistorically and unscientifically sets aside the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews on the ground of its apologetic tendency. There are other passages in this able and suggestive work in which the author hesitates to draw conclusions which his premises would warrant; nevertheless, these lectures are the fruit of prolonged meditation on the profoundest themes and of independent investigation of the problems recently raised by historical critics; they are especially valuable, because they keep within the lines of modern discussion, and because they show that only a more thorough study of the consciousness of Jesus and of His first disciples is needed to correct inferences which are mistaken, because they rest upon an induction which does not include all the facts.

J. G. TASKER.

Religionsgeschichtliche Vorträge.

Von D. Oscar Holtzmann. Giessen: J. Ricker; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. iv. + 177. Price 3s. paper, 4s. bound; net.

Kurzer Handcommentar zum Alten Testament.

Herausgegeben von D. Karl Marti, etc., Die Bücher Esra und Nehemia, erklärt von Lic. Alfred Bertholet. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck); London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. Pp. xx. + 112. Price M.2.50.

Der Alttestamentliche Unterbau des Reiches Gottes.

Von Lic. Dr. Julius Boehmer. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. vi. + 236. Price M.4.50.

PROFESSOR HOLTZMANN'S *Religionsgeschichtliche Vorträge* is a series of six lectures delivered at Giessen during the winter 1901-2 for the benefit of a German sanatorium at Davos. They deal with "Israel and the Prophets," "The Jewish Law," "The Century of Jesus Christ," "Jesus Christ," "The Conquest of the World by the Church," "The Gospel and the Confessions"; in other words, they are a brief survey of the history of Revealed Religion. Our author set himself a difficult task, and has been marvellously successful; the leading points are given with a due sense of proportion, and the lectures are readable. Apparently the audience had a good general knowledge of the subject, and the printed report is intended for readers of the same class.

As a rule, Professor Holtzmann has devoted himself to the New Testament, but no apology is needed for excursions outside of his special sphere. Indeed there is a peculiar value in the judgment of a critic on a subject other than, and yet closely allied to, his own branch of study. Here,

for instance, we learn the impression made by recent criticism of the Old Testament on a competent and impartial scholar, not personally committed to particular theories. Naturally, he inclines to somewhat conservative views, *e.g.*, he accepts the substantial integrity of *Amos* and *Hosea*. Thus we have a curious reversal of what we are accustomed to in England, for in these lectures the critical position is less advanced in regard to the Old Testament than it is in regard to the New. As to the former, it agrees very largely with Driver's *Introduction*; as to the latter, the standpoint is roughly that of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, avoiding, however, the extravagance of Schmiedel. Many details, of course, may be challenged. We doubt if Deborah appealed to the Israelites to forsake new gods. Neither is it quite certain that the Temple in its origin was free from all heathen associations; an important town like Jerusalem must have had its sanctuary long before the time of David, and numerous analogies would suggest the possibility that the new shrine may have been built on the site of a Gentile predecessor, or may in some other way have appropriated its prestige. Again, Professor Holtzmann holds that Jeremiah was entirely out of sympathy with the Deuteronomic Law published under Josiah. The relations of the prophet to this law are a difficult problem which hardly admits of so simple a solution; probably Jeremiah partly approved and partly condemned Deuteronomy. It seems, again, a little careless and misleading to speak of the Temple tax as about 1.20 marks; no doubt that is true, silver for silver, but it gives no idea of the actual value of the money as a purchasing medium.

It is interesting to note the opinion that "at the beginning of our era all the conditions were present for the formation of a world-religion from Judaism," the great hindrance, of course, being the demand of the Jews, "that every one who sought to enter into fellowship with their God, should deny his own nationality, and become a Jew". Again, in view of our author's standpoint, it is gratifying to read that, "It is a certain historical fact that Jesus healed sick persons by His word; it is a certain historical fact that,

after His death, Jesus appeared to His disciples as the Risen Lord ”.

These lectures are an interesting and important exposition of the views of the school to which the author belongs. It is obviously beyond the scope of this article to attempt a general discussion of Professor Holtzmann's position. We may agree that Jesus “shares with the prophets from Amos to Jeremiah the view that true piety reveals itself less in acts of worship than in deeds of helpful love ”; and that He taught that “every omission to do good is sin,” though, by the way, we may demur as to the alleged novelty of the latter doctrine; it is conspicuous in the Old Testament. But we may doubt whether the main significance of Jesus lies in such teaching, or whether it is true, as our author says it is, that “the Divine will not be found in anything extraordinary other than the human, but just in the human character of Jesus ”.

Like Professor Siegfried in Nowack's *Handkommentar*, Professor Bertholet in his *Esra und Nehemia* advocates a compromise between traditional views and the extreme position of Kusters; and these two recent works fairly represent the tendency of current opinion. Our author gives a very good conspectus of the criticism of these books which might with advantage have been longer; but the author was evidently bound by the plan of the series. Something more, for instance, might have been said of Sellin's views. The analysis is, for the most part, that generally accepted. As to the nature of the various sources, the Aramaic documents are held to be genuine; the chronicler is believed to have used a work in which the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah had already been combined and edited. The decree of Cyrus, Ezra i. 2-4, is not genuine in its present form, but permission was actually given by him to return and build the Temple. A large number of exiles did return; and at once attempted to rebuild the Temple, but were compelled to abandon the work; and the Temple was not actually erected

till 516. Next, an unsuccessful attempt was made to rebuild the walls, an enterprise achieved later on by Nehemiah in his first visit. Then followed Ezra's mission—this is the chief departure from the traditional view, *after and not before* Nehemiah's first visit. Later still Nehemiah paid a second visit. Consequently Nehemiah was not in Jerusalem during the promulgation of the law by Ezra; and Nehemiah's name must be omitted from Nehemiah viii. 9 as a gloss, an omission also advocated by Guthe and Batten in the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, and by others.

It is well known that the account of the expulsion of Sanballat's son-in-law in Nehemiah xiii. 28 clashes with the corresponding section of Josephus. That historian places this event not under Nehemiah, but in the time of Alexander the Great. With most critics, our author holds that Josephus is in error; but the point deserves more attention than is given it here.

Our author's views must rank as at least as probable as those of some other leading scholars; but the study of the literature of this subject deepens the impression of the uncertainty of reconstructions of history based on obscure, fragmentary and uncertain data.

We may add that Professor Bertholet accepts the view that the Greek Esdras was not translated by a single hand; that its arrangement of the text is sometimes more original than the Hebrew; and that the Greek Esdras is the real Septuagint version of Ezra, the more exact rendering being that of Theodotion.

Philosophy and theology are handicapped by their habit of using as technical terms the ambiguous, loosely handled words of common speech. The disadvantages of this method are strikingly illustrated in the case of the phrase "Kingdom of God". For these words are an admirable popular watchword, and every party is eager to inscribe them on its banner, and to use them in the sense which best suits its views and its interests. Moreover, the figure of kingship as applied to

God changes its significance with every vicissitude in the history of monarchical institutions. Hence Dr. Julius Boehmer renders us valuable service in tracing in his *Der Alttestamentliche Unterbau des Reiches Gottes* the significance of the title "king" in the various periods of the history of Israel, and the different senses in which it was used of Yahweh.

The following is a brief sketch of the main lines of thought in the book :—

"King," *melech*, is a divine name or title amongst the Semites generally; and the ideas chiefly connected with it are those of sheer force, authority and even cruelty, the most familiar example being the Ammonite worship of their deity as Melech, or as the Masoretic editors miswrote the word Moloch. The Israelites were always under the influence of the common Semitic views of the subject, especially in the first centuries of their settlement in Canaan—the period of the Judges. This use of *melech* was felt to clash with the religious ideas associated with the name Yahweh, and about the time of David the usage was partially dropped. The latter point is a deduction from the use of the Divine element in proper names. At the same time, Israelite thought never wholly liberated itself from the influence of heathen ideas of divine kingship, which always tended to emphasise the mere power and exaltation of God, rather than His moral attributes. At the same time, the kings with whom the Israelites of the period of the Judges were best acquainted were petty chiefs of towns and clans; and, as far as they were concerned, the title *melech* would add little to the dignity of the God of Israel. The establishment of the monarchy in Israel tended to prevent the application to Yahweh of the title "king"—the "King of Israel" was now the earthly king; but the devotion of the Israelite sovereigns to Yahweh emphasised His supremacy and His right to the attributes of a heavenly King. Moreover the Israelite kings furnished worthy features for the picture of the king Yahweh. The Israelite kings, in contrast to heathen monarchs, were not only the champions of Israel in battle, but also the helpers of the distressed, and the deliverers of the oppressed poor from the tyranny of the

nobles. Isaiah and the prophets of the eighth century revived the use of the title king for Yahweh; and introduced a new figure, the ideal Davidic king or Messiah. With the fall of the monarchy, the actual Davidic king disappeared; and the later literature dwells on the kingship of Yahweh; or, less frequently, on the ideal Davidic king; but only very occasionally, as in Psalm ii., places them side by side, and deals with the relation between them. In Psalm cx. the two are almost identified.

There are still two different, almost conflicting ideas of the Divine King; the one thinks of Him as the source of future deliverance, the other emphasises His power and dignity. As the Jews became better acquainted with great empires, they came to think of Yahweh as King of Kings. Earthly sovereigns were His viceroys.

We now read of Yahweh's kingdom, "his kingdom"; and sometimes even Gentiles are spoken of as its citizens, mostly in subordination to the Jews.

The work ends abruptly with an examination of the teaching of *Daniel* as to the king and the kingdom; there is no summing up of the general results.

It will be seen that Dr. Boehmer's conclusions are partly dependent on critical views that are by no means universally accepted, e.g., the pre-exilic date of some of the Messianic passages in Isaiah, etc., and the Messianic reference of Psalms ii., xlv., lxxii., cx., etc. We doubt whether the contrast between Israelite and foreign kings is objectively true, though it may very fairly express the feelings of the poorer Israelites who looked to the king for protection alike against petty native tyrants and against foreign invaders.

Dr. Boehmer has produced a most interesting and suggestive monograph, which is not only an addition to the literature of its special subject, but also throws many side-lights on other branches of Old Testament study.

W. H. BENNETT.

The Religion of Plutarch.

A Pagan Creed of Apostolic Times. An Essay by John Oakesmith, D.Litt., M.A. London, New York and Bombay : Longmans, 1902. Price 5s.

Demetrius on Style.

The Greek Text after the Paris MS., with Introduction, Translation, Facsimiles, etc. By W. Rhys Roberts, Litt.D., Professor, etc. Cambridge : University Press, 1902. 8vo, pp. xi. + 328. Price 9s. net.

So long as classical scholarship *pur sang* flourished among us British moderns, Plutarch took a back place and was chiefly known by his pan-heroön of great men, paired off in Greek and Latin story against each other. Their immortal names and torsos garnished the lecture-room for Thucydides and Sophocles. But classical scholarship is being slowly poisoned by science and the "usefuls". Therefore we find Plutarch becoming a centre-piece of interest ; not merely for his biographies, but for his ethics. He was of the veterans of the Old Guard of heathenism, *les vieux de la vieille*, who made the last stand, *pro aris et focis*, for the various cults of many centuries from Erebus and Nox down to the *lares* and *penates*. Therefore it is that Dr. John Oakesmith has given us an interesting monograph on *The Religion of Plutarch* in a compact and handy volume of 229 pages, including in his sources several of that writer's minor works with the larger essays, "Ethical" and "Historical," on which his reputation as a philosophic observer of life and character mainly depends. From all the sources open to him in the latter half of the first century A.D., Plutarch formed his own ideal of human life as it should be, and

He collects from any quarter any kind of teaching which he hopes to find useful, inculcating that ideal of conduct which he believes most likely to work out into virtue and happiness; and though his most revered teacher is Plato, the ideal of conduct which he inculcates is one which Epicurus would have wished his friend Metrodorus to appropriate and exemplify. This ideal Plutarch thought worth preservation; it is the last intelligible and practicable ideal presented to us by Paganism, and the attempts which Plutarch made to preserve it are interesting as those of a man who stood at a crisis in the world's history, and endeavoured to find in the wisdom and strength and splendour of the past a sanction for purity and goodness (p. 41).

Thus, "it is not necessary to start with the assumption that he belongs to any particular school. Philosophy is to him one of the recognised sources of religion and morality. Tradition is another source, and law or recognised custom another" (Pref., p. xix.). "It was with the hope of finding inspiration of this character that Lucretius and Cicero turned the attention of their countrymen to Greek philosophy; it was here that they wished to find an ampler and more direct sanction in reason for cultivating a life of virtue" (p. 11).

Of course they could thence derive a "sanction," but what they could not find there was an adequate stimulus. A certain statical balance of morality resulted, but no dynamic effort of beneficence or of self-denial. The tendency in Greece as well as in Rome had been ever downwards, ever towards lower standards of conduct. The Homeric poems and Hesiod give us an impression of higher moral tone than is found at the Peisistratid period. The age of the dominance of the Areiopagus in the ethico-political sphere is superior in virtue to the Pericleian epoch. The Peloponnesian war left Athens and Sparta alike demoralised. Under the Macedonian ascendancy the glut of conquest ruined what was left of Greek purity just when philosophy had attained its maximum of activity. The moral standard drops down under Alexander and his satellite generals, soon to become primaries, with a fall as from a precipice. At Rome conquest similarly paved the way to decay, but at Rome an indigenous austerity of domestic morals caused the ethical framework of society to hold out longer; until this also became penetrated with the

insidious contagion of conquest and luxury about B.C. 200. After seventy years of meretricious enjoyment achieved through the abuse of absolute dominion, the century of civil wars sets in, to close with the Battle of Actium, when "Augustus Cæsar, *divum genus*," appears on the stage of nations as a moral reformer. But then came Horace's pertinent question, "*Quid leges sine moribus vanae proficiunt?*" What about the "Prince's" private life? What about his daughter Julia, whom he made his asset or chattel in the market of dynastic ambition, his pawn to be pushed to queen—the queen of the future? And who avenged herself as the world knew how. Look on from B.C. 30 to A.D. 70. What had that Roman century to show for the supply of the desideratum of *mores*? Therefore some nobler spirits, as Plutarch, Pliny and Tacitus, resolved to do what in them lay to fill the vacuum. Plutarch added to example that reasoned theory which calls forth the volume before us.

The "sanctions of the old Roman religion" were "chiefly rational," says Dr. Oakesmith. That is so. But in a rationalistic process all depends on what premises you start with. "Chiefly utilitarian" would have been more precise; and "not unaffected by mean and sordid considerations" is indeed the author's own admission on p. 5. The motive which governed dealings with the gods was a lively sense of favours past or future. So much incense for so much material benefit in crops and markets. You could not get much inspiration of moral ideals from this source. Our author ascribes, perhaps erroneously, some controlling moral power to religion in early Rome. The true view seems to be that religion was part of the earliest institutions. No state, however rudimentary, could conceive itself without its native gods. Civic and moral conduct was required of the burgess according to the standard of morals then prevalent. Religion, ethics and law are not distinguishable in the earliest conceptions governing conduct. They hold and grow together like fibres in a sheath, to separate and develop later. Thus the notion of either controlling the other is misplaced. So far as influence on morals went, the tradi-

tional tales about the gods were the popular element, and how could these, e.g., that about Rhea Sylvia and her twins, make for virtue?

The controlling influence was not seldom the other way. For instance, the common sentiment condemned breach of faith; but this did not depend on any declaration of the Divine will against it. Being thus, however, condemned, a *deus fidius* rose into existence. The religious idea did not create or reinforce the moral, but *vice versa*.

Plutarch's view certainly rested, as stated by our author, on the joint authority of tradition, philosophy and law or custom; but of these he seems to have found in the first his strongest motive. Indeed our author notes on p. 117 that "Plutarch in this case [that of retributive justice after death] invokes the aid of Myth to carry him whither Reason refuses to go". The ancient gods had given Rome the dominion of the world, as earlier to the Macedonian hero, the accredited son of Zeus Ammon; albeit that gift was brief and died with him. That was a broad fact in the eyes of humanity, from which it was of no use to look away. That that gift of conquest was in its issue the bane of each race who received it was a fact requiring a clearer moral insight and a higher than the popular moral standard for its perception. Plutarch's greatest conceptive achievement was that he is found "going further than Aristotle," and with a more unswerving grasp of the principle even than Plato, in asserting

That the Majesty of the Divine Nature is accompanied by goodness, magnanimity, graciousness and benignity in its attitude towards mankind. We have already seen that Justice and Love are regarded by Plutarch as the most beautiful of all virtues, and those most in harmony with the Divine Nature. . . . We are fortunate, however, in possessing a special tract¹ in which the personal character of the Divine Goodness is so clearly exhibited that a modern translator . . . is able to say, "I am not aware indeed that even Christian writers . . . within the same limits of natural theology have been able to do anything better than to reaffirm his position, and perhaps amplify and illustrate his argument" (pp. 102, 103).

¹ The Tract *De sera numinis vindicta*.

Plutarch only shares with the heathen world of theosophic belief generally the practical defects of the non-recognition of any grace of God as a working factor in the soul of man. That men, whatever norm of duty they profess, invariably tend to fall below it, could not have escaped him. But no powerful enough motive force was known to arrest the decadence. The retributive power of conscience was probably, as a general law, over-estimated by Plutarch. Great crimes, if successfully achieved, as by establishing a tyranny, have not seldom the result of dulling the moral sense of the criminal. Plutarch broadly states that "their whole life is tormented and destroyed by their sense of their impiety". But here, as everywhere, if such questions are pressed home, we confront the feebleness and inadequacy of human souls to "work out their own salvation," apart from the conviction that "it is God that worketh in us both to will and to do of His good pleasure".

This is a pleasant work which Dr. Rhys Roberts has put out, on the study of prose-style among the Greeks, and its appearance so soon after his *Three Literary Letters of Dionysius* shows him to be an industrious writer. Each work may have helped the other; covering, as they do, much common ground. The plan of the two is nearly the same. But the work of Demetrius is more technical, and refines more upon shades of meaning, taxing severely at times the translator's ingenuity. A good example of success is to be found in section 276, where the Greek precept is that phrases used in description should hit off the facts (*τὰ ὀνόματα προπόντως λέγειν τοῖς πράγμασιν*): "for example, we may say of a man who has acted violently and unscrupulously, that 'he has elbowed his way through' (*διεβιάσατο*); of one who has used violence openly and recklessly that 'he has hewed his way through' (*ἐξέκοψεν*), 'he has swept aside obstacles' (*ἐξεῖλεν*); of one who has had recourse to guile and evasion, that 'he has wormed his way' (*ἐτρυπησεν*), or 'slipped through' (*διέφυγεν*)". For a similarly felicitous rendering

see section 164 (end), "One could sooner strike fire from your skull than laughter".

As regards the standpoint of the original, it deals with written style, and where oratory is touched upon, seems to assume the preparation with the pen. This is not so in Cicero *de Oratore*; and of that orator's own practice we have the sample of his "First Catiline," spoken on the spur of the moment. As regards Demetrius' method, it is remarkable that, where the whole subject is prose, and where indeed the opening section contradistinguishes this from the style of poetry, such a large number of examples for use should be fetched from the poets, especially the more antique poets, as Homer and Sappho. One would have expected that the forensic declamations of the Euripidean drama would have furnished a more natural repertory, if poetry were admitted at all. Another curious fact is that in estimating rhythm, quantity comes in for emphatic notice, as does the quasi-scansion of the sentence (sections 38, 39); but the force of accent in qualifying the sound of spoken words is nowhere referred to. And this fact is so in Aristotle also; on whose precept of "the pæon" in his *Rhet.*, iii., 8, the original author here founds himself. Yet accent is inherent in the rudiments of Greek utterance, and appeals to the ear in modern Athens with all its native force still.

In the "Chronological Table of Greek and Roman exponents of Style," p. 50, the rear might have been brought up by Demetrius of Alexandria, to whom indeed many critics of an older school have assigned this very treatise *περὶ ἔρμ.* He was the author of *τέχναι ῥητορικαί*, of which there are several German editions, and is mentioned by Diogenes Laërtius, v., 84.

The rendering, section 298, "They [dialogues in the Platonic style] took society by storm," a little overdoes *ἐξέπληξαν* of the original. Perhaps "they entranced" might have sufficed. In section 240, "the sailors who pipe," etc., there is no word for "sailors" in the Greek; although, as the Piræus is there described, they would doubtless form a strong element in the company at this ancient Music Hall of Athenian low life.

Perhaps the translator had in his mind Horace's "Forum Appi, differtum *nautis* cauponibus," etc. In section 10 "for the sake of Chabrias' boy" lets us down a little from the Greek, τοῦ παιδὸς εἵνεκα τοῦ Χαβρίου, where the articles seem to show a touch of restrained pathos. The law of Leptines, against which Demosthenes in the passage cited, as illustrating the "periodic" style, is there pleading, would have deprived the son of Chabrias, Ctesippus, of certain privileges voted to his father in respect of great public services. But such points are among those infinite variations of taste, on which it is hardly possible to expect a unanimous verdict; and where much is excellent, it is invidious to carp at trifles.

Of the attempts at rendering in verse the poetical snatches cited one cannot speak with equal commendation. Better far to have treated these verse extracts as prose, as their sole function here is to illustrate prose style. The beautiful lines from *Od.*, vi., 105 foll., are absolutely caricatured in an attempt at English hexameters. Take one as a sample:—

And where lovely is every one, they are all by her outshone.

—(P. 131.)

This line goes lame at best, but becomes broken-kneed by the rhyming of its two parts.

Again, on p. 141, we have

Thick as flew Trojan darts, they say,
At Aias huge in battle towering.

Whatever τὸν Αἴαντα τῷ παλῷ may mean (and the passage, section 147, is probably corrupt), it cannot easily fit the words italicised above. It should be noted, however, that for these renderings the editor expresses his acknowledgments to a friend (Preface, p. xi.). In the "summary" on p. 31 we find sections 287-298 referred to as "concerning figured language, *περὶ τοῦ ἐσχηματισμένου λόγου*". But in the text we find the same Greek phrase, or its analogues, rendered by "covert allusion" (pp. 197-199); but lower, *ibid.*, "a figure of language"; and again on p. 201 "covert allusion" reappears. It would have been best to have kept to one of these throughout. Probably on p. 135 καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως, at the close of a quotation in section

137 from Xen., *Anab.*, iii., 1, 31, rendered "and so it was," really was meant by Xenophon to express "and so he used to," by the force namely of the imperfect tense. Earlier, on p. 115, another passage from Xenophon has been understood and correctly rendered by the translator, but as clearly misunderstood and wrongly explained by Demetrius who quotes it (Xen., *Cyrop.*, i., 4, 21). "Unless the horsemen posted themselves at intervals and gave chase in relays," is the correct English version. But Demetrius proceeds to explain it of two lines of horsemen closing round their quarry (the wild ass), a very curious blunder, which raises the question how far the Greeks of the first century A.D. were unerring guides as to the sense of their own authors of the fourth and earlier centuries B.C.? On turning to the "notes" on the passage we find no notice taken of this.

These notes evince great care, but are rather too full of references to authors not likely to be met with by ordinary students; e.g., on p. 243 a note of four lines, illustrating the text at p. 156, l. 21, refers to Radermacher, *Rhein. Mus.*, xlviii., 625, Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, xxxiv., 629, and Norden (*Kunstprosa*, i., 143). The "Glossary" is somewhat given to explain words needlessly as being easily understood from common use; e.g., ἀθροίζειν, ἀμβλύνειν, ἄμετρος, ἀνωμαλία—all in the course of a few pages. A saving here would have given the editor more room for his Bibliography, which he seems to regret as unduly stinted. The Index of Names and Matters will be very useful to any who wish to see the view taken by Demetrius on any specific point. Dean Swift's notable definition of style, as "proper words in proper places," might have found a place somewhere among the copious illustration from English sources. It would probably agree with the "plain" style. There are a few misprints in the volume, e.g., σατύροις should be σατύρους on p. 240, l. 7, and "flour" should be "floor" on p. 171, section 219, l. 4.

HENRY HAYMAN.

Theologie und Metaphysik.

Das Verhältnis der Theologie zur modernen Erkenntnistheorie und Psychologie, von George Wobbermin, Dr. Phil., Lic. Theol., Privatdozent an der Universität Berlin. Berlin: Duncker, 1901. Pp. xii. + 291.

ONE of the more clamant needs of present-day theology is a constructive discussion of the bearing upon faith of the problems raised by recent mental science. The negative conceptions on this whole subject expounded by the extremer followers of Ritschl had the unfailing attraction of novelty; but they were bound sooner or later to give way before the invariable conviction that, to think to any purpose, a man must think with the whole of his mind. The unity of thought may be a barren truism, but at least it is true. Apart from its intrinsic ability, therefore, this book by Wobbermin is interesting from the tendency of which it is an early symptom, to bring back theology into vital contact with the metaphysical discussions of the day. The Reformation, as he wisely reminds us, led men to ban, not philosophy as such, but only the traditional Aristotelianism, which had never given personality its rights. Kant is the philosopher of Protestantism just because he vindicated the supreme worth of personal life. There is no essential discord between theology and metaphysics; on the contrary, for the exposition and scientific elaboration of the contents of Christian faith the assistance of philosophical disciplines will always be indispensable.

The mark of modern philosophy is its dependence on the theory of knowledge, and in Wobbermin's eyes it is specially to Ritschl's credit that he insisted on the theologian's being consciously guided in his argument by a definite epistemology. Now there are certain views of the nature and trustworthiness

of human cognition which are utterly incompatible with faith in Christ, and force a defensive attitude upon theology. The system belonging to this class with which Wobbermin mainly deals is that of the late Avenarius of Zürich, known by the repulsive name of Empiriocriticism. We shall probably hear more of Avenarius as time goes on. His conclusions figure prominently in the pages of Mr. Taylor's remarkable book, *The Problem of Conduct*. He furnishes the latter, indeed, with his regulative conception of a "pure" experience, *i.e.*, the conception of a system of knowledge in which every term of the contents of that system should be itself "under exactly specified conditions matter of direct experience". But, as may be guessed, Avenarius is not a lucid writer. Wobbermin compares the difficulty of following his train of argument to the toils of Gnostic study. But through the haze one thing is clear—his teaching is in deadly opposition to all Christian theology, inasmuch as by its epistemological principles it excludes the very possibility of metaphysical affirmation in every shape and form.

To this Wobbermin opposes the unambiguous statement, "without metaphysic theology is impossible"; while theology is for the Christian thinker inevitable. Not that he desires metaphysic of the *a priori* order: Ritschl gave *that* its death-blow. Metaphysic, rather, is to be defined as reflection on that which is transcendent or beyond experience, but reflection based upon the knowledge which experience yields. Our author even advances to the position that a Christology which on principle eschews metaphysic can never attain to more than merely historical assertions about the earthly Jesus. The true alternative to "religious" is not "metaphysical," as Schultz and Ritschl so often assume, but "intellectual". Kaftan has had the courage to break away definitely from this narrow and mistaken path, for in his *Dogmatik* he restores the conception of the Absolute to its primary place in the notion of God, and unequivocally proclaims the Divinity of Christ as his supreme principle in setting forth the topic of our Lord's person. Kaftan urges, and is followed with eager conviction by Wobbermin, that the mere affirmation

of Christ's *ideal* pre-existence is insufficient ; some *real* pre-existence in God must be predicated of the Saviour if He is to be distinguished from the saved. In all these points, we may conclude, the believer as he reflects on the contents of his own faith is bound to pass, like Kaftan and unlike Ritschl, beyond and above historical judgments to assertions of a genuinely metaphysical kind. All this is significant of much : it may be that the backward swing of the pendulum has begun.

Now we must return to Avenarius. His system threatens the existence of theology just because, in a singularly persuasive and resolute fashion, it argues that metaphysic of every kind is illegitimate. While resembling materialism and positivism in certain features, it is far more strongly fortified than either by a coherent theory of knowledge. We have nothing to do with the trans-subjective, it tells us: the very contrast between trans-subjective and intra-conscious is absurd, and must be done away. The self has been given a fictitious importance in former explanations of knowledge ; experience must be looked at impersonally, for the notion of an "inner" world of feeling and perception is an afterthought altogether, and a false one at that. We cannot enter further into the bewildering conclusions of this ingenious thinker, who leaves Hume far behind in the completeness with which he explains the self out of existence, but who unfortunately does not possess Hume's gift for writing in the language of the common people. It takes fifty pages of industrious exposition on Wobbermin's part to make the elements of Empiriocriticism even reasonably clear, not to say convincing.

After exposition comes controversy. This system, Wobbermin declares, is a revival at once of materialism and scepticism in a new garb. One fatal objection to its adequacy is its suppression of all the facts of feeling and volition. The distinction between the immanent and the transcendent is latent in experience as such in the contrast between the directly given excitations of feeling and will and the indirectly given ideas of the environment. Wobbermin puts

his whole strength into this argument, and it is a notable and successful piece of work. He has something conclusive to say, likewise, about the extraordinarily and perversely circuitous way in which Avenarius explains our belief in "inner" experience, and finds a parallel tendency in some of the younger historians of the Ritschlian school to ignore the experience of the believer, and build everything on history.

The third and longest part of the book is occupied with an independent discussion of the fundamental problems of metaphysic, and their bearing upon theology. Much space is given to the two great questions of the reality of the Ego, and the nature of causality. The pages which deal with the real existence of the Self afford a vivid picture of the whirlpool of fiercely contending metaphysical views with which German thought to-day is seething. There is food for thought in the statement (p. 150) that the permanent reality of the Self is denied by the great majority of modern representatives of scientific philosophy. The crucial importance of the subject for Christianity is brought out with masterly power in a brief statement on immortality and the personality of God. The pages devoted to causality are admirable reading. We are made to see how science must content itself with taking the causal relation as meaning what may be called mathematical equivalence, and how, with equal justice, metaphysic and theology must claim to find in it a deeper import. Wobbermin has something fresh to say even about the freedom of the will. He does a real service in distinguishing clearly between the philosophical problem (is man the master or the victim of his impulses?) and the theological (can man work out his own salvation?), and illustrates the consequences of confusing them by some interesting examples. He pays some attention to the theory—usually associated with the name of Münsterberg—that volition is really nothing more than the reflex feeling of innervation, and passes some acute criticisms upon the difficulties it cannot but create. The testimony of consciousness, he sums up, is given unmistakably for the reality of moral freedom, and the contrary view rests upon a failure rightly to interrogate ordinary

thought and feeling. He might have gone further and asked why, on the principles of evolution, this consciousness of freedom should have come to be, if it is wholly misleading and false. For evolution seems to teach that nothing is made in vain.

This may not be a book of epoch-making importance, but it is thoroughly competent and deeply instructive, and the breath of original thought blows freshly through its pages. It should certainly have had a closing chapter to bring its results together. In its present form it breaks off too abruptly. Some may think the kind of Apologetic which it contains utterly fruitless, and it is, perhaps, true that such discussions would not convert any one to Christianity. But they may help to remove preliminary misconceptions of a theoretical character, and to illustrate the possibility of combining a love of science and ordered knowledge with warm religious faith. This is a minor service to belief and piety, but a necessary one.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

Die Anschauung Augustins über Christi Person und Werk.

*Unter Berücksichtigung ihrer verschiedenen Entwicklungsstufen
und ihrer dogmengeschichtlichen Stellung. Dargestellt und
beurtheilt von Lic. theol. Otto Scheel, Privat-Dozent an der
Universität Kiel. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr,
1901. Pp. 474. Price 11s.*

Die christliche Lehre von der Gnade.

*Apologie des biblischen Christentums, insbesondere gegenüber der
Ritschlschen Rechtfertigungslehre. Von Lic. Dr. August
Dieckmann, Pfarrer in Rodheim vor der Höhe. Berlin:
C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1901. Pp. 421. Price 8s.*

THE books above named are not unrelated in subject, but differ in theological standpoint, as also in the fact that one is a historical monograph, and the other a doctrinal discussion, with a flavour of contemporary polemics. The treatise on Augustine's view of the Person and Work of Christ is in the main Ritschlian in its sympathies, though dissent is freely expressed at times from authorities like Harnack. That on the Christian Doctrine of Grace is professedly a Biblical study, and is written from the Jena "liberal" standpoint, with strong hostility to Ritschl. Thus divergent in tendency, the books are again alike in the extent, elaboration and ponderosity with which they discuss their respective themes. It is a serious matter to handle, not to say read them. They are typical examples of the painful conscientiousness with which the German sets himself to work through a chosen subject. Whether the results entirely justify the enormous labour bestowed on them is another question.

The author of the first of the two works is a privat-dozent of the University of Kiel, a licentiate of theology, Otto Scheel.

He devotes himself to the theology of Augustine; not, however, to Augustine's theology as a whole, but to that particular branch of it which relates to the Person and Work of Christ. Augustine has sometimes been adduced in contradiction of the thesis that early Church dogma is a fusion of Christian elements with Greek philosophic thought. His theology, it has been argued, is, in its antecedents, Latin, not Greek; while its most distinctive features are an original creation from his own experience. Our author is of a different opinion. He goes considerably beyond Harnack in his view of the Greek influence in the theology of Augustine, and ranks that father much lower in respect of originality than it is customary to do. His special inspiration, if we may judge from frequent allusions, has been the article on Augustine by Professor Loofs in vol. ii. of the new *Real-Encyclopädie*. In the line of that sketch, he aims at showing that the dependence of Augustine on Neo-Platonism, and on the Greek mode of thought, is much stronger than has hitherto been conceived, especially in the department of soteriology; and, further, that the originality of Augustine has been much exaggerated. He divides Augustine's career into its different stages, and carefully traces the development of his ideas, first as to the Person, then as to the Work of Christ, in the period preceding his conversion (Manichæan days up to his adhesion to Neo-Platonism), in his Neo-Platonic period till 391, in the time of his presbyterate, 391 till 395, finally, and chiefly, in the period of his maturity. The exposition, as already hinted, is most carefully done. The author has bestowed immense pains on the writings of Augustine, and has allowed little to escape him that bears upon his subject. His style is clear, exact and scholarly. Whether one agrees with the conclusions of his work or not, therefore, it is impossible to deny to it the praise of thoroughness. No one engaged in the study of Augustine can fail to find in it valuable help, if only in the material it brings conveniently together. Many of the passages adduced in illustration of Augustine's views, as those on the redeeming value of Christ's death, are quite fresh.

It is nevertheless difficult to resist the impression that, with all his painstakingness, the author overdrives his argument. It is of course denied by no one that there is development in the theological views of Augustine. That lies upon the surface, and is confessed by Augustine himself. There is no doubt, either, that this father, in his transition stage, was powerfully attracted by Platonism, and that his earliest (pre-baptismal) writings bear a strongly Platonist cast. Neither did he, at any period in his career, repudiate what he conceived to be the philosophic truth in Platonism. But it may be seriously questioned whether, after the first few years, there was that amount of development in Augustine's Christological, or even in his soteriological, views which makes it necessary formally to sever his career into so many stages, and to treat of each separately, and at so great length. The author himself admits, when he comes to sum up, that the germ of everything further was already contained in the Christology which Augustine had elaborated by 391, and that no principal changes are afterwards discernible (p. 460). There is more justification for speaking of growth in the view of Christ's work, but by no means to the extent that Scheel alleges. To speak of a "Pelagianising" tendency even in Augustine's earliest period (p. 69) is unwarranted, and, on psychological grounds, nearly inconceivable. It is only fair, however, that the author's own conception of the successive stages should be stated. In his first stage, from his conversion to the presbyterate, Augustine was, on Scheel's view (following Loofs), a Christian more in disposition than in insight, though higher elements were already present (p. 78). The period of the presbyterate was a transition one. The Christology is richer, but lacks unity and harmony (p. 145). There is a wavering between the Alexandrian theology and the western tradition (p. 147). On redemption, alongside of a thoroughly Neo-Platonic series of thoughts, representations are found which either were not met with at all, or were only faintly indicated, in the preceding period. In particular, whereas earlier the stress was laid on the Incarnation as the means

of redemption, the emphasis is now put on the death of Christ (p. 148). "The long process of development from pure Neo-Platonism to an ecclesiastical Christianity qualified by Neo-Platonism is clearly mirrored in the writings coming from these years" (p. 149). The period of Augustine's maturity is treated at most length. It is declared to show specially the influence of Ambrose and of the Athanasian School on his Christology (see below), and in the doctrine of redemption a development of the idea of penal substitution in imperfect combination with a doctrine of ransom (p. 344). Scheel, however, has himself shown how strongly the substitutionary idea was developed in the earlier period (pp. 116 ff.). The point in which the author is specially at variance with Harnack and others is as to the justice done by Augustine to the humanity of Jesus. Harnack (rightly, as we think) takes the view that Augustine's chief interest was in the humanity (or human soul) of Jesus; but this Scheel, for a dogmatic reason stated below, stoutly contests (pp. 146, 227, 251, 273, 467, etc.).

The following remarks may be offered in criticism of the author's main contentions:—

First, and generally, it is not the fairest course to Augustine to study his theological development in the light of either his Christology or his soteriology. It is not, after all, in these departments, but in the doctrines of sin and grace, that his peculiar contribution to theology lies. When our author speaks of "grace" in Augustine, he has in view the redemptive work of Christ; but it was not given to Augustine or his age peculiarly to investigate that doctrine. It is a defect of the book that the distinctively Augustinian view of grace is hardly touched on in its pages at all. Even, therefore, if it is granted that there is nothing specially original in Augustine's Trinitarian and Christological positions—that in these he is largely dependent on Nicæa, on Athanasius, on Ambrose—that, moreover, he had not clearly thought out a theory of Christ's atonement (which is really the case)—this does not detract from his originality and importance in the region which is especially his own.

Second, the alleged "Neo-Platonism" of Augustine needs a good deal of qualification. Augustine acknowledges his (pre-conversion) debt to "Platonists," and we may conclude from what he states (*Conf.*, vii., 9, etc.) that among the Platonic writings which influenced him were some of the school of Plotinus. The defects of this type of teaching, however, were early apparent to him, and it is only by straining that the distinctive tenets of Neo-Platonism can be read into his later doctrine. Scheel goes beyond Harnack in his insistence on this (pp. 36, 251, 273, etc.). In one early passage the word "intellectus" is applied by Augustine to the Logos or Son (p. 35); this, however, is a slender basis for taking over the Neo-Platonic doctrine of the *νοῦς* into the theology of Augustine, especially when the admission has to be made of the earliest period—"the Son is from God, but is no emanation of God" (p. 38). Other alleged resemblances belong, not peculiarly to Neo-Platonism, but to the general Platonic idealism.

Third, it becomes early apparent that the real ground of Scheel's objection to the Augustinian Christology—one which affects the whole theology of the ancient Church, if not the Scripture as well—is that it finds the principle of personality in Christ, not in His humanity as such, but in His Divine subsistence as Son of God. His treatise is a tacit polemic throughout against what is called the "two-nature" doctrine. The constantly recurring complaint in the work is that the personality of Christ is not derived from the humanity of Christ; that its root is sought in the Divine (pp. 146, 234, 253, 274, 466, etc.). In the Person of the God-man, the Logos is the "hegemonistic" principle (p. 234). This is taken to mean logically *docetism* (p. 97). The objection applies equally, however, to *every* view which affirms a personal pre-existence of the Son in the Godhead. The position, therefore, is not one bound up peculiarly with Greek philosophy, still less with "Neo-Platonism". It has its ground in the facts of Christ's own historical manifestation, and in the Apostolic teaching.

Fourth, it is a drawback of the book that, while criticising
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Augustine's doctrine, the author does not make clear constructively what is *his own view* of the Person of Christ. It can only be inferred by contrast that he holds a dynamical view, which does not rise to the acknowledgment of a proper divinity of the Saviour's Person.

Turning now to the treatise by the other licentiate—this time a preacher—Dr. A. Dieckmann, we find ourselves in a somewhat different atmosphere. The work is on the Christian Doctrine of Grace, and professes to be an apology for Biblical Christianity, in special opposition to the Ritschlian doctrine of justification. It is dedicated to the members of the Jena Faculty, Hilgenfeld, Nippold, Seyerlen and Siegfried, and represents the "liberal" standpoint of such a teacher as the late Professor Lipsius. In its manner it has many of the marks of this school, *e.g.*, in its fondness for using Biblical forms and phrases, into which a new meaning is imported, and in a certain pietism of expression which is apt to mislead the reader as to the author's personal position. Thus in the Preface we have the expression of the hope that the reader will find himself truly led to "green pastures" and "fresh waters"; and the work generally is steeped in Scriptural quotations, among which free use is made of the Johannine sayings. The style is less clear than that of the former work. The author starts with the demand of the age for unity in thought and in our view of the world; then, finding that theology is at present in a state far removed from that ideal, he proposes a remedy in a closer alliance with science and criticism. This brings him into conflict with Ritschl, whose positions, in the course of the work, are sharply criticised. His general point of view may be seen from the following: "The doctrine of grace is called upon to resolve the unhappy dualism between revelation and history, dogmatics and ethics, religion and morality, faith and love, justification and sanctification, law and grace, Christ's high-priestly and prophetic offices—a dualism which exercises a powerful influence on preaching, on the instruction of youth,

and on the care of souls, and endangers and makes difficult alike the unity of our view of the world and of life, and the sincerity of our personal Christianity" (p. xii). "Dogmatic cannot help, if it would attain its aim in right doctrine, maintaining the closest touch with the noble work of scientific investigation of the Bible, therefore with criticism. . . . The newer investigation, so far as it is unprejudiced in its exercise, has brought to light in the domain of exegesis and of Biblical theology a multitude of conceptions which show that the time has come when the central Protestant dogma of justification through grace and faith, in its orthodox form, must undergo a revision, and receive an illumination which corresponds with the results of Biblical Theology" (pp. 6, 7).

The doctrine of Divine grace is accordingly considered by our author with much particularity under such main headings as "The Central Significance of Grace in the Kingdom of God" (pp. 29-128), "Faith as the Correlate of Grace" (pp. 129-216), "Sin in the Light of Grace" (pp. 217-284), "Redemption through the Grace of God in Jesus Christ" (pp. 285-421). The total impression produced by an examination of the leading sections is that the author has not much that is either very profound or very new to tell us, and that what he has to say might with great advantage have been compressed into a fourth or fifth part of the space it occupies. The hope awakened that the newer results of exegesis and Biblical theology were to yield some revolutionary construction of old doctrines is disappointed. The old theology, indeed, is got rid of, but what is put in its place is likewise old as the hills, and in no sense a product of new exegetical discovery. It is no new view, *e.g.*, though it might be difficult for any exegesis, new or old, to establish it as Scriptural, which regards justification as "the Divine recognition of that religious and moral disposition which corresponds to grace, and takes up uniformly the right attitude to grace, consequently the pious disposition given in faith" (p. 306). Nor is it novel, under the heading of "The Need of Expiation (*Sühne*) for Sin," to be told that "for God the disposition to

be reconciled to the sinner is at all times (*allezeit*) grounded in His nature, and there is needed nothing else to satisfy Him and turn His wrath into love, no other expiation, than that the enemy on his side should again strive to become the friend of God" (p. 320). Four hundred pages are too much to bring out results like these. It is right, on the other hand, to say that incidentally there are many just observations and acute criticisms of opponents in the book.

JAMES ORR.

The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries.

The Eighteenth Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By Thomas M. Lindsay, D.D., Principal of the Glasgow College of the United Free Church of Scotland. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902. 8vo, pp. xxii. + 398. Price 10s. 6d.

THE subject selected by Dr. Lindsay is one appropriate to the times and in entire harmony with the purpose of the Cunningham Lectureship. The question of the Church, what it is and what its ministry was intended to be, has again become one of the most urgent questions of the day. The ecclesiastical movements of the nineteenth century and the developments of these in the present time have given a new importance to that question; while the methods of historical study now prevalent have led scholars to look at it from new points of view and to re-open old discussions with a new purpose. The literature of the subject has been growing. Important contributions to it have been made by men like Sohm, Harnack, Dobschütz, Loening, Réville and others abroad, and Gwatkin, Hatch, Hort, Gore, Moberly and others at home. The question, however, is far from being exhausted. There is ample room for further inquiry, for the presentation of other aspects of the subject, and for the continued investigation of certain particular points of the general theme. Above all, there is need of a fresh examination of the High Church doctrine on the subject, which has been so ably and so sedulously pressed on the attention of the religious public of late. Dr. Lindsay has discerned the signs of the times, and has wisely taken advantage of the opportunity. His book is an important contribution to the discussion. It gives an admirable summary of opinion, a careful review of the present drift of thought, a critical estimate of the positions affirmed by the representative

writers. But it does much more than that. It treats the whole question in a thoroughly fresh and independent way, throwing upon it the light gathered not only from lengthened study, but from observations made in the course of journeys through Eastern mission fields in which young Christian communities were seen in conditions like those of the primitive Christian Churches. It is also written throughout in a clear, pointed, vivacious style which adds much to its attractiveness.

In his Preface Dr. Lindsay lays down three general principles, which are found underlying his whole treatment of the case in hand. In stating these principles he also carefully explains in what sense and to what effect he holds them. First he tells us that he believes devoutly that there is a visible Catholic Church of Christ. This Church consists, in his view, of "all those throughout the world who visibly worship the same God and Father, profess their faith in the same Saviour, and are taught by the same Holy Spirit". It is not dependent for its Catholicity, therefore, on external form or constitution, nor is there anything in the New Testament to warrant us to assert that its Catholicity "*must* find visible expression in a uniformity of organisation, of ritual of worship, or even of formulated creed". Further, this Church has a real historical continuity, but that continuity has its basis in the "succession of the generations of faithful followers" of Christ, not in "any one method of selecting and setting apart office-bearers who rule in the Church". This is well put, and is all in the line of the great creeds of the Reformation.

In the second place Dr. Lindsay declares his belief that there must be a valid ministry, and that the Church has an "authority which is a direct gift from God". But he does not admit that it follows from this that the authority of the Church must be regarded as deposited in "a class or caste of superior office-bearers endowed with a grace and therefore with a power 'specific, exclusive and efficient,' and that it cannot be delegated to the ministry by the Christian people". This again is a frank and definite statement, and one that

can be abundantly justified, as it seems to us, by the New Testament. It gives a view of "ministerial character" which we judge to be entirely in accordance not only with the spirit of the New Testament, but with statements made by the Apostolic writers with reference to particular cases. And here Dr. Lindsay very appropriately puts his hand on the fallacy of the supposition that an authority which in one way is from *above* may not be in another sense from *below*. In other words, an authority is not less a Divine authority, an authority from above, if it has its source in the membership of the Christian people possessed by the presence of Christ and guided by His indwelling Spirit, than if it came from a fountain of grace and power supposed to reside in the earthly head of the Church or in certain superior and specially consecrated officials.

In the third place he expresses his conviction that "analogies in organisation illustrative of the life of the primitive Christian communities can be more easily and more safely found on the mission fields of our common Christianity than among the details of the organised life of the long-established Churches of Christian Europe". This again is a valid position to which no exception need be taken. It expresses indeed a principle which may be fruitful in results. Good use is made of it here. In some cases it is applied in a very happy way. But it is perhaps too much in evidence. As we follow the argument of the book the feeling grows upon us that more is made of this principle than can be fairly allowed it. When it is brought in to settle the differences between Sohm and Loening on the question of the prophets in the New Testament Church, to put Harnack right in his mistakes about ecclesiastical organisation, and to do a good many things of a like kind, it threatens to become too much of a universal specific.

Of the three principles thus stated at the outset the third stands obviously on a different platform from the first two. That is the expression of a certain method. These belong to the heart of the question. Dr. Lindsay speaks of them as presuppositions, assumptions or postulates, and no doubt

introduced as they are by him they have that character. But the first two may equally well be dealt with as conclusions. The result of a careful study of the New Testament in the methods of historical and critical exegesis is, as we understand it, just what Dr. Lindsay presents as presupposition or postulate. That is the idea of a Church which is one, visible and Catholic, but which has the principle of its unity and catholicity in what is spiritual, not in what is formal or external; and the idea of an orderly ministry which is of God, but which is evolved from the general priesthood of the Christian people.

In the New Testament conception of the *ἐκκλησία* or Church Dr. Lindsay finds these four fundamental ideas—a *fellowship*, a *unity*, a *visible community*, an *authority*, a *sacerdotal society*. These ideas he illustrates very suitably by the analogies of the Hebrew assembly of the congregation of Israel and the sovereign assembly of the free Greek city-state. In dealing with this he gives a full classification and analysis of the various uses of the word "Church" in the New Testament, following mainly Hort's enumeration, and shows at the same time how the word can be used to denote Christian bodies differing in size "from the sum total of all the Christian communities on earth down to the tiny congregation which met in the house of Philemon". The reason is that the unity of the Church is the oneness of an "ideal reality" which can be present in many places at the same time. A vivid picture is next given of a Christian Church in the Apostolic times—how simple everything was; how like to the house-churches of the Reformation era or the house-conventicles of the Scotch Covenanters these primitive assemblies of the Christian people must have been; how naturally there would rise different kinds of meetings—for edification by prayer and exhortation, for thanksgiving and for business; how obviously independent and self-governing these first Churches were, as the Pauline Epistles abundantly show. The pages in which these things are described are among the liveliest and most interesting in the book.

In approaching the question of Church organisation Dr.

Lindsay very properly calls attention to the fact that our Lord Himself made it plain that leadership in His Church was to be for the purpose of service, and that from the beginning there were two separate and distinct kinds of ministry—the “ministry of the Word” and the “ministry of tables” as they are called in the narrative in which we get the first clear indication of the organisation of a local Church (Acts vi. 2). The nature and objects of the *prophetic* ministry are carefully expounded; its threefold order, as embracing Apostles, Prophets and Teachers, is explained; and the existence of this triple ministry is traced throughout the first two centuries. Here, of course, the special functions of these three classes have to be investigated. The question as to what the Teachers distinctively were is somewhat briefly disposed of. More justice is done to the questions relating to the Apostles and the Prophets. With regard to the latter, Dr. Lindsay's conclusion is that they belonged to every Christian community; that they were not office-bearers; that they had a special place in the restoration of the lapsed; and that, though evangelistic effort was not their proper function, they sometimes wandered from one community to another. The *missionary* character of the Apostles on the other hand is clearly brought out; the measure and grounds of their authority are well stated; and an interesting account is given of the various kinds of work to which they would have to address themselves in their evangelistic service. The questions of the essential idea of the Apostolate, the wider and the more specific applications of the term *Apostle*, and the qualifications of an Apostle, are also carefully considered. Here most will agree, as it seems to us, with Lightfoot rather than with our author on the subject of the distinguishing characteristics of an Apostle. Dr. Lindsay would narrow these down to the one idea of the man who “had given himself, and that for life, to be a missionary, preaching the gospel of the kingdom to those who did not know it”. In dealing with the extended sense of the term *Apostle* he is disposed, on the other hand, to take too large a view, including among those called “Apostles” in the New Testament

men like Apollos and Timothy, whose claims to the name are very doubtful.

There is a very good investigation of the origin and application of the various names given to office-bearers in early Christian literature. As to the *episcopos* or *bishop*, the term is shown to be the designation of the kind of work done, not the name of an office. The term *presbyter*, *elder*, on the other hand, was the title of an office, taken from existing Jewish usage, but covering functions different from those associated with the Jewish office. The views of Harnack, Sohm and Weizsäcker on the relation of the *bishop* to the *presbyter* are acutely criticised. It is pointed out among other things that in order to make good the position that presbyters and bishops were distinct from the first, Harnack has to brand as unhistorical the important statement in Acts xiv. 23, to take very considerable liberty with the theory of interpolation, and to refer certain documents to a late date—the Epistle of James, *e.g.*, to A.D. 120-140, the Pastoral Epistles, or the relative sections of these letters, to about A.D. 130, etc. This whole question is fully gone into, and ample reason is shown for holding with Lightfoot and the older scholars that *presbyter* and *bishop* were practically interchangeable terms, the difference between them being only that the former was the title of office while the latter expressed the *work* which the presbyter did.

Another important and eminently satisfactory section of the general argument of the book is that which traces, by reference to the literature of the periods, the process of change which set in with regard to the form and the idea of the ministry, the way in which the prophetic ministry declined to its fall, the introduction of the conception of the ministry as a priesthood, and the effect which the State-religion of Rome had on the organisation of the Church. In this connexion Dr. Lindsay's explanation of the way in which the threefold ministry as now understood came in deserves notice. He bids us bear in mind the fact that "at the close of the first century every local Church had at its head a college or senate or session of rulers, who were called

by the technical name of elders, and were also known by names which indicated the kind of work they had to do—pastors, overseers (*ἐπίσκοποι*)". This, he points out, was the ministry of *oversight*. Then each congregation had also attached to it another body of men whose part it was to give subordinate service. These were the *deacons*. Whether these formed part of the college of elders or were formed into a college of their own, he thinks is a question difficult to answer. But "the change made consisted," as he understands it, "in placing at the head of this college of rulers one man, who was commonly called either the pastor or the bishop, the latter name being the more usual, and apparently the technical designation. The ministry of each congregation or local Church instead of being, as it had been, twofold—of elders and deacons—became threefold—of pastors or bishops, elders and deacons. This was the introduction of what is called the threefold ministry."

There are many other discussions which raise interesting questions and on which one might say much. There is, for example, the treatment given to the views of Bishop Gore and Professor Moberly. These are candidly and effectively dealt with. Yet there remains much to be said on the very abstract notion of the Church which is at the basis of the whole conception of the ministry held by these able writers, the notion of the Church as an entity that somehow is prior to the particular Churches or regularly, divinely constituted societies of believers and worshippers. But enough has been said to indicate the value and interest of Dr. Lindsay's contribution to the discussion of a very living question of the day, and to give some idea of the scientific method of the book and the writer's breadth of view.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

The Book of Jubilees ; or, The Little Genesis. Translated from the Editor's Ethiopic Text, and edited, with Introduction, Notes and Indices, by R. H. CHARLES, D.D., Professor of Biblical Greek, Trinity College, Dublin. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1902. 8vo, pp. lxxxix. + 275. Price 15s. net.

PROFESSOR CHARLES has already done much for this curious *Book of Jubilees*. In the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for the years 1893-1895 he published a translation of the work from two Ethiopic MSS. which had never before been collated. And in 1895 he also gave us his *Ethiopic Version*, an edition based on the only four MSS. hitherto known, and compared throughout with the Massoretic and Samaritan texts and the Greek, Syriac, Vulgate and Ethiopic versions of the Pentateuch. Now he gives us an edition with a translation, a full commentary, an admirable introduction and useful indices, which embodies the ripest results of his studies.

Much work has been expended on the preparation of this edition, and the book is worth it. For, apart from the interest attaching to the *Book of Jubilees* as the oldest commentary in the world on Genesis, it is important for the light it sheds on Jewish beliefs, on the form of the Hebrew text and on the ideas of the New Testament. It is about half a century since the book was discovered in its complete form in the *Ethiopic Version*. During that period the literature of which it forms a part has attained a value which it never had before, and this late addition to that literature has attracted the attention of a succession of scholars, among whom the great Dillmann still remains *facile princeps*. Professor Charles now supplements all that has been hitherto done, and provides us with the best edition which a scholarly use of all the materials at present available can produce.

The introduction gives us a mass of information on the subject of the names of the book, the MSS., the editions and

translations, the Greek, Ethiopic, Latin and Syriac versions, the textual affinities of the book, the *lacunæ* in our text, the poetical element in the treatise, its authorship, date, object, doctrine, etc. Proof is offered that the Ethiopic and Latin versions are translations from the Greek, and that the Greek itself is a translation not from Aramaic but from Hebrew. The evidence for these positions is convincingly put, and the same may be said of the argument for the unity of the book, in the sense that it was the work of one author but based on earlier books and traditions. The idea of its being the product of Essene thought is not favoured by Professor Charles. He takes it to be the composition of a Pharisee.

In one important respect Professor Charles has changed his point of view. Formerly he accepted the traditional opinion that the book belonged to the first century of the Christian era. He now assigns it to an earlier period—between the year of the accession of Hyrcanus to the High-priesthood (B.C. 135) and his breach with the Pharisees some years before his death (B.C. 105). The evidence for this date is described by the author as “so plentiful and powerful when apprehended that no room is left for reasonable doubt”. This is perhaps pitching the note too high. But it must be admitted that the particulars, as put in section 17, while in some instances of doubtful value, when taken together make a strong case. The occurrence of the title “priest of the Most High God,” the approval of the Maccabean pontificate by the Pharisaic writer, the laws specially referred to and accentuated, the death penalty for profanation of the Sabbath and for intermarriage with the heathen, the assured spirit of triumph anticipating a world-wide dominion, the intense hatred of Judah towards the Philistines reflected in the book—these are among the considerations which, it is argued, put the earlier date almost beyond question. That date, at the same time, is held by Professor Charles to have the additional advantage of giving a more satisfactory interpretation of the text than is possible with the later date.

Another matter of which a good deal is made is the discovery, as Professor Charles affirms it to be, of a poetical

element of considerable extent in the book. Of this we have some doubt, especially as it is applied to emendation of the text. The thing which we chiefly question, indeed, is the large use of conjectural alteration of the text all through the book. Many of the cases are far from convincing. But there is an excellent summary of the ideas of the book, its angelology, its demonology, its eschatology, its views of the Messiah, the Priesthood, the Law, and the notes are both ample and informing. The author's general view of the book is also of interest. He takes the writer's aim to be to "do for Genesis what the Chronicler had done for Samuel and Kings," recasting the history so as to glorify the patriarchs and exhibit the Law as having been strictly observed by them. The book, therefore, will represent the Midrashic process in an extreme form. It is, as Professor Charles expresses it, "the most advanced pre-Christian representative of the Midrashic tendency which had already been at work in the Old Testament Chronicles". The volume is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the ancient literature of Judaism.

Sojourning with God, and other Sermons. By ROBERT RAINY, D.D., Principal of New College, Edinburgh. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 336. Price 6s.

The venerable Head of the New College, Edinburgh, has led a more strenuous life than most men. That has not been of his own choice, but in the providential ordering of things. He has moved much in the sight of the public, and has had to bear an unusually large and influential part in ecclesiastical affairs, both administrative and controversial. These aspects of his life have so filled the eye of the public that only the few have thought of him in the quieter spheres of usefulness and in the exercise of gifts of another order. Here we have him as the preacher, and it will perhaps come as a surprise to many that the great ecclesiastical leader, the man of many conflicts and of sagacious public counsel, is also the man of meditation, deep religious experience and tranquil

wisdom. The discourses here published have all the character of quiet penetrating reflection, moral power and a simplicity of style which is the charming vesture of reverent reflection and profound insight. This quality of significant, suggestive simplicity is seen especially in such discourses as those on "The Samaritan Woman," "The Light of the World," and "The Prospect of Dying". The most distinctive note perhaps is struck in one on "The Child Element in Christianity"—a noble and tender discourse containing many beautiful passages. There is one sermon of a more decidedly doctrinal character—that on "Christ's Death for Sin," in which powerful expression is given to the fact that the New Testament so frequently and so distinctly sets forth Christ's death in its relation to sins "considered as past, entailing ill-desert, awaiting judgment, needing forgiveness". There are also two notable memorial sermons, tributes of honour and affection to deceased friends. But there is not a discourse out of all the seventeen which make up the volume, that one will not be inclined to read again if he reads it once.

The Gospel according to St. Mark. The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Indices. By HENRY BARCLAY SWETE, D.D., Hon. Litt. D., Dublin, Hon. D.D., Glasgow, Regius Professor of Divinity and Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., 1902. 8vo, pp. cxx. + 434. Price 15s.

Dr. Swete's commentary was noticed at length in this journal¹ when it first appeared, and its great merits were recognised then. We are glad to see it in a second edition, and hope it may soon run into other editions. It remains substantially as it was, the author finding nothing in the more recent literature to modify his main positions. But various improvements have been made and the whole has been thoroughly revised. Books and articles which have been published since the first edition appeared have been carefully consulted, and considerable additions have been made

¹ Vol. ix., p. 203.

to the critical apparatus. Time has not made it possible to furnish the dissertations which the author had in view on certain questions connected with the Second Gospel. But the book is large enough as it is, and it is undoubtedly the best English commentary we possess on Mark. For fulness of information, mastery of the Greek of the LXX and the New Testament, expert knowledge of textual criticism, exact grammatical exegesis and general sobriety of judgment, Dr. Swete's work has few to rival it. It is the fruit of long-continued and most painstaking study, and one feels that he can always turn to it with confidence.

My Life Work. By SAMUEL SMITH, M.P. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902. 8vo, pp. xii. + 630. Price 5s. net.

There is much that is of interest in the volume, and much that makes profitable reading for different classes, especially for young men. It is impressive and stimulating as the record of a busy life fired with a high purpose. It is the pleasant chronicle of the journeys of an observant traveller on both sides of the Atlantic, and of friendships with many notable men. It says much that is wise and worth consideration on the political, educational, philanthropic and religious movements of the time. The writer is a man of faith, of earnest, practical piety, and of strong evangelical convictions. The book also has a special interest for the theologian in the account which it gives of the way in which the writer came to accept the doctrine of conditional immortality and the reasons which led him to adhere to it. There are also some instructive appendices dealing with such questions as the appreciation of the gold standard, the nationalisation of the land, the fallacies of socialism, and the new school of biblical criticism. With regard to the last-mentioned subject, the evolution theory, and questions related thereto, Mr. Smith's position is as strongly conservative as it is liberal on the great political and educational questions.

Clement of Alexandria: Miscellanies, Book VII. The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation, Notes, Dissertations, Indices. By the late FENTON JOHN ANTHONY HORT, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., sometime Hulsean Professor and Lady Margaret Reader in Divinity in the University of Cambridge; and JOSEPH B. MAYOR, M.A., Emeritus Professor of King's College, London, Honorary Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, Hon. Litt.D., Dublin. London: Macmillan & Co., 1902. 8vo, pp. cxi. + 455. Price 15s. net.

This is a work that recalls the great days of English scholarship and the massive monuments of the erudition of olden times. A book which is the product of the scientific method and the generous learning of two such men as Dr. Hort and Dr. Mayor, is a book of no ordinary value, and the publication of this volume is a great boon to students of Patristic literature. It has cost much to prepare it, but the labour has been well spent. The heart of the work is a course of lectures on the seventh book of the *Stromateis* delivered by Dr. Hort before his election to a Professorship of Divinity. The notes of these lectures have been worked up with great care by Dr. Mayor, with the assistance of Sir Arthur Hort and Dr. Henry Jackson. Beyond the first sixty-nine sections the notes are by Dr. Mayor, who also has supplemented the matter left by Dr. Hort and added introduction, appendices and indices. The value of the book has been increased also by contributions by Dr. Jackson and the Rev. P. M. Barnard, the author of an excellent edition of the *Quis dives salvetur*? No pains have been spared, therefore, to make the volume worthy of Dr. Hort's reputation. The notes are abundant and most helpful. They throw light on many questions in early Church history, theology and biblical criticism. The translation faces the Greek text on the opposite page.

Among the many interesting things in Dr. Mayor's introduction we may notice what is said of Clement's choice of the form of composition seen in the *Stromateis*. "It was selected by Clement," says Dr. Mayor, "with the view of

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discriminating between his readers, giving sufficient light to enable the more earnest and intelligent to penetrate to his inner meaning without arousing unnecessary prejudice in the minds of the less enlightened." Hence the lack of logical arrangement, the habit of flying off at a tangent from one subject to another, and the other heady methods that perplex the modern reader. There is an excellent statement of Clement's relation to the Mysteries and his use of mystical terms. But of greater interest still is the criticism of the views of Deissmann, Hatch and Harnack on the influence of Greek philosophy on Christianity in general and on the theology and ethics of Clement in particular. The exaggerations of these writers are dealt with and set aside. Instances are given in which Clement was right in borrowing from Greek philosophy and others in which he was wrong. His views on the subject of punishment are carefully examined in connexion with this question, and the position is taken that Hellenism, rightly understood, is not contrary to the Christianity of the New Testament, but is "involved in the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles, and is its pre-ordained, its natural and necessary development". The distinction drawn between the "gnostic" and the ordinary believer is also carefully considered. It is admitted that Clement was "too much attracted by the Stoic ideal"; that his view of two stages of Christianity is open to serious criticism; that he was wrong in speaking of "*apathy* as a part of Christian perfection," and in other positions. But on the other hand it is shown that Clement is misrepresented when he is said to have contributed by his teaching to the lowering of the standard of life and character for laymen, or to have attached more importance to orthodox doctrine than to a good life. These are but a few of the questions dealt with. The book, indeed, is a treasure-store to which scholars will repair for help on many subjects.

Das Johannes-Evangelium. Von der 6 Auflage an neu bearbeitet. Von Dr. BERNHARD WEISS, Wirkl. Oberkonsistorialrat u. o. Professor an d. Universität, Berlin. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. 543. Price 8s. net.

Die Briefe Pauli an Timotheus und Titus. Von der 5 Auflage an neu bearbeitet. Von Dr. BERNHARD WEISS, Wirkl. Oberkonsistorialrat u. o. Professor an der Universität, Berlin. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. 379. Price M.5.80.

These new editions show how great a hold Meyer's *Commentary* continues to have on students of the New Testament. And deservedly so, for no commentary yet produced surpasses Meyer's, and few even approach it in sound scholarship, good sense and sustained excellence. The first five editions of the *Commentary on the Fourth Gospel* were issued between 1834 and 1869, and were all by Meyer himself. Since then it has passed into other four editions, all revised and edited by Dr. Bernhard Weiss. We have now, therefore, the ninth edition of a book which took from the first a foremost place among critical and exegetical expositions of John's Gospel and has maintained its high and early-won reputation through all the changes of these many years. The veteran editor has bestowed much labour on this new edition, the results of which are seen not so much in modifications of former interpretations as in alterations in the form. A good deal of matter is dispensed with which in former issues had more or less the character of repetition induced by the glossatorial method of exegesis. References to older philological literature which had lost their point are also omitted. Renewed attention is given to matters of textual criticism. Here, too, a wise economy is practised. Nestle's readings are left unreported; Lachmann's are given only when they stand by themselves. On the other hand, the texts of Tregelles and Westcott and Hort are kept carefully under review and their readings are regularly cited. In this new

form, the volume has a better title than ever to rank among the most informing, reliable and thorough commentaries on the fourth gospel. Of the volume on the Pastoral Epistles it is unnecessary to say more than that it keeps up the old tradition of solid, scholarly worth by which Huther's exegesis was favourably known. The problems of these difficult Epistles are handled in essentially the same way and to the same effects as in former issues. Little, indeed, of first-class importance has been issued since 1894, when the previous edition appeared. The first four editions were carried through by Huther himself. The fifth was revised by Dr. Bernhard Weiss, the sixth by Dr. John Weiss, and now the seventh has come again through the hands of the venerable Berlin exegete himself.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

WE have also to notice these—*Die Offenbarung im Gnosticismus*,¹ by Lic. Theol. Rudolf Lichtenhahu—a study of what *Gnosis* signified, the main ideas of the Gnostic doctrines of God and the World, the Saviour and Salvation, the Last Things, Heaven and Hell, Ethics and the Mysteries, the characteristic positions of the various Gnostic sects, and the general meaning of the Gnostic movement—looking at most things from Harnack's point of view but on the basis of an independent examination of the literature and sources, and containing much that will repay consideration as regards both the origin and the influence of that strange and remarkable form of religious and speculative thought; a useful *Hebrew Vocabulary*,² printed in very good type, by Dr. Kraetzschmar of Marburg; a careful French translation of Wildeboer's very useful work on the *Canon of the Old Testament*,³ by Pastor Perriraz; an admirable edition of the *Augsburg Confession*,⁴ by Professor Paul Tschackert, giving the German and Latin texts on the basis of the best manuscripts with occasional footnotes on various readings, forms of words, etc., an edition for which our thanks are due; a study of *Homonymous Roots in Syriac*,⁵ by Frederick

¹ Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. iv. + 168. Price 5s. net.

² *Hebräisches Vocabular*. Von Lic. Dr. R. Kraetzschmar. Tübingen u. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902. 8vo, pp. 40. Price 1s. net.

³ *De la formation du Canon de l'Ancien Testament*. Étude historico-critique par G. Wildeboer, Docteur en Théologie, Professeur à l'Université de Groningue. Traduit par L. Perriraz, Pasteur de l'Église Wallonne de Groningue. Lausanne: Bridel. 8vo, pp. viii. + 128.

⁴ *Die unveränderte Augsburgische Konfession, deutsch und lateinisch, nach den besten Handschriften aus dem Besitze des Unterzeichner*. Text-Ausgabe. Von Paul Tschackert, Dr. th. et ph., Professor der Kirchengeschichte in Göttingen. Leipzig: Deichert, 1901. 8vo, pp. 54. Price M.1.

⁵ *Homonyme Wurzeln im Syrischen*. Ein Beitrag zur Semitischen Lexicographie. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard. 8vo, pp. iv. + 104. Price M.4.

Schulthess, meant for the specialist in Semitic lexicography, a laborious and careful publication, showing a wide and accurate erudition, and giving many suggestive comparisons and criticisms; a German translation by Julie von Reincke of Sören Kirkegaard's *Zwei ethisch-religiöse Abhandlungen*,¹ a correct and pleasing version of the able and vivacious Dane's discussions of two questions of considerable interest to the theologian, viz., whether a man should become a martyr for the truth, and what the difference is between a genius and an apostle; a series of acute and informing studies on the development of Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre*,² by Dr. Willy Kabitz (part of which is a reprint from Vaihinger's *Kantstudien*), giving a clear and somewhat elaborate account of the relation of Fichte to Kant, and enriched by an appendix containing a number of letters, hitherto unpublished, written by Fichte or addressed to him, reflections, rules for self-examination, etc.; *Le Dieu de Platon, d'après l'ordre chronologique des Dialogues*,³ by Pierre Bovet, an interesting thesis presented with a view to the Doctorate of Letters in the University of Geneva, showing the place which the idea of God occupies in the philosophy of Plato, with the form which it receives and the development it undergoes in the various dialogues as they are taken in their proper chronological order, and undertaking to prove, among other things, that this idea was as strange to Plato's earliest system of thought as it was to the philosophers preceding him; that a change in his thinking took place, of which we have the first clear indications in the *Theaetetus* and the *Parmenides*; that the questions of the *soul*, *cause* and *motion* then assumed a primary position, and that it was in connexion with these that the idea of God as Creator of the world became a part of Plato's philosophy; *Eating the Bread of Life*,⁴ by

¹ *Zum ersten Male aus dem Dänischen übersetzt.* Von Julie von Reincke. Giessen: Ricker, 1902. 8vo, pp. 72. Price 1s. 9d.

² *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Fichteschen Wissenschaftslehre, aus der Kantischen Philosophie.* Von Willy Kabitz. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1902. 8vo, pp. 100 + 32. Price 4s. 6d.

³ Genève: Kündig, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 186.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock. Imp. 8vo, pp. 197. Price 2s. 6d. net.

Werner H. K. Soames, M.A. Cantab., London College of Divinity and Vicar of St. George's, Greenwich, a devout and painstaking study of John vi. 30, etc., and its relation to the Lord's Supper, establishing the Reformation doctrine in all its essentials, but criticising the views to which the great English Reformers gave expression on some subordinate points, the sense of the terms "Body and Blood," the meaning of the acts of *eating* and *drinking* which Christ enjoined on His disciples, etc; *My Search for Truth, and What I Found*,¹ by J. Horton—a volume which makes no pretension to be in any sense complete or to have even much of a plan, but which has a pathetic interest as the transcript of a remarkable personal experience, recording how one who had been content with the creed of Conditional Immortality was driven from his moorings by the premature death of a gifted son, compelled to think all things over anew, and, giving up the ordinary belief in man's fall and his redemption, was led to recognise in Christ the Human Ideal, who brought life and immortality to light "by showing in man the divine perfected"; an edition of the Greek text of *Matthew's Gospel*,² by Professor Blass, with a Latin Preface dealing with matters of textual criticism, and a copious provision of footnotes chronicling the varieties of reading with brief summaries of the evidence—a welcome volume containing much in small compass and specially useful in inducing the student to compare Blass's way of handling textual questions with the methods of Hort, Tischendorf, and others; a small volume containing Ritschl's well-known address on "Christian Perfection," and his dissertation on "Theology and Metaphysics,"³ of which the former appeared first in 1874 and the latter in 1881,

¹ London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 195. Price 2s. 6d.

² *Evangelium secundum Matthaeum cum variae lectionis Delectu*. Edidit Fridericus Blass. Leipzig: Teubner. Pp. xviii. + 110.

³ *Die christliche Vollkommenheit*. Ein Vortrag. *Theologie und Metaphysik*. Eine Verständigung und Abwehr. Von Albrecht Ritschl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1902. 8vo, pp. 95. Price 1s. 9d. net.

both being issued now in the third edition, but without any change in contents; *Revised Catechism*,¹ by the Rev. Duff Macdonald, M.A., B.D., with a preface by the Rev. Robert Flint, D.D., LL.D., a volume consisting of two parts, an Examination of the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism, and a Revision of the same, of which it is enough to say that while the Revision cannot be regarded as much of a success and the criticisms passed on the statements of the Catechism are not always just, the second part contains some good notes and the first part gives a good deal of useful matter regarding terms which have changed their meanings, proof passages which do not bear the meaning attached to them in the seventeenth century or which can no longer be regarded as belonging to the true text, translations which are not quite exact, etc.; *Baptism and Regeneration*,² by Werner H. K. Soames, M.A. Cantab., London College of Divinity and Vicar of St. George's, Greenwich, an exposition of the relationship between the two in the light of Scripture teaching, together with an examination of the teaching of the English Prayer-Book on the subject—a painstaking inquiry conducted in the interest of evangelical purity and simplicity, the object of which is to show that there is no reference whatever in John vi. to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper; that the definition of the term *Sacrament* given by the Church of England is imperfect; that "birth of the Spirit" is not synonymous with "baptism of the Spirit"; and that neither "baptism of the Spirit" nor "birth of the Spirit" synchronises with "baptism of water"; a second edition of Professor Duhm's Commentary on *Isaiah*,³ which was noticed at length in this Journal (vol. iii., p. 12), and which appears now in this new issue after a period of nearly ten years, with

¹ London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. xx. + 155.

² London: Elliot Stock, 1902. 8vo, pp. viii. + 79. Price 1s. 6d.

³ *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*. Herausgegeben von Dr. W. Nowack, o. Prof. d. Theol. in Strassburg i. Els. III. Abtheilung. Die poetischen Bücher. Band 1. Das Buch Jesaia übersetzt und erklärt von Bernhard Duhm, o. Prof. d. Theol. in Basel. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1902. Large 8vo, pp. xxi. + 446. Price 8s. net; bound 10s. net.

certain minor corrections and improvements, but otherwise unchanged, retaining all its main critical judgments, a book which has won recognition as an interesting and suggestive contribution to the study of the prophet, notwithstanding the licence of its critical operations, its scorn for the opinions of others, and its magisterial handling of the text; the third and fourth parts of the twenty-first volume of Krüger and Köhler's most useful *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, the former containing the "New Testament Literature"¹ carefully chronicled and summarised by Arnold Meyer and Rudolf Knopf, the latter giving an equally careful and remarkably complete account of the newer contributions to the literature of Church History;² the first, second and third parts of the *Bibliographie der Theologischen Literatur für das Jahr 1901*,³ prepared by Baentsch, Beer and other scholars, and edited by Professor Krüger and Dr. W. Köhler, this serviceable bibliography being reprinted in separate form from the *Jahresbericht*; the third and fourth *Fasciculi* of the twenty-first volume of the *Analecta Bollandiana*,⁴ containing among other things the third part of Paulus de Loë's contribution on the *Life and Writings of Albertus Magnus*; *The Englishwoman's Year-Book and Directory*, 1903,⁵ being the fifth year of the new issue of this useful and companionable publication, edited with much ability by Emily Janes, organising secretary to the National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland, containing a mass of valuable information on most matters in which women have a personal interest, in education, employment, philanthropic, charitable and religious work, science, art, literature, pastimes, etc., a compendium to have always at one's hand.

¹ III. Abtheilung. *Das Neue Testament*. Berlin: Schwetschke u. Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. 245-351.

² IV. Abtheilung. *Kirchengeschichte*. Bearbeitet von Edwin Preuschen, etc. Berlin: Schwetschke u. Sohn; London: Williams and Norgate. 1902. 8vo, pp. ix. + 353-804.

³ Berlin: Schwetschke u. Sohn; London: Williams and Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. 1-80, 81-160, 161-240.

⁴ Bruxelles, 1902. 8vo, pp. 241-480.

⁵ London: Adam & Charles Black, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxv. + 340.

Record of Select Literature.

I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

- BLAU, L. Studien zum althebräischen Buchwesen u. zur biblischen Litteratur- u. Textgeschichte. 1. Thl. Strassburg: K. J. Trübner. 8vo, pp. iii. + iv. + 203. M.4.40.
- KAHLE, P. Der Masoretische Text des Alten Testaments nach der Ueberlieferung der babylonischen Juden. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchh. 8vo, pp. iv. + 108. M.3.50.
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Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death.

By Frederic W. H. Myers. London: Longmans, Green & Co. In two volumes. 8vo, pp. xlvi. + 700; xx. + 660. Price £2 2s. net.

THIS is a notable book,—a book with such nobility of spirit, magnitude of conception, and skill in execution that it takes at once a place of its own, and is probably destined to be the classical representative of the theories it advocates. There is that indefinable something about the book which, in a speaker, we call personal magnetism. The soul of a highly gifted man has thrown all its powers into a group of subjects likely to awaken strong prejudices in the majority of men. The writer of this review confesses to an instinctive distrust of any supposed communication with the world of departed spirits; and yet the charm of this book is so great that he was more than once set wondering whether the generations to come would look back on Frederic Myers with reverence as the prophet of a new era of cosmic knowledge—instead of occasionally disinterring his book from the dust of the Bodleian to marvel at the genius devoted to so unprofitable a speculation.

The plan of the book is simple and progressive, and can be easily grasped. Half of each volume is taken up with appendices containing the detailed evidence on which the argument rests. Copious analyses of the latter are given, and each chapter resumes the previous stages, and gathers up its own contribution in concluding. The nature of each stage is indicated by the title of the chapter. The first is introductory, and surveys the whole field of normal and abnormal psychological phenomena to be considered, besides explaining Myers' theory of the subliminal consciousness. The second deals with "Disintegrations of Personality," *e.g.*,

as in some forms of hysteria. "Genius" is next discussed, its inspirations being considered as the subliminal up-rushes of helpful faculty. We then pass from the waking to the sleeping phase of personality, and "Sleep" is expounded on the theory that "the self of sleep is a spirit freed from ordinary material limitations". "Hypnotism" is naturally treated at considerable length and contributes the main data to the psychological argument. "Sensory Automatism" completes the first volume, and is taken to cover the phenomena of crystal-gazing, clairvoyance and telepathy in general. The division between the volumes is no doubt intentional, for the second takes us into much more debatable ground. Chapter VII. is entitled "Phantasms of the Dead," and ghosts and haunted houses receive an amount of serious consideration that is rare in these days. "Motor Automatism" is ushered in under the guidance of Socrates and Joan of Arc, but the well-known spiritualistic phenomena of table-tilting and spirit-writing may be taken as distinctive of this group. The final chapter on "Trance, Possession and Ecstasy" has probably suffered from the want of the author's revision through his death two years ago. It discusses Swedenborg and modern mediums such as Home, Mrs. Piper and Stainton Moses, whose experiences Myers accepts as containing the genuine communications of a spirit-world. A short epilogue throws the ægis of idealistic philosophy and supernatural religion over the conclusions reached, while the personal attitude of Myers himself towards the Christian faith is found in an appended Presidential Address to the Society of Psychical Research.

It will be noticed from this outline that the argument is a cumulative one, and that the climax is in its assertion of spirit-return. Much of the book is of value quite apart from our personal attitude towards this question, but in the author's intention this is its main purpose. It is from this that his own interest was originally derived. He tells us (vol. ii., p. 223), "It was on May 9th, 1874, that Edmund Gurney and I met Stainton Moses. . . . That evening was epoch-making in Gurney's life and mine. . . . We now met

a man of university education, of manifest sanity and probity, who vouched to us for a series of phenomena—occurring to himself, and with no doubtful or venal aid—which seemed at least to prove, in confusedly intermingled form, three main theses unknown to science. These were (1) the existence in the human spirit of hidden powers of insight and of communication; (2) the personal survival and near presence of the departed; and (3) interference, due to unknown agencies, with the ponderable world.” This passage is of interest not simply as a fragment of biography, but also as indicative of the spirit in which the whole question is approached. That spirit is thoroughly scientific. The whole argument rests on evidence whose data are put before us, so that each may examine it for himself. The evidence appears to have been well sifted, and gives us definite facts as our starting point, so far as *fact* in such a region can be separated from *interpretation*. The weak point in all these investigations lies in the difficulty of making such a separation. All psychical “facts” have a subjective colouring, and scientific criticism can only aim at reducing it to its necessary minimum.

The challenge of the author in the first instance is to the scientist. Objections to spirit-return springing from the philosophical or the theological side, if there be such, need not be considered till the scientist is driven to admit that here is something which he cannot explain. I imagine that the normal and prevalent attitude of the scientific man towards much in this book would be not to deny that the alleged facts happened—dreams or visions synchronising or harmonising with actual events—but to say that there are alternative explanations which are more probable. One does not want to press the familiar reply of “coincidence,” for there is much recorded here that no supposition of multiplied coincidences is able to explain. But we might appeal to the very phenomena of telepathy to which Myers gives so much attention in the earlier part of this book. If we are prepared to admit, as many men at the present time are, that mind can act on mind without using the ordinary channels of sense, a great deal of the evidence for spirit-

return could be explained in an easier way. It is impossible to quote here any selection of the evidence offered; and a single example of the typical ghost story, scientifically recorded, would convince no one. Every man who desires to form an opinion of any value on the subject must consider the evidence on its own merits; it must be sufficient here to state the impression made on oneself in dogmatic form. In spite of all the charm and philosophic beauty with which Myers has invested this part of his subject, I cannot help being reminded of the image which King Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream, whose head was of fine gold, but its feet part of iron and part of clay. The conclusions are so attractively put and touch such important questions that one must often regret they do not rest on a firmer basis of fact. Who would not eagerly desire, with the "Saint Paul" of the author, to hear

Souls paradisaal to the souls in prison
Speak but a word while it is called To-day!

The verdict of most men on the main theme of this book is likely to be that of Professor James, a sympathetic fellow-worker with the author: "Facts, I think, are yet lacking to prove spirit-return" (*Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 524).

The mention of Professor James serves to remind us of that theory of the subliminal consciousness which he has recently applied to religious experience (see the *CRITICAL REVIEW*, September, 1902, p. 429). That theory naturally plays a very important part in the present book, and forms its chief psychological contribution. Indeed, we may separate it sharply from what may be called the companion eschatological argument. If the assertion of spirit-return in the second volume be rejected for want of evidence, the same cannot be said of the assertion of a subliminal self—a larger self whose contents lie but partially within the field of consciousness. The careful attention bestowed on abnormal psychical states, especially on hypnotism, in recent years finds its full record here. Undoubtedly there is much that

the older psychology fails to explain as soon as we pass from the normal states of waking life. The recognition of the subconscious is not a new thing in psychology. Hamilton, for example, in his *Lectures on Metaphysics* (vol. i., p. 349) reminds us that "the sphere of our conscious modifications is only a small circle in the centre of a far wider sphere of action and passion, of which we are only conscious through its effects". But in the hands of Myers, as of Professor James, this subliminal self is made the connecting link between the ordinary consciousness and an outside spiritual world. This of course involves a very different view of the nature and function of the subconscious. As long as we think of it as an inferior phase of personality, a subsidiary accompaniment of the working of mind, we cannot derive the higher psychical states from its obscurities with any plausibility. But if we define the self as the totality of the conscious and the subconscious, we may easily suppose a point of contact with the spiritual world which may never come into the full daylight of the ordinary consciousness. For Myers it is not too much to say that the subconscious is the more important partner; the ordinary working consciousness is merely a selection from its stores for practical purposes. There is much that is attractive in such a theory, and it certainly throws light on many abnormal phenomena, such as the consciousness of the Hebrew prophet, or the "method" of telepathic communications between mind and mind. Students of Leibnitz will have recalled to them his view that "by means of its obscure unconscious perceptions, the mind stretches down into the material world and the continuity of the two worlds is assured. . . . The ultimate ground of individuality is made to consist in these unconscious perceptions, *i.e.*, the obscure side of the life of the soul" (Erdmann's *History of Philosophy*, vol. i., p. 187).

The reality of telepathy, like that of spirit-return, must stand or fall with the evidence, and the theory of a subliminal self simply helps us to grasp the thought of telepathic operation. But the evidence for this seems much more conclusive in quantity and quality. It is perhaps here that

the chief scientific value of the book lies. It will do useful work in convincing us of the possible existence of unknown psychical laws and in attracting students to a rich field of study. On such points, no man has the right to a negative dogmatism before reading some at least of these 1300 pages; and no man is likely to maintain such an attitude after. We have here a book to be reckoned with; and it could do no better service than in winning men, with something of the author's rare combination of poetic sensibility and scientific rigour, to continue the path he has opened up. It seems possible that the trend of thought in this twentieth century will be away from an unsatisfying materialism; not, one may believe, into the superstitions annihilated by science, but into a vision of the convergence of the lines of matter and spirit to a single point. That may be at present the vanishing point in our perspective, lying on the furthest horizon, yet it is to that point we must look for the dawn to break through. In any case, as Myers fully admits at the outset (p. 11), psychology must accept all the *facts* of biology. We may be suspicious of all attempts to prove the metaphysical by offering physical evidence; we may gravely doubt whether the spiritual world "is in some way continuous with the world of ether" (i., p. 215) and prefer to think of it under new categories beyond space and time; but the facts of science are certainly part of the truth for man, even if their only service to the eternal world be to suggest the metaphors through which man must always think it.

There are many points of interest on which this book touches which it is impossible even to name; as example may be stated the discussion of the Lourdes miracles (i., p. 214) with its vigorous conclusion, "It is *not* true, a thousand times it is *not* true, that a bottle of water from a spring near which a girl saw a hallucinatory figure will by miraculous virtue heal a Turk in Constantinople; but it is true that on some influx from the unseen world—an influence dimly adumbrated in that Virgin figure and that sanctified spring—depends the life and energy of this world of every day". The discussion of genius also, which is regarded

not as the product of degeneration, but as the outpost of the main body, the stage ahead we have yet to reach, is, like most of the book, stimulating and suggestive. Two incidental purposes the book may serve; it puts some commonplaces of idealistic philosophy in a vivid form of expression (*cf.* the discussion of time and space, ii., 262 f.) and it is likely to be of use to the anthropologist by giving modern equivalents for some perplexing ancient phenomena. One feature of the style of the book is the remarkable and striking use of scientific illustrations. Here is a typical one (ii., p. 272), "I have suggested elsewhere that this problem of free human wills amid the predictable operations of unchanging law may resemble the problem of molecular motion and molar calm. Clear and stable is for us the diamond; the dew-drop is clear and still; yet within their tranquil clarity a myriad molecules jostle in narrow orbits, or speed on an uncomputed way". Could the whole problem be better put than that? With such illuminating figures the book abounds.

Whatever be the verdict of thought on the particular conclusions of the author, the book is great. It is the work of a man who has tried to scale the most commanding peaks with their untrodden snows. He has himself passed within the veil of mist that wraps round those peaks. His work is so obviously sincere, so interwoven with the best life of his own soul, that one feels half-ashamed to carp and criticise, lest the spirit of the dead author should still be responsive to the—perhaps ignorant—voices of this world. Of him we may surely say, what he wrote a generation back of Wordsworth: "A man who was so in accord with Nature, so at one with the very soul of things, that there can be no Mansion of the Universe which shall not be to him a home, no Governor who will not accept him among his servants, and satisfy him with love and peace".

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

Harnack's Mission and Expansion of Christianity.

Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten. Von Professor Dr. Adolf Harnack. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Large 8vo, pp. xii. + 561. Price M.9.

ONE always rises from the study of Professor Harnack's work with a sense of wonder at the combined breadth and exactness of his erudition, and it is in the spirit rather of a grateful student, than of a critic, that this brief review is penned. And though one may feel bound to express dissent at some points, it is quite possible that that is the result of one's own narrower field of vision.

When one gets so much, and at such a moderate price, it seems ungracious to complain of the limitations of the book. But has not the author confined himself within unduly narrow limits by excluding any account of the parallel expansion of the Christian sects, on the ground that so little is known about the subject? We should have been glad to know that little. Nothing enables us to grasp a subject so clearly as to hear both sides, and we are too much confined to one side of the question by the vigorous application of this principle. We desiderate a history of the real development of Christianity, in which the various stages from the tiny seed to the full corn in the ear shall be clearly marked. Doubtless great obscurity hangs over the first 150 years, but no one has done more to dissipate that obscurity than Professor Harnack himself. It is only fair to say that the author's *History of Dogma* has to some extent covered the ground, but there is much which even that monumental work has left unsaid. We want to know something about the Gnostics, and their influence, if any, upon the writers of the New Testament, and whether they have left their mark upon Christian doctrines. We should also like to know the story, as Harnack

conceives it, of the gradual expansion of the Evangelic tradition in the Gospels.

In the Introduction some very interesting statistics are given as to the number of Jews in the various cities of the Empire, especially in Alexandria, where they occupied two of the five quarters of the city. A very just account follows of the process of syncretism through which Christianity passed before it really became a world-religion; and the general influence of Gnosticism on Christianity is well hit off in the phrase "Victi victoribus leges dederunt". But surely it is an error to represent Christ as not Himself regarding His mission as a *Welt Mission*. Steeped as He was in the spirit of Isaiah, and regarding Himself as the Messiah, who was to be "a light to the Gentiles," it seems incredible that He did not contemplate a mission to the whole world. If the twelve were confined to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, no such limitation was imposed on the seventy (or seventy-two). And as the Jews reckoned seventy-two nations of the world, the number itself suggests that these were meant to be the special apostles of the Gentiles.

The second book is entitled "Mission Preaching in Word and Deed," and the general reader will find special interest in the account which it contains of the development of Christian philanthropy. It is followed by an excursus on dæmons. Speaking generally, from the student's point of view, the notes and excursus display the author at his best. The excursus on the technical sense of *φίλοι*, and that on the origin of Episcopacy, combating the views of Duchesne, are closely reasoned, and, to my mind, most convincing arguments. The third book is chiefly remarkable for its very clear account of the meaning of the word "Apostle". Especially noticeable is the fact, to which attention is drawn, that the term was originally applied to the agents sent out by the Jews to collect the temple tribute from the Israelites of the Dispersion. Does not this throw light on the injunction of our Lord to His Apostles to "carry neither purse nor scrip"?

In the fourth book we come to the geographical and statistical part of the work. Each quarter of the then

civilised world is passed in review, and an estimate formed of the number of bishops in each region, and of the number of other than Episcopal cities, which contained, at any rate, some Christians, though not organised under a bishop. Special attention is paid to the original limits of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome.

Perhaps, in this section, Egypt is rather scantily treated. Harnack laments the great poverty of materials for forming a judgment. That is, no doubt, true, but materials accumulate every day, and we cannot but think he has not made enough use of such documents as have been recovered at Akhmim and elsewhere. The existence of a Christian cemetery at Akhmim, in which second century documents (the Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter) were found, might have entitled it to a place in the list of Egyptian Churches.

And might not some use have been made of the papyri? The author more than once refers to the absence of any evidence for the existence of the Episcopate in Egypt until towards the end of the second century A.D. Now one finds from the Amherst papyri (No. cxxxiv.) that the office of *πρεσβύτερος*, or village elder, carried with it much responsibility in the matter of collecting taxes. The date is early in the second century, and a phrase in the document, echoing closely, as it does, the language of one of the parables in St. Luke (*ἐρωτῶ σε ἐκδικῆσαι αὐτὸν*: cf. St. Luke xviii. 3) suggests a Jewish environment. May we not conclude that bishops were called presbyters in Egypt, the local Church there adopting a current official title, the equivalent of which in Asia Minor would be *ἐπίσκοπος*?

The importance of the early Christian Church in Egypt, and its general influence on Church history, seem to be rather underrated. Harnack is at pains to contrast the more lasting influence of the Church in Asia Minor. But did not Ephesus derive the Logos-theology, and perhaps also the original edition of the Fourth Gospel itself, from Egypt? There is very important evidence as to an Egyptian original of the Fourth Gospel, which I hope to publish some time next year in the *American Journal of Theology*. Was there not,

also, a mass of Jewish and Jewish-Christian literature, from the Epistle to the Hebrews to the Sibylline oracles, which emanated from Alexandria during the first three centuries of the Christian Era, to say nothing of the works of Clement and Origen?

There is, moreover, another very important sphere in which the influence of Egypt is clearly perceptible, *viz.*, in Christian art. The Docetic form of Christianity current in Egypt at the end of the first, and the beginning of the second century, was at a very early date discredited as heretical, but long continued to dominate popular Christian thought as expressed in Christian art. It is probably for this reason that Christ is always represented in the Catacombs as "blooming in immortal youth" (Farrar), and that no attempt is made to represent His sufferings, for it was part of the doctrine of the Docetæ that He did not really suffer. It is to the same cause that we trace the curious pictures of Christ in various scenes taken from St. Luke's Gospel, which form the border to a very early picture of that evangelist in a service book of St. Augustine (See Green's *History of England*, illustrated edition, vol. i., p. 33.) In these pictures the Saviour is throughout represented as a youth, from the first which represents Him in the Temple amidst the doctors, to the last in which He appears calling Zacchæus to come down from the tree. In every scene is exactly the same youthful, almost boyish, figure. To the same Egyptian origin are perhaps to be traced those early pictures of the Madonna and child, in which the latter is not an infant, but rather a child of perhaps seven years of age, recalling the conventional mode of representing Isis suckling Horus. Similar traces of Egyptian influence will be found in the reproductions of illuminated Mediæval Psalters lately published by Mr. Thompson, Sanders Reader to the University of Cambridge. In one, *e.g.*, the Serpent and the Dove are curiously united as a symbol of the Deity in a picture of the transfiguration. In others such well-known Egyptian symbols as the lotus and the tortoise appear, while the symbols of the Sun pouring forth his rays occur again and again generally as a gable of the seven-pillared House of Wisdom. Curiously

enough, in my own church, there are most interesting traces of Egyptian art in the fourteenth century stained glass windows, in which such symbols as the lotus, the two birds (so common in the Catacombs), the Pillar of Light, etc., appear. It will probably be found that transubstantiation and other superstitious relics of the past were in their origin Gnostic and Docetic.

In view of such considerations it may turn out that Egypt has had, practically, a much more preponderating influence than Harnack seems disposed to credit it with. Early Christianity in Egypt has, indeed, been more formative than outwardly apparent in its influence on the Christian world, and much which really emanated from Egypt has, owing to the obscurity of the history of the first and second centuries of the Church, been hitherto supposed to have come from Asia Minor, the Apocalypse of St. John for instance. But the Alogi attributed this to Cerinthus, and Cerinthus came from Egypt. It may be that there is more truth in this statement of an almost contemporary authority than we have hitherto been willing to admit.

But though venturing to differ from the author on some points, let me conclude by freely acknowledging that this book is a perfect mine of valuable and interesting facts, and that its writer has again laid us all under the greatest obligation to him, and may justly claim to be regarded as one of the first, if not indeed *facile princeps*, of living theologians.

J. H. WILKINSON.

The First Bible.

By Colonel C. R. Conder, R.E., LL.D., etc. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons, 1902. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 252. Price 5s. net.

COLONEL CONDER in this little volume has upheaved to effective recognition the most important truth in respect to *form* which concerns the older books of the Old Testament. That form, he pronounces, was one of clay tablets, precisely similar to those found at Tell Amarna in 1887. He further contends that the Script in which they were first recorded was the same cuneiform, now familiar to all oriental scholars—the only one current in the fifteenth century B.C. from the Euphrates to the Nile. The two propositions of material and of script are of course distinct. The latter also is related to the question—What is the date of origin for the Phœnician alphabet, the parent of the Greek and Western alphabets? It seems impossible to assign it to an age earlier than about B.C. 1500. Col. Conder himself supposes its date to be about 1200.

It would follow that the Hebrews of the period of Joseph could not have brought it into Egypt with them in the eighteenth century B.C. In Egypt itself that alphabet was never current, therefore they could not have learned it there. Any Hebrew records at or near the date of the exodus could not therefore have been in the Phœnician character and were presumably in the cuneiform, as being the one of the currency of which we have the Tell Amarna examples in proof.

As regards the tablet form, Col. Conder says (p. 5), "If in the time of Moses any Hebrew writings existed—and we are told in the Bible that they did exist—it has become probable that they were in the form of tablets of clay or stone"; and he adds, in reference to the question just above discussed, "that they were written in the cuneiform character". Again

(p. 22), "The letters which Hezekiah himself sent out were brick tablets," with a reference added to 2 Chr. xxx. 6. But the word there is **אִגְרוֹת**, which merely means "missives" or "despatches," being probably akin to the well-known *ἀγγαρος* or despatch-bearer of the Persian king. The evidence is plain that tablets were well known in the days of Isaiah and Habakkuk from Isa. xxx. 8, Hab. ii. 2, although scroll writing was also in use. Our author might also have referred to Isa. viii. 1, where "a great roll" (A.V.) is incorrect for a large slab or tablet; and where "with a man's pen" (**חֶרֶט** = graving tool) probably means "in the popular character". But there is, as regards tablets, ample evidence deducible from Deuteronomy. The confusion in the latter part of that book is great. It can be rectified by applying a tabular method in so many instances, that the evidence, being cumulative, becomes irresistible in support of the tablet form as the original one of the book. This is further confirmed by our being able to expel by the same method adventitious matter, which may probably be of prophetic authority, but is not part of the original projection. I can only find room here for one or two instances of rectified order. Chap. xiii. contains three sections of a great statute against idolatry: (1) verses 1-5; (2) verses 6-11: these are nearly equal in length; (3) is verses 12-18, somewhat longer; (4) which closely matches it, has wandered away to chap. xvii. 2-7. These four filled the obverse and reverse sides of two tablets, the one a little larger than the other. The connexion of their subject-matter will be seen at a glance. The scribe who enscrolled the tablets overlooked the reverse of the second of these, and took a new face of about equal length instead of it. Again we have a similar error occurring after chap. xvi. 18-20, the statute relating to "judges and officers". Its proper reverse is found in chap. xxv. 13-16, the statute relating to just weights and measures. The one which has displaced it is again of nearly equal length; and there are, moreover, certain resemblances between the commencing phrases of the two, and again between their conclud-

ing phrases, which might help to beguile the eye. But, again, the statute on weights, etc., is slightly in excess of its obverse as measured in lines of existing text. But it evidently ends in a conflate reading.¹ Reject one of these, and the symmetry becomes yet closer. This is an example, therefore, of the expulsion of redundancy also. Similar instances multiply towards the close of the book, and are perhaps most conspicuous of all in those two wonderful yet very dissimilar compositions in chaps. xxxii. and xxxiii., where the results obtainable by a similar tablet analysis, as I may call it, reveal a startling symmetry in the structure of each, although wholly unlike that of the other. Some of these I published some five years ago in the *American Bibliotheca Sacra* (Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.), but have no space now even to summarise them. It is clear that they yield a confirmation of Col. Conder's theory from internal evidence.

Col. Conder grades the known types of language in the Semitic group, following nearly a line from West to East in succession, as Hebrew, Moabite, Syro-Aramaic and Assyrian. The last he regards as the most highly organised, retaining inflexions and verb-forms lost in the others, if they ever had them. The oldest Hebrew text is the Siloam inscription, of about B.C. 710; the oldest Moabite the famous Stone of Dibon, B.C. 900; the oldest Syro-Aramaic the Samalla inscriptions, B.C. 800-750; whereas the Assyrian reaches back to B.C. 2200 in the 'Amurrabi royal records. This is so vastly senior to the other three, that considerable developments may have taken place in the interval, and all were probably much closer together at the highly anterior date of this last. The Hittites on the contrary are Mongolians,² using an agglutinative tongue containing elements wholly foreign, unless for some "loan-words" taken over. That Abram converses

¹ כָּל-עֵשָׂה יֵלֶּה בָּל עֵשָׂה עָהָל are the words. *Either* of the two clauses is evidently sufficient.

² Although Col. Conder states this more than once, yet in his Table of the Genealogy of Languages, where "Mongolian" with its derivative branches are drawn out, the "Hittite" language nowhere appears. Cf. pp. 28-9, 31, 58, with that Table facing p. 210.

(Gen. xxiii.) with the b'nê-Heth need cause no difficulty, as they and he had been so long neighbours that each no doubt understood the other's speech. As regards written character, it is remarkable that the oldest Greek inscriptions are far closer in their letter forms to those of the Moabite stone than are those of the Siloam tunnel to this latter. This suggests that the Moabite closely approximate to the early Phœnician from which those Greek forms were derived, and that the *φαινικία* of Herodotus were literally so. Our author regards these (p. 81) as formed from a Hittite archetypal alphabet, but gives no Hittite types to compare with early Phœnician forms on p. 78 ("Letters and Syllables compared"). On pp. 96-7 we have an array of "Early Greek" compared with Early Semitic alphabets. One would like to know the authority for a "Latin" alphabet dated B.C. 800, and for a "Greek" one going back to 900. He himself speaks of the oldest Greek inscriptions (p. 75) as being no older than B.C. 600.

The average biblical student is fairly taken off his feet by the double or more possibilities of ambiguous meaning which lurk in "cuneiform," a term which does not seem, on our author's showing, to correspond with the shapes of the symbols. The greater part of them resemble nails with their heads strongly developed, so that "claviform" would more nearly describe them. Of the ambiguities here is a crucial instance: Besides "the signs by which the words *Ilani* [= Elohim] and *Yahu* [= Jehovah] are written in cuneiform . . . there is a third form sometimes used," which "may be read in three different ways either as *Ilani*, or as *Yahu*, or as *Ilani-Yahu*, according to whether the first part be regarded as determinative or not". . . . "Thus the transcriber had the choice of either rendering, and might perhaps also write 'Jehovah Elohim,' . . . as in the second chapter of Genesis. . . . Thus the question would not be one of distinct authors, but of separate scribes . . . not of authorship but of script" (pp. 104-6). If this be accepted, the whole fabric of criticism on this behalf from Astruc to Wellhausen and Kuinoel, collapses and crumbles away.

But further, the same set of wedges (or nails) may mean two wholly different syllables. Thus *Ba* and *Ma* are said to be often indistinguishable, and "a single short stroke makes all the difference" (p. 118). Michal and Merab (Saul's daughters) are resolved into each other, so are Ahiah and Ahimelech. The list of Esau's wives (Gen. xxvi. 34, xxviii. 9, xxxvi. 2-3) is a riddle to which there is a Hittite and a Semitic answer; Bathsheba appears also as Bathshua, and Assurbanipal folds up into Asnapper (Ezra iv. 10); while as for Lugal Zaggisi, a king "claimed" (by Canon Driver, following Professor Hilprecht) "to rule as far as the Mediterranean about B.C. 4000 . . . there is great doubt if any king so called lived at all, the name may more probably be read Sargina or (Note xvii., p. 217) 'King Sargin'. There is no known statement in the inscription or elsewhere which serves to fix the date, though the characters used in the text (discussed in Note xvii.) are very early" (pp. 149-150). Truly our "goodly Babylonish garment" has a good many pockets in it. Yet more, "Jethro" and "Reuel" show in cuneiform an only difference in "Jethro" having *two* short strokes crossing a horizontal nail-form instead of one only. Thus Moses' father-in-law is still one person, not two; while Hobab is, of course, not a proper name, being Hebrew for "brother-in-law". On p. 121 Reuel is interpreted as "friend of God"—possible, but more likely "shepherd of God," as given on p. 116; the unpointed Hebrew name written "Reu"¹ being here ambiguous.

On the whole the many duplicate senses assignable to the Assyrian syllabary will impose a patient scepticism on outsiders, until a more thorough sifting, digesting and deciding has taken place among experts. It will also, we hope, impose on experts the maxim *festina lente*, and induce a suspended judgment. By way of illustrating the disagreement of doctors, take Col. Conder's earlier work on the Amarna Tablets (pp. 31-34). There are rendered two despatches from

¹ רֵעֵה, a shepherd; רֵעֵה, a friend.

Aziru; 38B and 31B are their index-marks. The same are rendered also by Professor Sayce (*Records of the Past*, New Series, No. V., p. 69 and pp. 67-8). They are full of discrepant versions of the same sentences; e.g., "While the city of Tunip is unoccupied" (Conder) appears as "if the city of Danip falls" (Sayce).

But on the whole there can be no doubt that the high-water mark of destructive criticism has been reached and that the tide is turning. In ten, or twenty at most, years a basis of contemporary documents for the Pentateuch will probably be re-established everywhere; and we shall smile at much that has passed for profound discernment as shallow pedantry. Col. Conder is no arm-chair critic; he has put in the spade of personal research on both sides of Jordan, and is well entitled to wield the sieve of discernment on the material fetched from beyond the Euphrates.

HENRY HAYMAN.

Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu im Lichte der Messianischen Hoffnungen seiner Zeit. Erste Hälfte. Die Messianisch—Apokalyptischen Hoffnungen des Judenthums.

Von W. Baldensperger. Dritte völlig umgearbeitete Auflage. Strassburg: J. H. Ed. Heitz, 1903. 8vo, pp. xii. + 240. Price 4s.

It is often forgotten, even by students of the Bible, that the writings contained in it are but part of a larger literature, and that the part cannot be fully understood without some knowledge of the whole to which it belongs. That the selection of the books included in the Holy Scriptures was a process in which human effort was altogether under the control of Divine wisdom was an assumption common in the older apologetic literature. That the writings included are on the whole superior to those excluded may be admitted, and yet it may be held that the line of demarcation is not always so distinctly perceptible as the traditional theory of inspiration would demand, and that for the scholar at least between canonical and non-canonical literature there is no scientific frontier. The entire exclusion of the literature of Judaism leaves an unbridged gulf between the Old and the New Testament, as there is much in the Old which is not carried over into the New, and much in the New which cannot be found in the Old. Christianity cannot be intelligently studied without a knowledge of Judaism, and Judaism cannot be fully understood without going beyond the limits of the Old Testament literature. The importance of extra-canonical Jewish literature is being increasingly recognised by scholars as a necessary preparation for the study of the theology of the Apostolic Age. Much labour is being very profitably bestowed in discovering, translating and expounding the fragments of it which have survived the

indifference or the hostility even of official Judaism and Christianity. In this connexion the name of Dr. Charles deserves special mention.

Baldensperger, whose book on *The Self-Consciousness of Jesus* has for a number of years been regarded as a standard work, has in this third edition fully revised it in order to utilise as completely as possible for his purpose the results of these scholarly labours. The work is being published in two parts, in the first of which, now lying before us, he confines himself to the treatment of *The Apocalyptic Messianic Hopes of Judaism*, but only as a preparation for dealing with the Messianic consciousness of Jesus in the second part. Anticipating an objection, he explains that his purpose in no way assumes Christ's direct acquaintance with the whole or any part of this literature, but only that the religious environment in which He lived had been affected, so that He was at least indirectly influenced by it. He also recognises that in the present condition of the literary material available for study, any exposition must be tentative, subject to correction from any fresh sources of our knowledge which may yet be discovered. But even with these qualifications his work must for the present at least be indispensable for those who would make a special study of the consciousness of Jesus.

In the first chapter the *sources* are discussed. The book of Daniel as the pioneer in this class of literature is first of all dealt with. The book of *Enoch* is critically analysed into two documents, a Grundschrift assigned to the last years of Hyrcanus, and the *Similitudes*, which are dated in the last year of Herod's reign. The composite character of the *Book of Jubilees* and its dependence on Enoch are affirmed, and its composition is placed after Pompey's seizure of Jerusalem. The *Psalms of Solomon* are assigned to about the same time. The *Assumption of Moses* is said to contain nothing which forbids its being composed before the Christian era. The *Apocalypse of Ezra* is assigned to the beginning, and that of *Baruch* to the close of Trajan's reign. The second chapter shows the significance of this literature for

the complete religious consciousness of Judaism. It was a compensation for the deistic conception of God, and the legalistic conception of religion. Between the transcendent God and the world it introduced a multitude of intermediate beings, and it relieved the burden of duty by the supports of hope. The third chapter traces the development of the Messianic Apocalyptic ideas in connexion with the religious and political history of Judaism, and devotes special attention to such conceptions as the Son of Man, the pre-existence of the Messiah, and the Kingdom of God. The fourth chapter defines the essence of Apocalyptic, and describes its relations to other tendencies in Judaism and to Primitive Christianity. "Apocalyptic," he says, "can be defined as the separation in accordance with the later Jewish idea of God, of the Messianic expectations from the earthly, political ideals, and their elevation to the supernatural." The connexion of this literature with Essenism is denied, and its origin is assigned to circles of pietists within Judaism, in whom religion was more inward than in the mass of the nation. It was a preparation for the Gospel, because "the elevation of the eschatological to the transcendent was a stage on the way to spirituality".

It is impossible here to enter into a detailed discussion of the many literary, historical and theological problems involved in this subject. But the book may be heartily commended as throwing a great deal of fresh light on the religious ideas and tendencies of Judaism, and therefore of Primitive Christianity. With the recovery of this literature not a few ideas, in regard to which the New Testament writers have been credited with an originality due to inspiration, have been shown to be a common possession of the pious circles in Judaism, who were waiting for the consolation of Israel. If the exclusive inspiration of the New Testament in these respects cannot be any longer affirmed, yet we have in the wide extension of these ideas, which proved so helpful to the Apostolic Age in its interpretation of the person and work of Christ, an evidence of the vaster movement of the Spirit of God in the preparation of the fulness of the times

for the mission of the Son of God than has hitherto been commonly recognised. Yet the study of this literature also serves to show that without the historical facts recorded in the Gospels these ideas would have remained without vital contact with reality, and so would have continued to be practically impotent. However significant as an aid to the understanding of the mind of Christ these inquiries into the hopes of Judaism may be, it may be confidently predicted that they will not disclose the secret of the unique consciousness of Him whom only the Father knew, who only knew the Father, and could alone reveal Him.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

1. Theology and the Social Consciousness.

By Henry Churchill King, Professor of Theology and Philosophy in Oberlin College. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902. 8vo, pp. xviii. + 252. Price 5s. net.

2. The Psychological Elements of Religious Faith.

By Charles Carroll Everett, D.D., LL.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 215. Price 5s. net.

3. The Amen of the Unlearned.

By M. C. E. London: Elliot Stock, 1902. 8vo, pp. xii. + 227. Price 5s. net.

4. The Gospel of Divine Humanity.

By J. W. Farquhar. London: Elliot Stock, 1902. 8vo, pp. xv. + 210. Price 3s. net.

5. Three Bulwarks of the Faith.

By Rev. E. H. Archer-Shepherd, M.A. London: Rivingtons, 1902. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 234. Price 5s. net.

6. Readings on the Evolution of Religion.

By Mrs. F. Hay-Newton. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1902. 8vo, pp. ix. + 222. Price 5s.

7. Der Dienst der Frau in den ersten Jahrhunderten der christlichen Kirche.

Von Leopold Zscharnack, Lic. theol. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1902. 8vo, pp. viii. + 192. Price 5s. net.

1. THE volume by Professor King, now President of Oberlin College, has grown out of lectures given at the Harvard Summer School of Theology, and is an interesting and careful study of the social consciousness and of its right to

influence and modify our conceptions of religion and our statement of theological doctrine. As in his previous volume, *Reconstruction in Theology*, the author contends "that theology should aim at a restatement of doctrine in strictly personal terms". The social consciousness is defined as "a growing sense of the real brotherhood of men". In analysing this consciousness, Professor King distinguishes and proceeds to apply the following elements: a deepening sense (1) of the likeness or like-mindedness of men, (2) of their mutual influence, (3) of the value and sacredness of the person, (4) of mutual obligation, and (5) of love. Theology is thus penetrated with the Idea of Humanity which is the direct fruit of Christianity. There is a fair-minded criticism of Mysticism, in the sense of Herrmann, who is sympathetically referred to, while its true elements are acknowledged. It is pointed out that the great essentials to the richest life here and in the future are (1) association in which personality is respected, and (2) work in which one can lose himself. The author holds fast to the importance of the ethical element all through, and as a result frees the Divine character from arbitrariness and rejects the theory of annihilation. God Himself guards and does justice to man's personality. Perhaps Professor King's chapters suffer from excessive division, but he writes with grasp and insight and makes his theology alive with present-day interest.

2. Dr. Everett's lectures are edited by Professor Hale and are reproduced from the course he was accustomed to deliver at Harvard. He follows mainly the psychological method of theological study as distinguished from the dogmatic, the critical, and the speculative. In proceeding to examine the elements of religion, Dr. Everett prefers to speak of a philosophy rather than of a science of religion. A threefold definition of religion is reached. First it is viewed as essentially *feeling*, and here Hegel's criticism and Schleiermacher's view are taken account of. Next, religion is defined as *feeling toward the supernatural*, and Herbert Spencer's re-

conciliation of religion and science is declared to be fatal to both. The third and typical definition, which includes the three innate ideas of the Reason, is stated thus—Religion is *a feeling toward a supernatural presence manifesting itself in Truth, Goodness and Beauty*. These three ideas are termed the content of religion, as distinguished from the supernatural or the form of religion. "The whole history of religion is found in the attempt to fill the form with the content". Dr. Everett's analysis of his subject is clearly worked out, and his style, while relieved by occasional lighter touches, is on a level with his theme.

3. The anonymous author of the theological essays collected under the unpretending title of "The Amen of the Unlearned" is introduced in an appreciative note by the Editor of the *Spectator*, in whose pages these essays originally appeared. A place is justly claimed for this series of studies, drawn chiefly from the New Testament, as displaying not independent research or scholarship but "the exegesis of sympathy," and the working of a plain, thoughtful and unprofessional mind. The topics are miscellaneous, and some of the titles chosen, such as "The Touch of Nature in St. Paul," "St. Luke as Artist," "Friendship in the Bible," "Good Breeding in the New Testament," show that this volume is sufficiently varied in interest and intelligible to the average reader. Weightier truths are not omitted, and what is said on "Grace," "Faith," and "Forgiveness" is worthy of attention. It is well that a layman should write for laymen on religious and the highest subjects, and these essays are a good example of the freedom and the reverence with which study of the Bible should be accompanied. The "Epistle to the Hebrews" (p. 17) should be Epistle to the Romans.

4. In "The Gospel of Divine Humanity," another thoughtful and earnest layman presents in a series of fifteen essays his view of Divine revelation and of Christianity and

its adaptation to humanity. We gather from the prefatory reminiscence of a clerical friend that Mr. Farquhar reached his beliefs after passing through various phases of thought, and finally came to "a sort of tranquil universalism, believing that there was something good in every positive opinion". The peculiarity of this volume is the emphasis laid on the Divine Fatherhood, on the fact of Christ as the Representative and the only begotten Son of God, and on the resulting "idea of Humanity in its unitary aspect as the Body of God". The author attempts to interpret Christian doctrine in the light of these ideas, and to show the reasonableness and comprehensiveness of Christianity by its fitness to appeal to the whole man and by its reconciling the universal and the individual in a new and "a Divine Humanity". Many things in these earnest and religious pages will provoke criticism and disagreement, but the spirit of candour and the love of truth and no less the desire to offer suggestive help are everywhere apparent. Words like "unitary" and "unition" are not lucid, and the names of G. H. Lewes and the prophet Jeremiah are wrongly printed and referred to on pages 41 and 87.

5. Mr. Archer-Shepherd's frank and confident tone in dealing with Evolution, the Higher Criticism, and the Resurrection of Christ, as "Three Bulwarks of the Faith," makes the six chapters of his volume pleasant and inspiring reading. The work is not intended for the learned, but is the outcome of papers read at clerical gatherings, and its aim is to serve as an introduction to the methods and results of the Higher Criticism and Science. The volumes of the late Professor Robertson Smith are expressly mentioned by the author as supplying materials which are here accepted and popularised. As regards Creation, Evolution and the Fall, the author writes in full sympathy with the modern spirit, and in his chapter on the Paschal Lamb he likewise welcomes the light thrown by the study of comparative religion. Those who have not recourse to standard and authoritative works will find this volume serviceable as an

introduction and summary, and it is to be commended for its literary plainness and its useful apologetic purpose. The name of Aubrey Moore (p. 13) and the Latin expression (p. 160) should have been given correctly.

6. Mrs. Hay-Newton's "Readings" in Evolution were prepared for a gathering of English women at Algiers who met to discuss Christian evidence. Professor Edward Caird's Gifford Lectures were chosen as the subject of discussion, but owing to the difficulty of understanding them it was left to Mrs. Hay-Newton to read a summary or explanation of their contents, and her *précis* is now embodied in the fourteen short chapters of this volume. The authoress writes with charming modesty and gives evidence of the careful reading of Professor Caird's volumes and of intellectual culture, but the publication of these papers will not effect much beyond giving voice to a nameless "something" within the writer and can only appeal to a very limited circle. We are almost of opinion that Gifford Lectures are becoming a public danger, and that most of them should be left without reproduction and in that region of incomprehensibility in which they were first delivered!

7. Zscharnack's volume on *The Service of Woman in the First Centuries of the Christian Church* is a good specimen of the industry and thoroughness which characterise German scholarship and investigation. The author writes as a pupil of Harnack, to whom he dedicates his work, and like his master he is fully possessed by the scientific spirit and by interest in handling historical material which does not yield often any certain inference. Instead of following exclusively the geographical or the chronological arrangement, Zscharnack wisely adopts the method of combining both as the best means of arriving at the truth on matters that admit of much dispute. The subject is dealt with in three divisions. Part I. disposes of three preliminary questions: 1. The general estimate of

woman in Christianity. 2. The position of women in relation to Christianity, including those who gave themselves to martyrdom. 3. Principles of the constitution of the ancient Christian Church. In Part II. the author faces the difficult questions connected with the service and functions of woman in the Church, treating of (1) women's right to teach and prophesy, (2) their sacerdotal functions or the right claimed to dispense Baptism and the Lord's Supper, (3) the official standing and the relations of widows and deaconesses. Part III. discusses the service and position of woman outside the Church in (1) Gnosticism, and (2) Montanism. Zscharnack's acquaintance with the sources and freedom from dogmatic bias are excellent, and his labour ("ein Kärnerdienst"!) in clearing up a department of early Church history deserves acknowledgment and admiration.

W. M. RANKIN.

Geist und Körper, Seele und Leib.

Von Ludwig Busse, Professor der Philosophie an der Universität, Königsberg. Leipzig: Verlag der Dürr'schen Buchhandlung, 1903. Pp. x. + 488.

PROFESSOR BUSSE'S book is one of great importance, not only because of its inherent worth and interest, but also for the following reason. The relation subsisting between mind and body has not only been matter of supreme philosophical interest since the days of Descartes, but this inquiry is deeply exercising the minds of philosophers to-day in every country where philosophy is keenly pursued. Busse's work has thus the merit of peculiar timeliness. His interest in the subject was already known, particularly through his able *brochure* on the subject a few years ago, but this portly volume, so comprehensive in its range of treatment, and so complete in its mastery of the relevant literature, will greatly enhance the reputation of the editor of the famous *Zeitschrift für Philosophie*.

Professor Busse's method of treatment, though so full and thorough, is yet very clear and simple. While the relation between the two series of processes—the psychical and the physical—can be stated in many more ways or possibilities than Busse's main divisions have set down, I think he has done wisely, for purposes of effectiveness, in concentrating strength on the three main divisions chosen for his inquiry, and subsuming minor differences under them. These divisions are: (1) the materialistic theory, which is treated so as to bring out how it may be laid aside as an impossible standpoint; (2) the theory of psycho-physical parallelism, which has the sanction of great names; and (3) the theory of psycho-physical interaction—a dualistic causal theory, which Busse seeks to vindicate as the most natural and

preponderatingly defensible of the three. This theory, while placing the spiritual and corporeal worlds over against each other, yet sets them in relation to each other. When the themes falling under these three divisions have been discussed with masterly power and Teutonic thoroughness, the work is brought to a close with a summarised idealistic spiritualist world-view, on the basis of the interaction of physical and psychical forces.

First, in dealing with the materialistic theory, Professor Busse might have added, to his already numerous references, some mention of the position of Dr. Shadworth Hodgson in his *Metaphysic of Experience*, as among those who treat the physical processes as the 'cause of the psychic processes. For, however attractively the defence of such positions may be presented, the grave initial difficulties attaching to them must be pointed out. If physical causes produce their physical effects, the latter equalising the former, must we not then conclude that the psychic effects flowing from these same physical causes must be strangely superfluous or unbalanced effects? Or are they altogether uncaused? Are the inner psychic sources, such as feeling and desire, not creative of psychic effects, speech for example? Such are among the difficulties of this interesting position, which Busse has very ably dealt with, naturally following the discussion on the lines it has taken in Germany.

Second, parallelism is very fully gone into by our author, as any theory deserves to be which is supported by Bain, Wundt, Riehl, Höffding, Paulsen, Jodl and Münsterberg. On this theory there is no causal relation between the two series of processes—the physical and the psychical—which are simply parallel. That is to say, the two fields are closed against each other: there is, in each case, an unbroken causal nexus. The principle of causality is treated by Busse when he comes to speak of what he calls the artificiality of the parallelistic theory. He then shows the principle of causality to be no obstacle to the relation of mind and body, which are left in so unrelated a form by parallelism. Busse takes parallelism for no fact of experience, but a theory or

hypothesis for the interpretation of facts. After duly criticising thinkers like Wundt, Jodl and Münsterberg, Busse examines the biological and psychological consequences of parallelism, in their bearings on the soul and its life.

Third, the interaction theory, espoused by Professor Busse, is presented as the most natural conception of the relation between spirit and body, and as corresponding better with the logical need of thought to view the world as a unified whole, than does the parallel theory. This superiority he demonstrates, further, in respect of its avoidance of paradoxical and absurd issues or consequences, and in its closer agreement with idealistic metaphysic and an ideal conception of the world. Then Busse passes to the difficulties of the interaction theory, which are dealt with in able and suggestive fashion. This is well, for, though I have myself long held strongly to this theory, yet it has always seemed to me that the parallelistic theory has an advantage in the clearness of its issue, and the scientific pretensions it puts forward. Consequently, the real strength of the interaction theory is manifest only when its difficulties have been faced, and its contentions properly set forth. It gives a better account of the facts—no small token of superiority. There is, of course, the stupendous difficulty as to causal interaction between the two apparently disparate series, but it can be very reasonably resolved in entire consistency with the law of the conservation of energy. In fact, the difficulty is due to misconception of that law, for the quantitative relations of these causal connexions is all there is any need to maintain. Besides Busse, other thinkers who have here helped to clear away misconceptions are Sigwart, Erhardt, Wentscher, Rehmke, Külpe, Stumpf, to name no others. As a result, interaction has been shown to contradict no known law, rightly interpreted, and to be, at the same time, in happy accord with the testimony of experience. No doubt, there is the difficulty, in dealing with the psychic phenomena, that modes of consciousness and forms of material energy seem incommensurable. But it must not be overlooked that it is not necessary to the interaction theory to maintain that the

psychic phenomena *create* the physical changes, but merely that the latter cannot occur without the former. The psychic state is a cause in the sense that the physical movement requires it as an element or factor. The *how* of the physical change so caused may be hid from us, but this is not more puzzling than other cases where we do not know the *how*. In this connexion I may be permitted to express doubt whether the psychic phenomena as possible forms of energy have ever had full consideration made of them. What if they are not only forms of energy but of the most real energy? What if our inability or reluctance to admit them so be born only of the scientific habit of mind? It is so much easier to do scientific justice to the physical than to the psychical phenomena. More serious, to my mind, than the question of the incommensurableness of the two series of forms of energy, is the consideration whether, in adopting the interaction theory, we may not come short of doing justice to the perfect spontaneity of mind. Yet I do not myself feel this difficulty to an extent that prevents my accepting that theory as a reasonable and even necessary postulation. But I must draw these remarks to a close by saying that every one, no matter which of the contending theories may claim his adherence, will feel grateful to Professor Busse for having added another to the standard works upon the subject, one, too, with which future writers upon the subject will have to reckon. There is an excellent list of contents, and an index of authors is given at the close.

JAMES LINDSAY.

The Ministry of Grace. Studies in Early Church History with Reference to Present Problems. By JOHN WORDSWORTH, Bishop of Salisbury. Second Edition, revised. London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvi. + 507. Price 6s. 6d. net.

THE merits of this inquiry into the origin, nature and claims of the Christian ministry were recognised and its main positions examined at some length in this Journal¹ on the publication of the original edition. It is a matter of satisfaction that the book has reached already a second edition, and that its author has had the opportunity of considering some things anew in the light of criticism and also of recent contributions to his subject. It is an important and candid study of the great questions relating to the purpose, function and prerogative of the ministry, and it presents these questions in aspects which deserve serious consideration. It is not too much to say of it that it points to the possibility of a better understanding of some of the most controverted positions and to a nearer approach of competing views one to another. The distinction drawn between a *mediating* priesthood and a *ministering* priesthood may help to remove some difficulties.

In this edition, while the former paging is retained, new matter has been introduced into the text at various points. Larger additions are given at the end. Besides the very useful list of books treating of Church orders and liturgical usages which appeared in the former edition, we have four new appendices. One of these gives a pretty full account of the *Canons of Basil*, an Egyptian Church order probably of the fifth century. Another reprints a portion of the Report of the Committee of the Lambeth Conference of 1897 on "Religious Communities," published in 1902. The remaining appendices contain a paper on "Liturgical

¹ Vol. xii., p. 40.

Development," and a note on "The Holy Fire at Jerusalem," in which the Bishop expresses the opinion that "the whole ceremony, as far as the holy sepulchre is concerned, probably had its origin in the custom observed by Silvia [referred to on p. 439 of the volume] of lighting the lamps in the Church of the Anastasis daily from the inner cave 'where a lamp is always alight night and day'".

The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis. Edited and Translated by E. W. BROOKS, M.A. Vol. i. (Text), Part 1. London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. ix. + 259. Price 30s. net, including the English translation which is to follow; volumes not sold separately.

We have great pleasure in calling attention to this first instalment of the important work undertaken by the Text and Translation Society. The volume is of handsome form, the Syriac is splendidly printed, and the editing has been done in the most conscientious and scholarly fashion. The letters themselves, too, are of very considerable interest. They are addressed to a great variety of persons, bishops, presbyters, dukes, monks, clergy and officials of various kinds. A brief introduction deals with the state of the text. These letters of Severus, which have perished except for a few fragments in Greek, are happily preserved at least in part in certain Syriac versions. Of these versions two exist only in isolated letters or fragments, but of the third, *viz.*, that of Athanasius of Nisibis, which was made in A.D. 669, we possess the sixth book almost entire in two British Museum manuscripts of the eighth century. This work contained a selection from the letters, not a complete collection. Mr. Brooks has been able to use also another couple of British Museum documents which give parts of the version. His text records all variations, except minor differences in script and punctuation. The few Greek fragments are also given in full. We shall look with great interest to the publication of the translation.

Theologia, or, The Doctrine of God. By REVERE FRANKLIN WEIDNER, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Theology in the Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary. Chicago, New York, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company. Cr. 8vo, pp. 143.

Professor Weidner has done much for theological students in the preparation of handbooks of various branches of theological science. This volume, the latest in a series of treatises which are a remarkable testimony to the diligence of the author and the wide extent of his knowledge, will be in respect both of its handy form and its compact contents of much service for class-work as well as for private study. It is based on Luthardt's well-known *Kompendium*, which has had so large a circulation in Germany and elsewhere. But it contains much that is not in Luthardt and treats the various topics independently. It is an "adaptation of Luthardt's method of presentation," as is explained in the preface, "to the Protestant needs of America". The question of Revelation, and the so-called proofs of the existence of God being discussed in the introductory pages, the author proceeds to state in turn the main points in the doctrines of the Divine Personality, God as Holy Love, the Attributes, the Trinity, Predestination, Creation, Providence, Miracles, Angels, Satan. The value of the book as a student's manual is increased by the addition of examination questions and by the introduction of frequent quotations from the great masters in dogmatic theology.

Edward White. His Life and Work. By FREDERICK ASH FREER. London: Elliot Stock, 1902. Large cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 374. Price 6s. net.

It was fitting that there should be some memorial of one who for many long years was a notable figure in the ecclesiastical world as well as in the theological, and who was held in high esteem by all who knew him. In this volume Mr. Freer has done justice to the memory of his friend, and has furnished the Christian public with an interesting and sympathetic record of a remarkable life. Edward White's career deserves

to be widely known. There is much in it to stimulate the younger generation of Christian thinkers and preachers to courage, constancy and high endeavour. It is the career of one whose ministry had the smallest and most obscure beginnings, and who had to keep his head erect and his heart undaunted through long years of disadvantage and discouragement, but who raised himself in the course of time to a position of distinguished usefulness and honour in the Church to which he belonged and won an eminent reputation outside those limits. The controversy which arose over the publication of his *Life in Christ*, and which raged from 1870 to 1875, made his name known far and wide. That book is his most considerable contribution to theology. It fails, in our opinion, in the attempt to construct a consistent doctrine, and is fundamentally mistaken in its rendering of the conceptions of the Bible, especially the Old Testament. Its central position is mixed up with some entangling speculations of a subsidiary interest, and the view which it gives of Christ's work in relation to man's constitution and destiny has some incongruous elements. But the book contains at the same time much that is just and true and well stated. It has made many converts, and has exercised a very considerable influence on religious thought. Mr. Freer, himself a convinced advocate of the theory, gives a good account of the book and the controversy, and those who have dissented most strongly from the writer's reasoning have had nevertheless the highest regard for the man. In addition to what Mr. Freer himself gives, there is in the appendix a valuable analysis and critical estimate of Mr. White's book, the *Life in Christ*, by the Rev. W. D. Maclaren. The appendix also contains a selection from the numerous tributes of appreciation paid by eminent men, a statement on Mr. White's influence abroad, an address by Dr. Dale, and some gleanings from Mr. White's latest note-books. In these last we find some acute and striking observations, fitly and pointedly phrased, which serve to heighten one's idea of Mr. White's power of thought. The volume will be welcome to many.

The Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief. By GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D., LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University. Revised edition: in great part rewritten. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902. 8vo, pp. xx. + 463. Price 10s. 6d.

Few American divines have made more diligent use of their time or done more justice to a high and honourable office than Dr. Fisher. After many years of untiring devotion to the work of a professor of theology and of great public usefulness, Dr. Fisher has now been relieved from the active duties of a Chair in Yale, and is devoting his well-won leisure to literature. We rejoice that he has been able to complete this new edition of one of his best known works. It has been much appreciated in its original form, and in this carefully revised issue it should be sure of a continuance of its usefulness.

It begins by stating the questions involved in the ascription of Personality to God and by reviewing the arguments for the Being of God. It gives one good chapter to a criticism of the leading anti-theistic theories and then passes on to the evidence for the Divine origin of Christianity and the Divine Mission of Christ, giving a chapter to the particular question of our Lord's own consciousness. Thereafter it addresses itself to the problems of the reliability of the Gospel records and the testimony of the Apostles. One of the best chapters is that on the authorship of the Fourth Gospel—a very complete and penetrating study which takes account of the most recent aspects of the question. Another very informing chapter deals with the *gradualness* of Revelation. There is also a very judicious discussion of the relation of the Christian Faith to the Bible and to Biblical criticism, in which some good things are said of the historical character of Revelation, the organic connexion of Christianity with the Old Testament, and open historical questions in the Old Testament annals. The book concludes with a statement of the relation of Christianity to other religions, exhibiting the fitness of the former

to be the religion of mankind. Dr. Fisher has spared no pains in bringing his treatment of these great topics abreast of the thought of the day, and his book is the fruit of competent knowledge, reverent reflection and sound reasoning.

The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac. Edited from a Mesopotamian Manuscript with various readings and collations of other MSS. By MARGARET DUNLOP GIBSON, M.R.A.S., LL.D. (St. Andrews). London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1903. 4to, pp. x. + 226. Price 5s. net.

The Didascalia Apostolorum in English. Translated from the Syriac. By MARGARET DUNLOP GIBSON, M.R.A.S., LL.D. (St. Andrews). London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1903. 4to, pp. xviii. + 113. Price 4s. net.

These volumes form No. 1 and No. 2 of the *Horæ Semiticæ*. They are both by the experienced hand of Mrs. Gibson, and they give us all that we should know about this curious pseud-epigraphic book. The first volume contains the Syriac text with all available apparatus. The Greek text is no longer extant, and we are dependent on the Syriac. Two years ago, however, some fragments of a Latin translation taken from a Verona palimpsest of the fourth century were published by Professor E. Hauler. The Syriac text was carefully edited by Lagarde in 1854. It is now given by Mrs. Gibson on the basis of new collations of some importance. The second volume, in addition to the excellent translation, provides tables of quotations from Scripture. These are of interest. Those from the Old Testament are taken from the LXX; those from the New follow sometimes the Peshitta Syriac, sometimes the Old Syriac, and sometimes a text corresponding with neither and suggesting a Gospel harmony as the source.

The book itself is assigned to the third century. It is the basis of the first six books of the *Apostolical Constitutions*. It was thought by Lagarde to have originated with the heretical sect of the Audæans. It is quoted by Epiphanius. It is of considerable interest to the student of ecclesiastical

history for the light it sheds on the ideas and practices of the Church of the third century. It has much to say about bishops, their ordination, their manner of life, etc. It exalts their authority, yet it gives no hint of a Bishop of Rome as superior to all others, and it shows that bishops were elected by all the people.

The Epistle to the Hebrews. The Greek Text with Notes and Essays. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., late Lord Bishop of Durham, Honorary Fellow of Trinity and King's Colleges, Cambridge. Third Edition. London: Macmillan & Co., 1903. 8vo, pp. lxxxiv. + 506. Price 14s.

The first edition of this commentary was published in 1889. It has undergone little change since then. The second edition appeared in 1892. It contained a few minor additions and corrections, but was in most respects a simple reprint. The same is the case with the present issue. The commentary has taken a high place in the list of books dealing with the epistle to the Hebrews. It is not one of the late bishop's best performances in exegesis. More than any other of his expository works it betrays a disposition to follow too implicitly Patristic interpretations. Here and there it makes too much of verbal and grammatical niceties, which look less reasonable than ever now that so much progress has been made in the appreciation of the forms of later popular Greek. And some of the essays or larger notes, *e.g.*, the one on the use of the term "Blood" in the epistle, are less satisfactory than might have been expected. But with all this the book is entitled to the reputation it has won as one of the fullest and most painstaking expositions of this great epistle. The introduction is of special value, giving as it does Dr. Westcott's mature judgment on the literary and historical questions and handling with well-earned authority all that belongs to the criticism of the text. There is a very good statement of the *characteristics* of the epistle, as also of its relations to the Old Testament and to the Fourth Gospel. Among the

best discussions is that which traces the historical evidence for the Pauline authorship to its source, and brings out how slender it is. The similarities and dissimilarities between this epistle and the epistle of Barnabas are exhibited in detail, with the result of showing how different the answer of the latter is from that of the former to the question of the relation of Christianity to the Old Testament.

Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. The Fifth Book. By RICHARD HOOKER. A new edition, with Prolegomena and Appendices, by RONALD BAYNE, M.A., University College, Oxford; Vicar of Holy Trinity, Greenwich. London: Macmillan & Co., 1902. Large 8vo, pp. lxxiv. + 738. Price 15s. net.

This forms one of the volumes of "The English Theological Library," edited by the Rev. Frederic Relton. It is a sumptuous edition, most attractive in form and admirably printed. The text followed is the original of 1597, with some modernising in the spelling. The notes are those of Keble's second edition (1841) with revisions, and also with certain curtailments in the matter of quotations. All the original Greek and Latin quotations are now translated. These are very numerous, and the editor has acted wisely in the particular renderings he has followed. Instead of adopting the Revised Version he has given the quotations (except those from the Psalter) in terms of the Genevan Version of 1562, judging that to be most in accordance with Hooker's practice. In the case of the Psalms he has taken the Prayer-book Version printed in the Bishops' Bible of 1572. In dealing with Keble's valuable notes Mr. Bayne has taken considerable liberties, not only translating the Latin and Greek, but following a method of his own in explanations and references and adding original matter of his gathering. His defence for dealing in this way with Keble is that the present edition is intended for the use not of the classical scholar in particular, but of the general reader and student. Some matters of minor importance,

which have hitherto been difficulties, are cleared up, and the *Christian Letter* has been added.

In the *Prolegomena* we get a good sketch of Hooker's life, and a fair statement of his style and characteristics. There are also two chapters devoted to "Disciplinarian Puritanism" and "Hooker's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper". There are some rather doubtful things in the former, but the latter brings out very definitely the sum and substance of Hooker's idea of the Real Presence, *viz.*, that it is to be sought not in the Sacrament, but "in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament".

Crown Theological Library.

The fact that a number of works are published each year on the Continent which well deserve translation into English, but are too small for inclusion in the *Theological Translation Library*, has led Messrs. Williams & Norgate to inaugurate a new series of smaller volumes, to be known as the *Crown Theological Library*. The size of the volumes will be crown 8vo, and every care will be taken to insure an attractive appearance. The average price for the volumes will be five shillings. It is not proposed that only translations shall appear in the library. The first volume will be a translation of Professor F. Delitzsch's famous lectures on *Babel und Bible*, with seventy-seven illustrations and an Introduction by the Rev. C. H. W. Johns. Among the volumes that have also been arranged for and are in active preparation the following may be mentioned: *The Dogma of the Virgin Birth of Jesus*, a Christological study by Professor P. Lobstein of Strassburg, translated from the French, with notes specially prepared for the English edition by the author. *Im Kampf um die Weltanschauung, a Pastor's Struggles to Reconcile Faith and Reason*, by R. Wimmer. *Two Addresses on Present-day Questions, Roman Catholic Morals, Evangelical Faith and Ritschl's Theology*, by Professor W. Herrmann of Marburg, author of *The Communion of the Christian with God*. *Liberal Protestantism, its Origin, Nature and Mission*, by Jean Reville of Paris.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

The First Interpreters of Jesus.

By George Holley Gilbert, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of New Testament Literature and Interpretation in Chicago Theological Seminary. The Macmillan Company, 1901. Pp. xiii. + 429. Price 5s. net.

God and the Individual.

By T. B. Strong, D.D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. Longmans, Green & Co., 1903. Pp. xxiii. + 112. Price 2s. 6d. net.

Fiat Lux : Outspoken Essays in Theology and Criticism.

By Inquisitor. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1903. Pp. 302. Price 6s.

Schopenhauer's The Basis of Morality.

Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by Arthur Brodrick Bullock, M.A. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1903. Pp. xxiv. + 285. Price 4s. 6d.

HOLDING that the interpreters of Jesus, who were first in time, are still first in influence and authority, Dr. Gilbert takes the writings of Paul, John, Peter, James, Jude, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and proposes to set forth without comment, defence or criticism just what they contain and teach. This is not so simple a task as it looks, for no expositor can approach any writing without taking his own mind with him, and that mind is sure to possess certain rubrics and certain leanings of its own. We seem at times to catch sight of a certain anti-dogmatic or anti-metaphysical bias in Dr. Gilbert; he is inclined, like Wendt, to put as little into, or take as little out of, some verses as he can, and in the great Christological passage in Philippians, for instance,

he insists that Paul teaches not a real, but only an ideal, pre-existence of the Messiah. But, on the whole, it must be said that he works in an unusually clear light, and holds the balances with a most impartial hand. Moreover, in a kind of book that might easily have been dull and dry, he has contrived to be continuously interesting. Half the space is devoted to Paul (pp. 1-211); a chapter each is given to James, 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude, Hebrews; and the third part (pp. 301-397) deals with the teaching of John—the section on the Epistles being entitled “The Life of the Children of God,” and the Apocalypse being presented with remarkable freshness in four short chapters, the first of which bears the striking title “The Christian Manual of Arms”. The Fourth Gospel, it is explained, although it contains an important Johannean element, gives us substantially the thought of Jesus rather than of John, and its content has accordingly been discussed in *The Revelation of Jesus* (G. H. Gilbert: Macmillan, 1899).

The indexes—one of subjects, the other of Scripture passages—are exemplarily complete. The volume is distinctly handsome, but, as is the way with books made up in America, it is most unpleasantly heavy to hold.

This little book, which consists of four addresses given in the cathedral of St. Asaph to the clergy of that diocese, is a protest against individualism and, in particular, against the idea so prevalent among Protestant Englishmen that, the relation between God and the individual being immediate, all sacraments and even the Church itself are impediments rather than helps. This individualistic view, Dean Strong thinks, has in it the germs of serious intellectual error, allying itself, as in Harnack's *What is Christianity?* with naturalism, and, as appears in Professor James' Gifford Lectures, tending to pass into scepticism—just as in the region of politics it would lead to anarchy and chaos. Appealing first to Scripture, Dr. Strong argues that individualism “does not represent the drift of the *whole* of Scripture,

though there are passages which in isolation seem to carry it"; and naturally makes much of Paul's teaching on the Church as the body of Christ. His argument somehow is far from convincing, and at times, as in his interpretation of Jesus' conversation with the woman of Samaria, savours somewhat of special pleading. If the Reformers, as he says, underlined certain texts, the Dean for his part reads into certain others a sacramental sense they can scarcely carry. The author's second appeal against individualism is to history, and exhibits that same rich and intimate knowledge of mediæval thought which delighted readers of his *Christian Ethics*. But to be able to show that the individualism of the Reformers "arose in certain quite intelligible ways"—through certain political influences and the triumph of nominalism—hardly proves that it was wrong; as Professor James would say, to explain the origin of a thing is not to explain away its significance. The merit of Dean Strong's book is that it brings forward a social or churchly aspect of the Christian life which among Protestants is too often lost sight of; but its weakness is that it seems to be quite unconscious of any middle course between a crass individualism and a sacramental church.

"Inquisitor" is confident that, so far at least as the best minds of the day are concerned, "the shiftings of religious opinion in modern times have moved entirely within the circle of truths recognised by the Christian Church in every age as foundation Christian truths" (p. 6). Untenable positions have been given up—such as verbal inspiration; the truth has been set in new relative proportions—the humanity of Christ, for instance, has been more made of; hitherto hidden aspects of truth have been brought to light—for example, the work of Christ *in* the believer; and in general, Christian opinion has become milder and therefore healthier. But there have been no really disturbing shiftings of the old evangelical foundations; and, as the second essay suggests, those who have been named "heretics"

have simply "preserved for God and the world the neglected complements of truth" (p. 41). In the essays that follow—there are eighteen in all—"Inquisitor" shows some ways in which he would be inclined to re-state or amend or supplement the old truth. He is hampered throughout by his conception of the absolute as unknowable, and gives a frankly modalistic reading of the Trinity. He holds a very "broad" view of inspiration; and in other ways is somewhat rash, though he is always most reverent. But his pages are best taken—and this no doubt is what the author intends—as suggestive rather than dogmatic.

The Basis of Morality, which its translator regards as "one of the most important contributions to ethics since the time of Kant," was a prize essay which did *not* get the prize. It was rejected by the Danish Royal Society of Sciences because it did not prove its case, spoke disrespectfully of certain "summi philosophi," and ignored all relation between metaphysics and ethics; that is, Mr. Bullock suggests, because it was paradoxical and aggressive, and not at all welcome in a philosophical atmosphere that was saturated with Hegel and Fichte. This was in 1840; and in the same year Schopenhauer took the rejected essay and published it with a long and highly caustic introduction. A second edition, with many enlargements and insertions, was issued in 1860, a few months before the philosopher's death. Mr. Bullock's translation is admirable, and did not at all require that so many words should be printed in leaded type. He seems always to write "phaenomena"; but "phaenominal" (*sic*) on p. xxii. cannot be passed.

JOHN LENDRUM.

The Origin and Propagation of Sin. Being the Hulsean Lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge in 1901-2. By F. R. TENNANT, M.A. (Camb.), B.Sc. (Lond.); Student of Gonville and Caius College. Cambridge: University Press, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. + 231. Price 3s. 6d. net.

THE object of this book is to effect the repudiation of the Church's doctrine of original sin by a criticism of its implications, and to construct a doctrine as to the nature and origin of man's sinfulness "in terms of the knowledge and language of our particular age". The problem is stated with all its difficulties in the opening chapter. In the next chapter an attempt is made to prove the theological doctrine to be really speculative, and brief sketches are given of the way in which it has been treated in the philosophical schools—by Descartes, Malebranche, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Kant, Hegel, Schelling, Lotze and others. Then comes a chapter on the treatment of the problem in empirical science and evolutionary theory. The fourth chapter expounds the presuppositions of the new theory, its relation to Scripture, etc., the conclusion being that the doctrine of the fall is no part of the Christian Revelation. There is also a large collection of appended notes, amplifying or explaining certain parts of the argument.

The book is written in a commendable spirit and with a due sense of the difficulties of the question. It appraises the merits and demerits of the Pelagian doctrine on the one hand and the Augustinian on the other in a sensible and temperate spirit, and aims not at the mere destruction of the old but at a restatement which will preserve what is essential in the ancient doctrine. But it concerns itself much more with the philosophical and biological aspects of the problem than with the Biblical. The great theologians are conspicuous by

their absence, while the philosophers are called in in their numbers. Apart from the one or two passages on which the doctrines of a fall and original sin have been made most obviously to depend, the book takes no notice of the large number of passages which either imply or explicitly give a view of man's nature, affections, habits and acts, which means vastly more than the evolutionary theory, as it is presented by Mr. Tennant, admits. Some of our Lord's own words, as well as the great arguments and appeals in such paragraphs as Romans vii., viii., are hard indeed to accommodate to any theory which, as is the case with Mr. Tennant's, does not regard man as having departed from a former righteousness, and deals with sin as purely and simply positive and volitional, and recognises no germ of evil in the child. Nor does it seem to us that the theory in question meets the deepest facts in human life and experience by any means so adequately as is done by the doctrine of original sin rightly understood. Mr. Tennant has written, however, an able and candid book which calls attention to the difficulties attaching to that doctrine (which the wisest theologians have never ignored), and gives us occasion to think again into some of the profoundest problems suggested by Scripture, reason and life.

The Great Marquess. Life and Times of Archibald, 8th Earl and 1st (and only) Marquess of Argyle (1607-1661). By JOHN WILLCOCK, B.D., author of "A Shetland Minister of the Eighteenth Century," "Sir Thomas Urquhart, of Cromartie, Knight," etc. Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1903. 8vo, pp. xxii. + 396. Price 10s. net.

It is strange indeed that the times have been so slow in producing anything like an adequate *Life* of the Marquess of Argyle. It might have been expected that a man occupying so high a station and playing so great a part in the annals of his country, a foremost figure in one of the most fateful and chaotic passages in the history of the Scottish people, should have found an early biographer, and not one indeed but several. It has been left, nevertheless,

to a Shetland minister at the beginning of the twentieth century to do what might have been done a couple of centuries ago. Mr. Willcock has supplied a great want in Scottish literature, and has made amends for a long-continued neglect which has not been to the credit of Scottish patriotism or Scottish historical instinct. And the work has been done in so capable a fashion that the handsome volume now before us will at once take a distinguished place among historical monographs.

The task which faced Mr. Willcock, when, at the suggestion of Mr. Firth of Oxford, himself a brilliant example of the scientific student of history, he undertook the preparation of this *Life*, was a very difficult one. It meant much laborious research, especially in unpublished material. And the book bears witness all through to the patience, the skill and the good sense with which this part of the task was done. The author has made good use of the archives of the house of Argyle and of other sources of information which were placed at his disposal, and has been able to give us some of the most important documents in their entirety. By the kind permission of the Earl of Morton, a series of thirty-four letters from the Marquess, his father, his wife and his daughter, which have never before been given to the public, are printed in full, and they are of great interest. But what is more, by the consent of the Duke of Argyle the appendix gives in full the famous six letters which were sent by Monck to his everlasting shame direct from London to the Lord High Commissioner in order to secure Argyle's condemnation for treason. These letters came to hand at the crisis of the trial, when it seemed likely indeed that he was to be acquitted. They were read contrary to the forms of judicial procedure, after the proof had been closed on both sides, and they succeeded in the object with which they were sent. They were lost sight of for a time, but were recovered by the eighth Duke from a collector of antiquities into whose hands they had come. Their publication now adds to the value of the work.

Mr. Willcock, however, has had greater difficulties to

confront than any connected with the mere matter of research. He has had to a large extent to prepare his public for a patient hearing of his case. He has had to surmount these barriers of prejudice which have been established in the minds of many by impressions drawn from Aytoun, Sir Walter Scott, Napier and others, and he has had to meet not only the general Royalist verdict, but also some particular charges which have been stoutly upheld by those whose natural sympathies are with Royalist aspirations. It is strange that partisan feeling should run so strong on the question of Montrose *versus* Argyle, and strange that men should not be content with doing their best for the reputation of the one without disparagement of the other. But so it is, and to Mr. Willcock's honour it must be said that he has striven to escape this danger and to vindicate the one great Marquess without seeking the poor satisfaction of throwing stones at the other. Where he has had to enter the lists against others in the appeal to matters of fact, he does not come off second best. Among other things, he has made it as plain as plain can be that a charge which has been persistently brought against Argyle in connexion with Montrose's invasion of Scotland is without foundation. On the face of it the charge is a very absurd one, in view of the fact that Montrose himself declared in proclamations and speeches that it was by the royal orders that he invaded Scotland. But the allegation, nevertheless, is that Argyle, as stated by Sir James Balfour, reported to the House that he had received a letter from the Secretary, the Earl of Lothian, showing that His Majesty was "no wayes sorey that James Graham was defait in respect, as he said, he had made that invasion without and contrarey to his command". And then it is argued that such astounding ingratitude on the part of Charles is incredible; that he could not indeed have known at the time that Montrose was defeated; and that the letter in question must have been an invention of Argyle's. Much miserable use has been made of this in damaging Argyle and representing him as guilty of a base forgery. But now comes Mr. Willcock with a detailed refutation exhibiting the entire

absence of evidence to support this gross charge; showing, from documents published by Dr. S. R. Gardiner in his *Charles II. and Scotland in 1650*, that Mr. Napier had confused old style and new; and bringing out the groundlessness of the statement that at the time in question Argyle could not have received any such letter from Lothian. This is but one instance of Mr. Willcock's carefulness and sureness of foot.

The narrative is given in a lively and forcible style. At points it tends to become even somewhat free and easy. But it carries the reader along and sustains his interest. As it moves on it deepens his sympathy with the writer's view of things. It is by no means a blind laudation of one side. Mr. Willcock can see the weak places in the case which he supports as a whole. His spirited account of the famous Glasgow Assembly makes frank acknowledgment of the revolutionary character of the proceedings, and he recognises the difficulty of the questions which arose with regard to the Solemn League and Covenant. He has looked with care at three possible interpretations of Argyle's career—one which would make him a prodigy of ambition, self-seeking and disloyalty to his lawful sovereign; another which would explain much by taking him as "an almost independent potentate"; and a third which would regard him as a patriotic statesman. It is this third view of the great Marquess that Mr. Willcock holds to be the just one, and he has done more than any other to make that judgment good.

Primitive Semitic Religion To-day. By SAMUEL IVES CURTISS, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Literature and Interpretation in Chicago Theological Seminary. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 288. Price 6s. net.

Professor Curtiss has written a very interesting book, and one that deserves consideration at the hands of all students of the Old Testament. It is defined in its subtitle as a "record of researches, discoveries and studies in Syria, Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula," and it has all

the interest of first-hand studies and impressions. Dr. Curtiss has a keen and observant eye and the faculty of seeing the present in the past. He gives a full and particular report of tours extending over fourteen months, during which he had large opportunities of acquainting himself with the religious ideas and customs which prevail at present in large tracts of the Semitic world. He turned his opportunities to the best account, and gives us much valuable information and some weighty suggestions regarding the conceptions of God and sacred things which the Semitic people hold in the present day, their notions of local divinities, high places, sacred shrines, priests and "holy men," vows, festivals, the institution of sacrifice, the use of blood, etc. The chapters on sacrifice are among the most important in the book. They draw attention to the "strange and surprising unanimity" with which in all parts of the country, among Bedouins, Arabs, Fellaheen and others, the essential thing in sacrifice is held to be the "shedding of blood," the "bursting forth" of blood. This has so impressed itself on Dr. Curtiss that he has withdrawn from his former adherence to the theory, represented by Robertson Smith and others, that the oldest form of sacrifice was the sacrificial meal, and recognises how much there is to support the older view that the fundamental idea is that of substitution. The chapter on the "Use of Blood" is also one of great value, confirming at various points the justice of the observations and interpretations recorded in Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta*. But the book is of interest all through, and that not only in respect of the facts which it chronicles but also in respect of its method. For its method is to get at the original religious conceptions of the Semites and the most essential meaning of their customs and institutions by taking the existent as the key to the primitive. The justification for this lies in the immense power and persistence of custom in the East. Its application to much that we have in the Old Testament is far-reaching. The volume, we should add, is provided with a considerable number of useful illustrations.

The Pauline Epistles. Introductory and Expository Studies.
By the Rev. R. D. SHAW, M.A., B.D., Edinburgh.
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. 8vo, pp. x. + 508.
Price 8s. net.

Mr. Shaw has given us an exceedingly useful book, happy in its general idea and well written. The Pauline Epistles are an inexhaustible field, in which every patient student will find some fruitful work to do. With all that has been written on them there is ample scope for further discussion and exposition, and in the lists of books of introduction Mr. Shaw's volume has a place of its own. It is written in a free, popular, telling style. It puts its points definitely and distinctly. It has as its foundations a large and intelligent acquaintance with the literature of its subject and studies that have been prosecuted in an independent spirit. It is studiously fair, striving in every case to take an opponent's case at its best and doing justice even to critics of the Van Manen order. It is faithful also to the historical method of inquiry, and shows much capacity in placing the various writings in their proper historical setting.

The matter is distributed over four chapters, which deal respectively with the Thessalonian Epistles, the Four Great Epistles, the Captivity Epistles and the Pastoral Epistles. It is furnished with good indices of subjects, contents, references and authorities. It gives us also a "Scheme of Chronology and Order of the Epistles," showing at a glance how the leading events, as well as the writings themselves, are dated by Turner, Harnack, Zahn, Ramsay, Clemen, Lightfoot, McGiffert and Moffatt. Occasionally Mr. Shaw diverges into discussions, *e.g.*, on subjects like "Election," "Slavery," etc., which stretch somewhat beyond the proper purpose of the treatise, but which are never lacking in freshness and interest. His descriptions of the historical circumstances in which the various epistles had their occasion are particularly well done, and add much to the value of the whole work. Rome and Roman society, Ephesus and Asiatic life and ideas, are set before the reader's eye vividly and

distinctly. The book is free, too, of all hard dogmatism and rash speculation. Its discussions of the South Galatian theory, and the authorship of the Epistle to the Ephesians, are excellent examples of careful and balanced statement. Mr. Shaw knows well when suspended judgment and measured language are most in place. In looking at the problem of the Pastoral Epistles he plants his case on the position to be assigned to 2 Timothy. He finds the reasons usually given for denying its authenticity inadequate, and his argument is that this practically decides the case for 1 Timothy and Titus. The affinities between the three epistles are, in his opinion, too strong to make it possible to detach one from another, and he contends that, as long as the attack on 2 Timothy fails, there can be "no decided verdict against the Pastorals as a whole". But enough has been said to explain the scope of Mr. Shaw's work and to give some idea of its quality.

The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia. By A. H. SAYCE, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Assyriology, Oxford. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. 8vo, pp. vi. + 509. Price 8s. net.

This volume consists of the Gifford lectures delivered before the University of Aberdeen. The special subject of these lectures was "The Conception of the Divine among the Ancient Egyptians and Babylonians". The book does not limit itself to the topic thus defined, but it keeps it in view in all that is said. It is naturally divided into two parts, of which that dealing with the religion of the Babylonians is somewhat larger than that occupied with the religion of the ancient Egyptians. The Egyptian ideas of man, the other world, the Sun-God and the Ennead are carefully set forth, the splendid service of Maspero receiving grateful recognition. There are most instructive chapters on Animal Worship and on Osiris and the Osirian Truth. There are interesting accounts of the sacred books and the popular beliefs, and finally we are brought to an estimate of the place of Egyptian religion in the history of theology.

In dealing with the religion of the Babylonians, Professor Sayce takes up in succession the questions of Primitive Animism, the Gods, the Sumerian and Semitic Conceptions of the Divine, the Cosmologies, the Sacred Books, the Myths and Epics, the Rituals, the Astro-Theology and the Moral Element. The expositions all through are given in a clear and popular style which will secure for the book a wide circulation. All is done, too, with the firmness and definiteness of one long familiar with these subjects and observant of every new thing that tends to the better understanding of these ancient faiths.

There are many things in this volume on which one might well linger. There is, *e.g.*, the discussion of the difficulty created by the animal worship of Egypt. The explanations offered by Creuzer, Lenormant, and the supporters of the totemistic theory being noticed, Professor Sayce states how the matter is regarded now; how much new light has been shed on it by recent discoveries; how the animal worship is now shown to have been only part of a larger system; how the human forms under which the gods appear in the later period are absent in the earlier; how in the remote age the gods are still represented by animals and other fetishes borrowed from the older populations of the Nile valley; and how the gods appear then under the forms (animal, bird, or lifeless object) which in the later period were regarded as their symbols. There is again the estimate of the place which the Egyptian faith has in the history of theology. Here some just things are said about the adaptability of the Egyptian mind to the idea of the incarnation of deity, and on the way in which the interchange of ideas and symbols aided the spiritualising of the Egyptian religion. In the case of the doctrine of the Trinity, however, Professor Sayce makes more than most will allow of what he terms "the indebtedness of Christian theological theory to ancient Egyptian dogma".

With regard to Babylonian religion, as well as to Egyptian, Professor Sayce finds animism "deep down in the very core" of the system. This he takes to have been the earliest shape

assumed by religion, and it was through animism, in his opinion, that the "Sumerian formed his conception of the divine". Be this as it may, there are some interesting observations on the resemblance between the Egyptian Ka and the Babylonian Zi, and upon the modification of the old ideas of the imperishable part of man which took place as the primitive Sumerian animism became overlaid by Semitic conceptions. The distinctive religious conceptions of the later Babylonians are expounded with a master hand, and the volume closes with a carefully drawn comparison between the Babylonian faith and that of Israel. The primordial ideas were the same in each, and there was much in which the two were alike. But the final conclusion must be that "there is a gulf, wide and impassable, between the Babylonian religion and the religion of Israel as it is presented to us in the Old Testament".

Life and Letters of Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L., sometime Bishop of Durham. By his Son, ARTHUR WESTCOTT. With Illustrations. In two volumes. London: Macmillan & Co., 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. + 441 and pp. ix. + 459. Price 17s. net.

There is much that is of interest in these volumes. That could scarcely fail to be the case with the story of the career of a scholar of such distinction and a bishop of such influence. Yet the work might well have been better done. There is a lack of judgment in the selection of matter. A very considerable number of the letters that are printed are of very slender interest, and a multitude of trivial particulars are introduced which a better sense of the proportion of things should have excluded. There are matters, too, of a private and domestic kind which had better have been dispensed with. It speaks no doubt to the impartiality and detachment of the biographer that he records how his father put the constraints of his own strong Churchly feeling upon the young lady who was to be his wife, so that she had not only to take another Christian name more pleasing to him than the one she bore, but also to forswear her unhappy Wesleyan Methodism and "be gathered

again to that Church which is the object of my devotion". But we had rather have been left ignorant of so prim and curious a passage in the story of the bishop's youth. On the whole, if the biography had been half its present size it would have been better as a biography and would have given us a clearer and more harmonious view of the man.

But with all these abatements it is a book worth having, and one on which much conscientious care has been expended. It is the record of a laborious and high-pitched career, which it repays one to follow from its strenuous beginning to its calm end. We are glad to get all the particulars that are chronicled here about Westcott's life and experiences in Cambridge, in Harrow, in Peterborough (with the story of Bishop Magee's somewhat extraordinary action), Westminster and Durham. These enable us to form a good estimate of him as a scholar, a teacher, a writer and an ecclesiastical ruler, and give us a fair idea of the range of his thought and the breadth of his sympathies. As in the case of many others of her best and most capable sons, the Church of England was slow in offering promotion to Westcott, but when her time did come she gave him what he most desired—a position of influence in Cambridge—and planted him ultimately in St. Cuthbert's Chair. He was more than worthy of all the honour that he received. He accomplished much, and he would have accomplished even more had he not scattered his energies over so many different fields. The mystic element in his nature often betrayed him into vague and indefinite statement, and took from the sharpness of his thinking. He gave too much of his attention to subjects, especially to social questions, in which he was never more than an amateur. In his exegesis he made too much of minute verbal niceties, and lacked the keen historical insight of Hort and the massive English sense of Lightfoot. But he did much fine work both in the exposition of the New Testament (notably the Fourth Gospel) and in historical studies on the Gospels and the Canon. Above all, he made his mark in Textual Criticism, and the part which he took with Hort in the preparation of the great critical edition of

the Greek New Testament will more than anything else secure for him a distinguished place in the records of English scholarship.

Agnosticism. By ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, Honorary Member of the Royal Society of Palermo, and Professor in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1903. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 602. Price 18s. net.

In 1887-88 Professor Flint delivered a course of lectures on Agnosticism in St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, in the capacity of Croall lecturer. Other literary engagements prevented him from publishing these lectures then, and it is out of them that the present volume has grown. It is the fruit of vast reading and lengthened reflection, and it is likely to be the standard work on the subject for many a year. It has all the characteristics which have won for its author's previous publications so high and well-deserved a place in the philosophical and theological literature of our day. It has unflinching lucidity of style, a certain impressive momentum in its argument, an accent of authority which comes of conscious mastery of the subject. It is scrupulously fair to all phases of opinion, and frankly appreciative of all that is worthy of admiration in those most opposed to the writer's own position and least responsive to his sympathies. It pursues its inquiry into the remotest and most hidden corner in which anything bearing on it is likely to be found, and it practically exhausts its subject as it presents itself at present.

Professor Flint takes a very large view of the scope of his theme. He brings much within it which others might consider accessory rather than integral—disquisitions, of larger or smaller compass, on *Faith*, on *Authority* and its various forms, on the great types of Religion, polytheistic, monistic, dualistic, monotheistic, Trinitarian and Unitarian Theism, etc. This is explained no doubt by the fact that the book is meant to be part of a system of Natural Theology; and all that is

said on subjects such as these is made to fit in quite congruously with the object more immediately in hand. The argument moves on step by step from the consideration of the *nature* of Agnosticism, an examination of erroneous views, a review of the history of the subject, a criticism of Hume and Kant, a discussion of complete or absolute Agnosticism and of mitigated, partial and limited forms, to the great topics of Agnosticism as to God, religious belief, and the knowledge of God. A large and comprehensive programme!

Nor is it in grand outline merely. The elaboration of the subject is as remarkable for its thoroughness as the scheme is for its magnitude and inclusiveness. In the opening chapters the foundations are laid in a minute investigation of the history, etymology and proper definition of the term Agnosticism, and a criticism on the views of Bithell, Fraser, Calderwood, Roberty and Leslie Stephen. In the third chapter the history of Agnosticism is followed out from its Oriental forms, its ancient Græco-Roman types, Pre-Socratic and Post-Socratic, its place in mediæval thought, and its various developments in modern times, as represented by Agrippa, Montaigne, Charron, Sanchez, Glanville, Pascal, Bayle and others. Farther on we have concise and searching criticisms of the most characteristic positions of Spencer, Mr. Arthur Balfour, J. S. Mill, Dr. Bain, Professor James, John Henry Newman, De Lamennais, Ritschl, Sabatier and others, not omitting even men like the late Dr. Thompson, the author of *Christian Theism*, now pretty much forgotten. And so it is all through.

In the midst of such wealth it is not easy to make a selection of matter for more particular notice. We may say, however, that the chapter devoted to Kant and Hume, and the sections dealing with Hamilton, Mansel and Spencer, have special attractions for us. The review of Hume takes us into the sources of his philosophy and scepticism, his views of substance, consciousness of self and causality, etc., his personal attitude to religion, and the final issues of his scepticism. Professor Flint shows very convincingly how utterly mistaken those are who have seen no scepticism in

Hume's speculations ; how his scheme of thought on the contrary had " all the comprehensiveness and thoroughness appropriate to a radical scepticism while easily intelligible and free from all scholastic formalism, technicalities and pedantry " ; and how uncompromising it was, touching every department of knowledge—philosophical, theological, scientific, ethical, religious—supposed to be open to man, and not sparing even mathematics. A good analysis is given of the *Natural History of Religion* and the *Essay on Miracles*. The argument of the latter is skilfully handled, the special point being made that its principle, if accepted at all, was valid to carry Hume farther than he himself went, and would have proved that even " the eye-witness of a miracle could not have sufficient evidence of its existence to make belief of it rational ". Kant is dealt with no less satisfactorily and even more fully. The Transcendental Æsthetic Logic, Psychology, Cosmology and Theology are reviewed. Special attention is given to the *Critique of Pure Reason*, and to Kant's criticisms of the Theistic arguments. The criticism of the ontological argument is held to be futile because it assumes that thought and existence are necessarily separate, " so that even necessary thinking of a being as necessarily existing is no assurance of its existence ". The objections taken by Kant to the cosmological and teleological arguments are effectively dealt with. It is admitted that there is a sense in which it is true that causality cannot take us beyond experience. But it is pointed out that what Kant means by experience is sensuous experience, and that his reasoning against the validity of the cosmological argument comes to this, that " causality only gives order to sensuous impressions, but can by no means carry us beyond them ". But this involves dialectical assumptions of a large kind, Professor Flint holds, quite as serious as any of those (" a perfect nestful " of them, as Kant contends) alleged against the cosmological argument. Passing to the objections urged against the teleological argument from the subjective character of the idea of finality or design, the incompetence of the argument to lead us to the conception of a creator as distinguished from that of an architect

or world-builder, and its inability to prove the Divine intelligence to be infinite, Professor Flint brings out the irrelevancies and shortcomings which adhere to them. To say that *finality* is an idea of subjective origin in a sense precluding any objective application would mean disbelief "not only in the existence of the Divine mind but of all minds". The teleological argument must be taken in connexion with the cosmological or aitiological argument, which it presupposes and the aim of which is to "trace all the power and efficiency in the universe to an extramundane or primal will"; and further, it is sufficient at least to prove the Divine omniscience in relation to the universe, and contains nothing to lead us to think of the Divine intelligence as limited. All this is followed up by a very admirable statement of the wider issues, the general prerogative of reason, the doubtfulness of Kant's distinction between two kinds of reason, etc.

Towards the close of the volume the author grapples with Hamilton, Mansel and Spencer. He notices by the way the anticipations of their position in the writings of archbishops King and Browne, and says some pointed things about the Ritschlian movement, to which he applies Carlyle's phrase—a faith that "leads painfully no-whither". He describes the Ritschlian distinction between *value-judgments* and *existence-judgments* as a system of "book-keeping by double entry" which can only lead to "bankruptcy of faith or reason or both". He has as little favour for the agnosticism of Professor Auguste Sabatier, although he admits that it is put by the French divine in the most attractive light; and he gives hearty praise to Professor Henri Bois' refutation of it. Coming to Hamilton himself, he examines the famous principle of the relativity of all human knowledge, and shows how the phrase is used not in one constant sense but in three different senses, *viz.*, that nothing can be known entirely in itself and out of relation to all else; that nothing can be known except in relation to a self and its powers of knowledge; and that all knowledge is phenomenal. The first two of these senses, says Professor Flint, are true, but

do not in the least degree imply that God is "unknowable". The third, which is admitted to be the one which is really relevant, is declared to be false, inasmuch as the *relative* and the *phenomenal* are not one and the same, the relativity of human thought being the "very condition or law of thought which enables and even compels intelligence to transcend phenomena". The Hamiltonian use of the terms *condition*, *know*, *absolute*, *infinite*, etc., the conclusions built up on this by Mansel, and the whole drift of his application of the Hamiltonian philosophy to the truth of religion, are passed under rigorous, incisive scrutiny. Than this there is nothing better in the book. But it is needless to go further into particulars. Professor Flint has laid us under great obligation by this masterly study. In spite of the detailed contents, an index would be welcome.

Babel und Bible. By FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, Ordinary Professor of Oriental Philology and Assyriology in the University of Berlin. Edited with an Introduction by C. H. W. JOHNS, M.A. London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxix. + 226. Price 5s.

This is the first volume of the new "Crown Theological Library" projected by Messrs. Williams & Norgate. The object of the series is to furnish English readers with trustworthy translations of foreign theological publications of comparatively small size which may have some special interest or value. Such a series will be very useful, and this first instalment shows that the publishers have studied handiness and attractiveness of form. The volume is admirably printed and no less admirably illustrated. It gives a good English version of the two famous lectures which were delivered by Professor Friedrich Delitzsch before the members of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in Berlin in presence of the German Emperor. These lectures made a great noise at the time, largely owing to the Emperor's supposed favour for them, and they have provoked much discussion since then. Pamphlets of all kinds have been pouring out of the German presses, and a keen controversy has arisen not only about

the Professor's treatment of religion, but also about his Assyriology. They give expression to some opinions which have excited surprise and to some renderings of texts which are contested. Among other things the claim is made for the Babylonia religion that, though it continued to be grossly polytheistic through three thousand years, it nevertheless had a certain kind of monotheism in its heart, and that "free and enlightened minds taught openly that Nergal and Nebo, Moon-god and Sun-god, the Thunder-god, Ramman and all other gods were one in Marduk". The work of editing appears to be well done. The introduction would have been better had it been less discursive; and more effective had it been less gushing with regard to the lecturer.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

WE have pleasure in noticing also the following publications: *Realities of Life*,¹ a tasteful little volume compiled by Jessie M. Oliver, from the writings of the late Rev. H. R. Haweis, and presenting in the form of short, select extracts the main points in his teaching; *I Live*,² a brief, simple, practical exposition of the motive, nature, cultivation and triumph of the Christian life, by the Most Rev. James Edward Cowell, Lord Bishop of Calcutta; *The Consecration of the State*,³ an essay by Dr. J. E. C. Welldon, Canon of Westminster Abbey, written in "protest against the political theory which has led in some countries, and may one day lead in England, to the complete secularisation of the State," containing some just remarks on the Christian conception of the State, but by no means free of serious and almost culpable misunderstanding, as when it represents the English Nonconformists as advocating "with an almost passionate energy" a theory which "treats the State as something not merely secular, but profane, something unholy and unclean that cannot lay its defiling hand without profanity upon the Ark of God"; a pamphlet by Dr. F. H. Chase, President of Queen's College, Cambridge, on *The Supernatural Element in our Lord's Earthly Life in Relation to Historical Methods of Study*,⁴ dealing in a very able way with the new conditions, created by science and criticism, under which the questions of the Resurrection of our Lord, His supernatural works and His virgin-birth have now to be considered—a calm and penetrating treatment of these great subjects; *St. Matthew, the Revised Version*,

¹ London: Elliot Stock, 1902. Pp. xv. + 148.

² London: Macmillan & Co., 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 85. Price 1s. 6d. net.

³ London: Macmillan, 1902. Cr. 8vo. Price 2s. net.

⁴ London: Macmillan & Co., 1903. 8vo, pp. 24. Price 1s.

Edited with Notes for the Use of Schools, by Arthur Carr, M.A., Vicar of Addington, Surrey¹—an edition admirably adapted to the purpose in view, giving in the clearest terms the best results of scholarship, touching on most of the problems of the First Gospel, and furnishing succinct, attractive accounts of the Jewish sects, the history of the Herodian family and other matters bearing on the correct understanding of the narrative; *Apostolic Order and Unity*,² by Robert Bruce, M.A., D.D., a small book but one that deserves serious consideration, written by a theologian who has had thirty-five years' experience as a missionary in the Punjab and Persia, giving a careful and exhaustive account of all the passages bearing on the question of Apostolic order in the Christian literature of the first hundred and thirty years, concluding in favour of the evangelical view of the Church as the mystical body of Christ which is "the blessed company of all faithful people," and ably criticising the theory that Episcopacy with its claim to Apostolic Succession is essential to the *being* of a Church; *The Oldest Code of Laws in the World*,³ translated by C. H. W. Johns, M.A., lecturer in Assyriology, Queen's College, Cambridge—an excellent and most seasonable publication which puts the English reader in possession of the text of the venerable code of laws promulgated by Hammurabi, King of Babylon (the Amraphel of the Old Testament), as far back as B.C. 2285-2242, and enables him to compare it with the Mosaic Code; *Das bleibende in der Lehre Jesu*,⁴ by Dr. Richard Schultz, a critical supplement to Harnack's *Wesen des Christentums*, pointing out the weak points in Harnack's optimism, contesting his view that the Church

¹ Cambridge: University Press, 1902. Pp. xix. + 168. Price 1s. 6d. net.

² Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 151. Price 1s. 6d. net.

³ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 88. Price 1s. 6d. net.

⁴ Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. 60. Price 1s. 6d. net.

can be brought back, as he conceives to be both possible and required, to the original Christianity as given in simple form in the first three Gospels, and addressing itself to the question whether Christianity contains a life-principle that will hold good for all time and bear to be of universal application; *Efficacy in Education*,¹ by G. G. Ramsay, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow—an able statement of the prospects of classical education in Scotland, and an eloquent and powerful plea for placing the higher education of the Scottish youth on a basis which will make it possible to regain the supremacy “which it was so long the boast of Scotland to possess”; *Die Uebernahme der früh-mittelgriechischen Neumen durch die Juden*,² by Franz Praetorius—a carefully written treatise on the technical subject of the musical notes of the Middle Ages, forming a supplement to the author's work on the Hebrew accents; *The Secret of the Cross, or, How did Christ Atone?*³ by J. Garnier—a somewhat superficial and self-confident treatment of a great and solemn question, following unscientific methods of exegesis, and aimed mainly at the idea of *expiation*, which is pronounced indeed to be the root and principle of “*The Lie*” or “*Error*” foretold by the Apostle Paul by which the world was to be deceived, “for its effect,” it is added, “is to completely blind the world to the truth and to the true Christ”; *The Question of Re-union with Rome*,⁴ by B. Willard-Archer—a book which does not aim at giving a history of the papacy, but investigates the “origin and evolution of certain characteristics of the Romish Church,” the result of the diligent study of ancient records, discussing with much ability the Petrine claims of the Church of Rome, her wealth, her aggressive attitude, the Papal Schism, Transubstantiation, Mariolatry, the Inquisition, the Jesuits, and other subjects on which those in other churches who may be induced to seek reunion ought, in the writer's

¹ Glasgow: Maclehose & Sons, 1902. 8vo, pp. 41.

² Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1902. 8vo, pp. 22. Price 1s. 6d.

³ London: Elliot Stock, 1902. 8vo, pp. viii. + 250. Price 1s. net.

⁴ London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 274.

judgment, to be much better informed than they usually are.

The opening paper in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. xxi., part ii., by W. B. Smith, deals with the problem of the last two chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. Its object is to show that the doxology is unintelligible if placed before chapter xv. and must be pronounced spurious; that if it is thrown out of that position, chapters xv. and xvi. fall away of their own weight; and that the body of the epistle is then left as an "august theological treatise" which we can understand. The paper is acute. But, apart from the doubtful handling of much of the evidence, the conclusion does not square with the fact that as a "theological treatise" the epistle would be strangely defective. For it by no means covers anything like the full compass of New Testament doctrine.

The first issues of the *Church Quarterly Review* for 1903 have much good matter. The elaborate historical study of the "Holy Eucharist" is continued, Saravia, Jewel, Grindal, Sandys, Hooker, Andrewes, Laud, etc., being brought specially under review. There are other interesting historical articles on Gerald of Cambrai, the "Three Churches in Ireland," and the "Church and Clergy after the Restoration," and instructive papers also on "Confession and Absolution," the "Credibility of the Book of Acts," etc., in the first issue. Among the most valuable papers in the April number are two on "The Psychology of Conversion" and "The Criticism of the Synoptic Gospels".

In the *American Journal of Philology*, edited by Professor Gildersleeve, vol. xxiii., 4, we notice specially two able discussions by Kirby Flower Smith, on "The Tale of Gyges and the King of Lydia," and George Melville Bolling on "The Beginning of the Greek Day". The conclusion reached in the latter is that "throughout the time of the Homeric poems the day was reckoned, as Varro says the Athenians reckoned it, from sunset to sunset".

To the *Bulletin de Littérature ecclésiastique* for January, 1903, Mgr. Pierre Batiffol contributes a paper well worth reading

on *L'Évangile et l'Église*, reviewing the positions of Harnack and Loisy. In the second issue we notice a paper by Eugene Portalié on *Le rôle doctrinel de Saint Augustin*.

The first issue of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* is a particularly good number. Among other interesting papers we notice one by A. A. Berle on "The Psychology of Christian Experience"; another by the editor, G. Frederick Wright, on "The Lansing Skull and the Early History of Mankind," bringing out the fact that the skull in question is a witness to "an instability of the earth's crust, contemporaneous with the early history of mankind which is out of all analogy to the present condition of things"; and a third by W. H. H. Martin on "The Genesis of Paul's Theology," which deals, among other things, with the point of view from which the Apostle after his conversion regarded the "tradition of the elders," and pronounces it unproven that his theology was moulded or influenced by Rabbinism. Dr. W. M. Patton also writes well on "Ancient Egypt and Syria," and Professor H. Darling Foster subjects M. Brunetière's extraordinary account of Calvin's work to vigorous criticism.

In the January-February issue of the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses* M. Joseph Turmel continues his study of the Dogma of Original Sin, dealing with the question of the essence of original sin and the theories of Anselm and Catharin.

Professor E. Kautzsch contributes to the first number of the *Studien und Kritiken* for the current year an excellent and appreciative sketch of the late Professor Julius Köstlin. Among the other articles we may refer specially to one by Lic. Dr. Boehmer on "Die Eigenart der prophetischen Heilspredigt des Amos".

In *East and West* for January Mr. Pestonji Ardeshir Wadea writes on "The Philosophy of the Gathas," giving an exposition of the most salient philosophical conceptions, dealing specially with the quality denoted by Spenta Mainyus in the Gathic idea of Ahura Mazda, and showing that the immortality which is one of the attributes of Ahura Mazda is the "truly infinite immortality above all time relations". There

is a good paper also on "Persian Mysticism" by Professor E. Denison Ross. In the February issue we notice specially the opening article by Dr. The. Pinches on "The Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians".

The *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* for February and March contains two interesting papers on the "Four-corners, Veils, Fringes and Phylacteries" of Judaism, by Dr. Alexander Japp.

"The Ebb and Flow of the Oxford Movement" is the title of an interesting paper by Willoughby Braithwaite in the February number of the *Catholic World*. In the writer's view the movement still continues to "raise the ritual and worship of the Established Church in the direction of Catholicity," but has been turned aside from its original aim, namely, "the restoration of the Catholic authority of the Episcopate, and the frank study of the Catholic Fathers with a view to the discovery of truth".

There are some valuable critical notices in the January issue of *Mind*, e.g., of Sidgwick's *Philosophy*, by Professor Seth Pringle-Pattison; Baillie's *Origin and Significance of Hegel's Logic*, by E. B. McGilvary; and Hobhouse's *Mind in Evolution*, by C. Lloyd Morgan. Among the articles we may refer to one by Mr. T. Whittaker on "A Compendious Classification of the Sciences," and another by A. K. Rogers on "The Absolute as Unknowable". This latter paper deals with Mr. Bradley's two main objections to Hegelianism and its identification of reality with thought or knowledge, viz., that "life is more than thought, if we mean by thought what other people mean," and that "thought does not in itself supply an intelligible unity". Mr. Rogers admits that up to a certain point Mr. Bradley's criticism is conclusive, but holds that in the conception which he would substitute for Hegel's he loses "the whole gain which Hegel has been the means of winning for philosophy". And what Mr. Rogers understands Mr. Bradley to mean is that there is a reality, and that this reality shows itself in our experience—in feeling, sensation, perception; that the "ultimate subject of the judgment comes into our experience only under the form of feeling

extended by ideal relations"; and that as relations are "only *ideal* and we have no way of telling how they are reconciled with the real in the ultimate synthesis which we never reach, our last word must be that the Absolute is, not only in detail, but in every sense, unknowable". In the April issue we refer specially to Mr. Bradley's discussion of "The Definition of Will," the review of recent work on the philosophy of Leibnitz by B. Russell, and the able paper by B. Bosanquet on "Hedonism among Idealists".

In the *Methodist Review* for January-February Dr. W. S. Edwards writes effectively on "The Argument from Experience," and Dr. G. H. Trevor on "The Primitive Religion of Mankind". There is also a good paper by Dr. R. J. Cooke on "The Baptismal Formula of the Apostolic Age," giving some cogent reasons for believing in the use of the Trinitarian formula in the Apostolic Church and for the acceptance of Matthew xviii. 19 as it stands.

The *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* appears now as *The Princeton Theological Review*. Editorial communications are now to be addressed to Professor De Witt, for whom we wish large success in his work. Professor Warfield, to whom the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* owed so much, is among the editors of the new issue, and contributes one of the most important articles in the first number—a comprehensive survey and searching criticism of "Modern Theories of the Atonement". The magazine makes a good beginning in this form, and we desire the best for it. The opening paper is one of much interest by Dr. Meade C. Williams on "Edward Irving". Professor Orr criticises Professor Swing's *Theology of Albrecht Ritschl*. Dr. Samuel T. Lowrie writes on 2 Cor. v. 1-5, taking the words "the earthly house of the tent" to refer not to "the *body*, but to the present earthly place of privilege where Paul and his fellow-ministers felt God shining in their hearts for illumination of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ, and received the ministry of that same". The April number contains a large number of careful and instructive reviews of books, and some articles which will deservedly attract attention. Among these we may refer to

one by Professor G. Vos on "The Alleged Legalism in Paul's Doctrine of Justification," an interesting sketch of "St. Bernard," by Dr. D. S. Schaff, and a very good statement of "The Practical Importance of Apologetics," by Professor W. Brenton Green.

In the *Journal of Theological Studies* for January the first place is given to a paper by the Rev. Dr. R. C. Moberly, entitled "A Religious View of Human Personality," in which the attempt is made to show how "the reality of individuality distinct and inherent" on the one hand, and dependence on God on the other, cannot "constitute any real or final antithesis"; but that in the problem of our selfhood these two extremes, the idea of conscious separateness and that of "fundamental union with God," have to be brought into harmony. Mr. C. H. W. Johns contributes a suggestive paper on "The Code of Hammurabi" as fresh material for comparison with the Mosaic Code. Mr. J. C. Lambert replies to Mr. Box's article on "The Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist". The theory that the real antecedent of the Eucharist was the weekly Kiddûsh is pronounced inadequate because it means that the evidence of the synoptists must be set aside as worthless along with all the facts which bear that the Last Supper of Jesus was of a paschal character. Under the title of "A Partition Theory of St. John's Gospel," Dr. Walter Lock criticises Wendt's view of the Fourth Gospel, and expresses the opinion that "scholars will tend more and more to feel the extraordinary unity of the gospel to whatever author and to whatever century they may assign it". There are also other important papers and notes on a variety of subjects in this excellent number. The April number opens with an important paper by Professor Swete on "Penitential Discipline in the First Three Centuries"—full of information. The Rev. K. Lake contributes a good sketch of the story of "The Greek Monasteries in the Levant". In the notes and studies there are also some good things, e.g., Mr. Turner's third note on "The History of Latin MSS."

The second number of the *Hibbert Journal* is quite equal in interest to the first. Sir Oliver Lodge contributes a second

paper on "The Reconciliation between Science and Faith," and expresses himself in more definite terms than in his former article. He shows how it is only at first sight that the law of evolution seems to carry with it the banishment of teleology and the ideas of guidance and purpose in the system of things. He offers some good remarks on the anthropomorphic conceptions of God, on the possibility that prayer may be an instrument which can control or influence higher agencies, and other matters at issue, and concludes that the "region of religion and the region of a complete science are one". Professor Jones writes ably on the kindred subject of "Reflective Thought and Religion," and Dr. John Watson gives an appreciation of "James Martineau". Principal Drummond continues his study of "The Righteousness of God in St. Paul's Theology," criticising the views of Pfleiderer and Holsten in particular. His own idea is that the phrase denotes "an attribute of God, but only in the old realistic sense". But how, then, to put but one out of many questions which at once suggest themselves, could Paul say that we are "*made* the righteousness of God"?—*made* an *attribute* of God! The exegesis on which this conclusion is based is not less peculiar than the conclusion itself. Professor Lewis Campbell has a very readable article on "Aspects of the Moral Ideal, Old and New," and Professor W. B. Smith, of Tulane University, writes a crude, fantastic paper, quite unworthy of a place in a journal like this, controverting the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Romans. The closing article, on "Jewish Scholarship and Christian Silence," by Mr. G. C. Montefiore, deserves more attention. It is an indictment of Christian scholarship for its neglect of Jewish scholarship and its misunderstanding of Jewish doctrine. The indictment is vastly overdone. Christian scholars have not been in the habit either in the days of the great Hebraists of old or now of neglecting the Jewish writings. But in reality that is not the proper point of the article. It is a defence of Rabbinism and an exaltation of the Rabbinical Law almost to the rank of grace, and the question at issue in point of fact is this—Which of two views

of Rabbinism and the Law is to be accepted—that which is given in the learned and exhaustive works of the great scholars of old, or that which is given by Messrs. Montefiore and Abrahams? And the answer is that, until a much better case is made out by the latter, few will be prepared to throw aside the former with the vast body of evidence which supports it. In the April number Professor Schmiedel discusses Professor W. B. Smith's paper on Romans. Dr. Josiah Oldfield writes on "The Failure of Christian Missions in India," misapprehending the case in its larger and more practical aspects, but calling attention to some things which require consideration. There are papers well worth reading by G. L. Dickinson on "Optimism and Immortality" (holding the postulates of optimism to be directly opposed to the accepted modes of Christian thought as well as to current scientific preconceptions), Professor Pringle-Pattison on "Martineau's Philosophy" (a searching discussion), and Professor Rhys Davids on "Buddhism as a Living Force".

In the April number of the *International Journal of Ethics* there is a brief article by Professor Royce of Harvard on the question "What should be the Attitude of Teachers of Philosophy towards Religion?" The philosopher, he thinks, should devote himself to his own business, and, while cultivating an attitude at once frank and conciliatory to religious problems, had better "avoid all connexion with any sect or form of the visible Church". There is a good paper by G. L. Roberts of Boston, Mass., on "The Domain of Utilitarian Ethics," and Mr. G. E. Moore criticises Mr. McTaggart's ethics. There is a paper also by the Rev. G. Tyrrell on "Christianity and the Natural Virtues," in which an analysis is given of the seven elements into which "Christian Ethics has resolved its ideal of Character".

The March-April number of the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* contains, along with other good articles, a study of the "Sermon on the Mount" by Alfred Loisy, and a paper by C. Callewaert on "Hadrian's Rescript to Minucius Fundanus".

In the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, vi., 1, we notice a

new study of the "Narrative of the Flood," by Ernst Böklen; in the *Teologisk Tidsskrift*, iv., 2, a discussion of the question of "Christ's Divine Sonship," by Arboe Ramussen; in the *Revue de Théologie et des Questions religieuses*, 1903, 2, an article by M. Bruston on "The Abolition of the Mosaic Law by the Cross of Jesus Christ".

We have also received the following:—

A new edition of Professor William James's *Human Immortality*,¹ a small but weighty and suggestive discussion of two supposed objections to the belief in man's immortal life, viz., that drawn from the "absolute dependence of our spiritual life, as we know it here, on the brain," and that taken from "the incredible and intolerable number of beings which, with our modern imagination, we must believe to be immortal, if immortality be true"; *Selected Poems of George Meredith*,² a small volume that will be welcome to many readers, tasteful in form, and giving a choice collection which has had the advantage of the author's own supervision; *Lectures on Preaching*,³ by the Right Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D., a notable course of lectures in which one of the greatest preachers of our time embodied his best ideas on the subject of the preacher, the sermon, the congregation, and the ministry for our age—a book which will hold for long a foremost place among treatises on the subject; *The Influence of Jesus*,⁴ by the Right Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D., a republication of the Bohlen Lectures of 1876, in which the same gifted and lamented writer discoursed with characteristic insight and in telling language on what Jesus had been, and is destined in larger measure to be, in relation to the moral, social, emotional and intellectual life of man; *De la Sincérité dans l'enseignement de l'histoire sainte de l'Ancien Testament*,⁵ a very

¹ Fifth Edition. Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1903. Pp. 126. Price 2s. 6d.

² Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1903. Pp. 203. Price 3s. 6d. net.

³ London: Macmillan & Co., 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 281. Price 6s.

⁴ London: Macmillan & Co., 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 274. Price 6s.

⁵ Paris: Fischbacher, 1903. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 68.

readable and carefully constructed statement by Pastor X. Koenig; the first and second parts of Professor Morris Jastrow's *Die Religion Babylonien und Assyrien*,¹ a German translation of the important English work published in 1898, in which the latter is thoroughly revised and brought up to date so as to put the reader in possession of the most recent results of inquiry and the newest aspects of the great questions connected with the ancient Babylono-Assyrian beliefs; *Five of the Latest Utterances of Frederick Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury*,² sensible, but by no means very remarkable observations on Education, Temperance, Foreign Missions, etc.; a second edition of Professor A. Seth Pringle-Pattison's *Man's Place in the Cosmos, and other Essays*,³ a book of recognised merit, characterised by just and careful thinking, clear and cogent statement, and keen, penetrating criticism (of which the paper on "Mr. Balfour and his Critics" is a good example)—substantially a reprint of the former edition, but with the addition of two more recent papers; *Life Everlasting*,⁴ by John Fiske, an address given at the request of Harvard University in connexion with the Ingersoll Lectureship, in which among other things the author deals with the view that consciousness is a product of molecular motion, maintains that it is rather a "kind of existence which within our experience accompanies a certain phase of molecular motion," and points out how entirely changed the case becomes then, how the argument that consciousness must cease when motion ceases falls to the ground, and how the possibility or the probability of the continuance of the one without the other becomes a subject for further inquiry; *The Master and His Methods*,⁵ a fresh and interesting exposition of certain matters bearing on our Lord's teaching—its environment, its stages,

¹ Giessen: Ricker, 1903. Large 8vo, pp. 80, and pp. 81-144. Price 1s. 6d. each.

² London: Macmillan & Co., 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 58. Price 1s. net.

³ Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 319. Price 6s. net.

⁴ London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. 87. Price 3s. 6d.

⁵ London: Hodder & Stoughton. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 138. Price 1s. net.

what it meant for the classes and for individuals, etc., by Mr. Griffith-Jones, the author of *The Ascent through Christ; The Way, the Truth, the Life*,¹ by A. G. Girdlestone, M.A., Vicar of All Saints, Clapham Park—composed with the practical purpose of providing a more thorough instruction for Bible and Confirmation Classes than is given in the Church Catechism; *Jeremiah the Prophet*,² an interesting and scholarly study of the prophet and his times by the Rev. Dr. John Robson, author of *Hinduism and its Relation to Christianity*, written in lucid and attractive style, and admirably suited for use in Bible Classes; *A Primer on Teaching*,³ by Professor John Adams of the University of London, intended in the first instance for the help and guidance of those engaged in Sunday School work, full of wise advice, pithy observations and sparkling illustrations, and dealing in instructive fashion both with principles and with methods; a second edition of Dr. Alfred Jeremias's *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern*,⁴ enlarged and revised—an interesting publication; *Die Gesetze Hammurabis, Königs von Babylon um 2250 v. Chr.*,⁵ a German translation, with numerous helpful notes, by Dr. Otto Winckler, of the famous law-book recently brought to light, making the fourth part of the fourth year's issue of the valuable series known as *Der alte Orient*; *Das Johannes-Evangelium nach der Paraphrase des Nonnus Panopolitanus*,⁶ by Dr. R. Jenssen, a careful edition of the interesting paraphrase of John's Gospel, attributed by Eudocia to a certain Nonnus whom it is not quite easy to identify, furnished with ample critical notes, and attempting a reconstruction of the ancient Gospel text which the paraphrast followed and which seems to have been in affinity with that represented by CL, the Memphitic Version, Chrysostom,

¹ London: Elliot Stock.

² Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. Pp. 114. Price 6d.

³ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. Pp. 129. Price 6d. net.

⁴ Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 8vo, pp. 43. Price 9d.

⁵ Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. 8vo, pp. 42. Price 60pf.

⁶ Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. iv. + 80. Price 2s. 6d. net.

etc.; a lecture, containing much in small compass, by Professor Alfred Bertholet, on ancient ideas of the Fields of the Blessed—*Die Gefilde der Seligen*; ¹ *Das Buch Jeremia*, ² a German translation of Jeremiah's prophecies by Professor Bernhard Duhm, with an interesting introduction, giving in vivid outline the historical situation and the course of Jeremiah's life—a valuable addition to our literature on the prophet and his mission—and embodying the results of much of Professor Duhm's best work; *A Christian Apologetic*, ³ by Wilford L. Robbins, D.D., Dean of the Cathedral of All Saints, Albany, U.S.A., a contribution to the *Handbooks for the Clergy* series, dealing in a clear and popular style with the moral ideal as seen in Christ, His divine claims, His resurrection, the trustworthiness of the records, etc., drawing out the main lines of argument in a forcible and useful way, without anything very original or remarkable indeed, but in a form that should be useful to those specially in view; *Dokumente zum Ablassstreit von 1517*, ⁴ by Dr. W. Köhler of the University of Giessen, an important and carefully edited collection of papers contributing to the better understanding of the Reformation struggle in Germany, beginning with a document of Archbishop Pontius of Arles, belonging perhaps to the early part of the eleventh century, and ending with the pronouncement of Pope Leo X. in 1518; *Les Règles et le Gouvernement de l'Ordo de Poenitentia au XIII^e Siècle*, ⁵ the first part covering the period 1212-1234, an exhaustive investigation by Professor Mandonnet of Fribourg of the history of the Brothers of Penitence, the administration of their order in the thirteenth century, the series of rules, the dates of these, the document of Capistran recently discovered

¹ Tübingen u. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1903. 8vo, pp. 33. Price 1s. net.

² Tübingen u. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxiv. + 153. Price 2s. net.

³ London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 193. Price 2s. 6d. net.

⁴ Tübingen u. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 160. Price 3s.

⁵ Paris: Fischbacher, 1902. 8vo, pp. 107. Price 5s.

by M. Sabatier, and all available sources of information being diligently used ; *Contrast*,¹ by Edwin A. Abbott, an examination of certain passages in the evangelical narratives with the view of exhibiting the essential difference between the kind of composition we have in the Fourth Gospel and that which we have in Second Peter, and of showing how the former may be taken as substantially true and even of greater value in some points than the earlier synoptic narratives, though not written by John the Apostle, while the latter is a forgery in the proper sense of the term—a line of reasoning which will be better understood when the larger work now promised under the title of *From Letter to Spirit* is published ; *Concerning them which are Asleep*,² by John Furneaux, a devout study, the main object of which, however, is to establish the theory of the unconsciousness of the departed during the period between their death and their resurrection, with which view the term *sleep* as applied to the dead is interpreted as denoting complete oblivion, and the Old Testament idea of Hades is quite misunderstood ; *Ausgewählte Predigten: Origenes Homilie x. über den Propheten Jeremias*, edited by Dr. Erich Klostermann, *Apocrypha: Reste des Petrus Evangeliums, der Petrus-Apocalypse und des Kerygma Petri*, edited by the same, and *Die drei ältesten Martyrologien*, edited by Hans Lietzmann—three parts of what should be a very useful series of small publications suitable for class work now being issued under the title of *Kleine Texte für Theologische Vorlesungen und Uebungen* ;³ *Le manuscrit Hébreu, No. 1388, de la Bibliothèque Nationale (une Haggada Pascale) et l'iconographie Juive au temps de la Renaissance*,⁴ an admirable print and description of a manuscript which is regarded as one of the happiest of the recent acqui-

¹ London: Adam and Charles Black, 1903. Pp. xxxi. + 41. Price 1s. 6d. net.

² Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1903. Pp. 71.

³ Herausgegeben von Hans Lietzmann. Bonn: Marcus u. Weber, 1903. Pp. 15. Price M.o.30. Pp. 16. Price M.o.30. Pp. 16. Price M.o.40.

⁴ Paris: Imprimerie Nationale ; Librairie Klincksieck, 1903. 4to, pp. 25. Price Fr.1.50.

tions made by the National Library, for which Hebrew students will be grateful to M. Moïse Schwab, the scholarly editor; *A Concise Bible Dictionary based on The Cambridge Companion to the Bible*,¹ a marvel of cheapness, putting the results of the best scholarship of the day within the reach of the humblest; *The Seven Signs*,² by A. Allen Brockington, M.A., popular studies of the Miracles in the Fourth Gospel, the main features of which are an examination of what John means by a "sign," and a comparison of the Seven Miracles of the Gospel with the Seven Choric Songs of the Apocalypse; *Hymns and Psalms*,³ by Horace Smith, a collection of ten hymns for the Christian Seasons, gracefully expressed and pure in tone, followed by renderings of seven Psalms pleasing in form, but lacking the strength of the Scotch version; *A Key to the Hebrew Psalter*,⁴ by the Rev. George Augustus Alcock, containing both a Lexicon and a Concordance, giving the chief inflections and roots, and including an Anglo-Hebrew vocabulary, all very carefully done and calculated to make the way easier for the student of Hebrew; *A Hundred Years' Work for the Children*,⁵ by William H. Groser, B.Sc., an excellent sketch of the history of the Sabbath School Union from its formation in 1803, giving an interesting and impressive account of the progress of the work from the days of small things to the immense, world-embracing enterprise of the present day; *Bible Geography for Schools*,⁶ by Theodore E. Schmauk, a handsome volume, liberally furnished with telling pictorial illustrations, taking the reader in a series of fifty-two descriptive studies over the main points of the history, geography, customs, etc., covered by the Bible narrative—prepared as the Third Grade Text-book on the Lutheran graded system

¹ Cambridge: University Press. Pp. vi. + 166. Price 1s. net.

² London: Elliot Stock, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 84.

³ London: Macmillan & Co., 1903. 8vo, pp. 43. Price 2s. 6d.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 367. Price 7s. 6d. net.

⁵ London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 196. Price 2s. 6d.

⁶ Philadelphia: General Council Publication House, 1902. 4to, pp. 208. Price \$1.25.

for Intermediate Sunday Schools and admirably suited for the work of Sabbath School instruction generally; *Pascal and the Work of the Port Royalists*,¹ by William Clark, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.C., one of the most interesting volumes in the "World's Epoch-makers" series, giving a vivid account of Pascal's career, an acute analysis of his writings, and a careful appreciation of his character and his work, which entitle it to an honourable place among the many books devoted to the great Apologist and the memorable spiritual movement connected with Port Royal; *Traditional Aspects of Hell*,² by James Mew, a book which aims at presenting an evolutionary study, a comparative eschatology, a primer of the leading ideas of the place of future retribution as found in Egyptian, Assyrian, Indian, Persian, Græco-Roman, Scandinavian, Hebrew, Christian, Moslem and barbarian beliefs and practices—a book, therefore, of vast scope, embodying much curious and awesome matter, illustrated by seventy-nine drawings taken from original sources, but lacking the historical sense which discerns in the utmost vagaries of the human mind and the wildest extravagances of human fancy the effort of the essential and eternal laws of life to express themselves; *The Chief Truths of the Christian Faith*,³ by J. Stephenson, M.A., Vicar of Forton, Gosport, a volume which has grown out of a series of addresses to Church workers, and is well suited for the purposes of popular instruction in the great verities of the Christian faith, the cardinal doctrines of the Church Catholic being expounded clearly and convincingly in relation to modern science, philosophy and criticism, and without having recourse to the technical terms of theology; *The Noble Eightfold Path*,⁴ the James Long Lectures on Buddhism for A.D. 1900-02, by the Rev. W. St. Clair-Tisdall, M.A., C.M.S., a very fair exposition of the doctrines of Buddhism as taught

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 235.

² London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 448. Price 6s.

³ London: Methuen & Co., 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. + 201. Price 3s. 6d.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvii. + 215. Price 6s.

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¹ London: Adam and Charles Black, 1903. 8vo. Part 1: Isaiah and Jeremiah, pp. 85. Price 2s. 6d. net. Part 2: Ezekiel and Minor Prophets, pp. 87-198. Price 3s. net.

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The Title "Catholic" and the Roman Church : Recent Literature.¹

It is freely admitted that there are two distinct parties in the English communion. Recent Anglican literature is divided between eirenicons having Rome, and eirenicons having "home reunion," as their object. Mr. Spencer Jones' book is of the former type, Canon Hensley Henson's of the latter ; and they are excellent examples of the opposing tendencies within the Church of England. If we take the abstract notion "Catholicity" as the centre, the one is a centripetal, the other a centrifugal force ; and it is this abstract notion, this ideal point—real but elusive—which is involved directly or indirectly in all the literature of the subject. When the complete order of the coronation service of Edward VII. was published, one of the conflicting parties lifted up its voice against the omission of the description "Catholic Faith" for the religion which the king swears to maintain. The actual words had been unfamiliar to the generations of Englishmen who have grown up since the Tractarian movement : if they had forgotten "what manner of men they were," their memories had not been so short as St. James's "hearer of the word," for neither the royal oath nor the "crisis in the Church" had recently held up a glass to them. Last spring the Protestant bishops of Ireland at their synod claimed the title "Catholic" for the Anglican Church ; while on the other hand Cardinal Vaughan had discussed the question whether

¹ *England and the Holy See : an Essay towards Reunion.* By Spencer Jones. London : Longmans, 1902.

Godly Union and Concord. By Canon H. Hensley Henson. London : Murray, 1902.

The Coronation Service of Edward VII., 1902.

Recent review and newspaper correspondence (*Church Times*, *Spectator*, *Nineteenth Century and After*, and the daily press) on the use of the term "Catholic," and on the "Crisis in the Church".

Catholics could properly be styled "Roman Catholics". The question raised in these three cases is one which enjoys a perennial popular interest without being at the same time hackneyed. It is not hackneyed because it has never yet been disentangled from the nicknaming which presided at its birth, which has done much to save it from being approached in any but a superficial manner. I propose not to enter on controversial or theological ground—the inquiry as to which Church is most primitive, most "Catholic," how much added definitions in the Roman Church have altered its character—but to extricate the inquiry, if possible, from the vexatious questions of "continuity" and the nature of the doctrines which constitute, limit or determine "Catholicity"; directing attention to one point only, the evolution in history of the term "Catholic" as applied to the Christian Church. Professor Harnack has a pregnant sentence which cannot be overlooked in any future discussions: "Historically the Church of the [Petrine] Chair was the root and mother of the *one Catholic Church*," and, being only a Lutheran, he would be willing to accept the consequences freely both for Germany and England.

The earliest appellation of the Faith was "the Christian". Rome, perhaps, first drew official attention to the inalienable congregational character of its followers when the Roman Christians chose to be known to official Rome as "The Church of the Brethren"—*ecclesia fratrum*. The earliest disciples spoke of the "Holy Church"—a body in part composed of the disciples themselves, but also partly mystical, as the "Bride," the "New Jerusalem," whose counterpart was in heaven. The Gospel of "the Kingdom of God" found an echo in this insistence on the idea of the *ecclesia*, the society with the leaven in its midst. But as against the pagan world around them, whether in the Antioch of Chrysostom or the England of Hengist, they were simply the "Christian Church". Any further appellations for the Holy Church were beaten out by the exigencies of controversy; they owed their existence to the heresies which sprang up and which nearly succeeded in suffocating the new religion.

Such in especial is the origin of the two historical appellations for the Church which have superseded every other at the present day—"Catholic" and "Orthodox". From the combat with heresy in the East issued the Orthodox Church; from the same combat in the West emerged the Church Catholic. What, if any, was the difference between these two titles, or the lines of thought described and connoted by them? Just the difference which inheres in the words themselves. In the one case, importance placed on the thought, and the bond and means of unity depending on the intellectual adhesion of the individual; in the other, importance placed primarily in the notion of a universal society, and the bond and means of unity residing in the society itself. Attention called to right belief for the one, attention called to right discipline for the other. The Roman scheme of Church membership—where the elements of unity were *congregational* elements, to be seized and to operate externally—involved a conception of Church legislation akin to that put forth by the Church at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 28, 29), a mixture, that is, of essential and non-essential. One cannot imagine the historical Eastern Church at any time putting forth a decree in which theological precision and the metaphysical temper were so lacking as here. But when Augustin insisted that the Christian Pasch should be kept on the same day by the Britons and the new Anglo-Saxon converts, and that the British priests should wear the Roman tonsure, he was not cavilling, he was faithfully representing the genius of the country whose emissary he was.

The genesis of the term and the notion *Catholic* can therefore be easily traced. As signifying the Christian Church *everywhere*—"catholic" in its simple adjectival sense of universal—the term had indeed been early used as a common rule of faith, and the notion of the Christian Church as a world-wide united body became focussed or imaginable.¹ A universal rule of interpretation, a faith believed universally, was denoted by it. But when the members of the Holy Church are first solemnly called "Catholic Christians" by Theodosius

¹ See footnote page 297.

in 380, the word is pronounced with the Roman hall-mark and its historical significance is already attached to it. The religion "which Peter taught to the Romans" is to be the common form of Christianity, it is professed by Damasus as representing Rome, and by Peter Bishop of Alexandria, not as Bishop of that See but as "a man of apostolic holiness". The See of Peter guarantees the authenticity of the doctrine; Peter of Alexandria's holy life is a pledge of its Christian character. And what is this Catholic doctrine? A simple statement of the dogmas concerning the Trinity which is shared nowadays by our Nonconformists and by the non-episcopal Presbyterian Church. But the historical implication of Catholicity knew no such limit; historically, then and since, *Catholic* implied a well-marked divine society in communion with the Patriarchate of the West. Its significance did not lie in a mere denial of Arianism, nor even in the notion of a "Church everywhere"; it meant something wider than the one, narrower than the other—the union of the Churches, the consolidation of the Churches, through the See of Rome, added to the Roman conception of the *ecclesia*. It was not some subtle emanation of true Christianity; it was adopted as the name for that Christendom which emerged from the sects as the work of the Roman Church. Antecedently to that "broadening of the Churches into Catholicity," which was accomplished by the See of Peter, the Catholic character did not exist. I do not propose to discuss whether the character thus imposed on Christendom was a fine or desirable one—whether separate local Churches without the idea of the Catholic Church would have brought Christianity to the pass which J. R. Green (no pleader for Rome) declares would have resulted had Columba been preferred before Peter in the famous dispute at York. The one point to which I seek to call attention is that Catholicity does not inhere in the conception of the Christian *ecclesia*—is no *proprium* of the Christian Church—but inheres in Rome's conception of that Church, and is an acquired attribute which we owe to Rome. *Catholic* in the West and *Orthodox* in the East are historical, not inherent titles.

Let us now look at the Eastern Church. Constantinople was "New Rome," and on this ground aggregated to herself some of the privileges of the Petrine See. I think this is a truth often neglected. Constantinople, the See next in importance and honour to Rome, the mother and root of the Orthodox Church and liturgy and discipline, was not all this *quâ* pre-existing Church of the East, but *quâ* an Eastern substitute for Western Rome. Her style, her title of prerogative is not: See of Constantinople, the ancient Eastern Church, but: See of Constantinople, *The New Rome*, and so her bishops signed the Councils of the universal Church. It is Constantinople, not Jerusalem, or Antioch, or Alexandria, which is placed by the Œcumenical Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381) next in honour to Rome. Constantinople, "the new Rome". But Constantinople and its subsidiary Sees underwent the influence of Eastern Christianity; Orthodoxy was of more importance to the metaphysical oriental than organisation; metaphysical subtleties than an ordered society. The idea of its Catholicity, the Roman quota, the character *Rome* had impressed on the Holy Church, was tacitly allowed to fall away, to be supplanted by the conception of Orthodoxy. The Eastern liturgies indeed call the Church "Catholic" in the creed, and the word occurs twice in the liturgy of Chrysostom; but the real spontaneous description—in the liturgy and out of it—of the Holy Eastern Church, of its bishops and members, is "Orthodox," and Holy Orthodox Church is its official title both among the Greeks and Russians. When the schism of the West was accomplished, the Eastern Church for all practical purposes dropped the other title, and no longer spoke of herself or required her sons to speak of her as the Catholic, or the Greek Catholic Church. The word "Catholic," as employed to-day in the Eastern liturgy, is as much an antiquarian reminiscence as the word "Orthodox" in our prayer "for all Orthodox and Catholic believers" in the Roman liturgy. Moreover, all that the Eastern Church assimilated or valued in the notion of *Catholicity* was exhausted for her in the word *Orthodox*. So that when William Palmer went to Russia in the forties, fresh from the Tractarian

movement and the insistence on the idea of the Catholicity of the Church of England, to induce the Russian priesthood to give him—an Anglican in deacon's orders—Communion, he could not find any one, hierarch or other, to set any store by the name or the idea. They were not Catholic, they were Orthodox, and if Anglicans wished to communicate with the Orthodox Church they must make overtures through their Patriarch the Bishop of Rome.

Sixty years ago the title "Catholic" in the English Church was in much the same position as it has been in the Eastern Church since the schism with Rome. If it had not been for the use of the vernacular in Anglican formularies, and the lack of a term to denote their Church tantamount historically to the Greek "Orthodox," the style "Catholic" would have ceased to be regarded as any part of its practical or working description. But a word did exist which denoted the English religion, and this word was "Protestant": chosen by the Reformers, adopted, officially and popularly, by the English Church, this style has nothing in common with such terms as "Romanist," "Papist" and "Papisher," intended to designate Catholics. These latter were adopted as nicknames by our countrymen, they were not, they could not, pretend to be historical appellations; nor were they descriptions which the great Church indicated thereby put forth regarding herself. The use they served must have been that of suggesting to the populace that the Church from which England had separated was *not* the venerable and historic Catholic Church.

Why, one may ask, should the Church of England desire a name which the Church of the East does not claim, which sleeps at the back of its consciousness as an historical memory? The English Articles of Religion declare that all the Eastern Churches fell into error; but it is the fashion for the English Church to turn with respectful sympathy nowadays to the Greek Church. The assumption (so satisfactory to the Reformers) that every Church in Christendom had fallen into error, that the Reformed Church alone could claim to be pure, does not suit men who are looking round about them for Catholic kinsfolk. Therefore no High Churchman now sug-

gests that the Eastern Church needs reforming, and no word is raised even against that practical neglect and depreciation of the title "Catholic," which in his eyes is anathema in England.

Let it not be thought that there was an original and primitive meaning of the word and the thing "Catholic" which applies to a Christian Church like the Church of England, and that the historical meaning is a later description.¹ Catholicity is no nebulous entity, but a very precise and concrete historical fact; and it would be difficult to state any set of doctrines on which it depends. A Church is not entitled to a name because it broke off from a Church which possessed it, and I do not suppose that Anglicans cling to it because the Emperor Theodosius gave the Christians of his time permission to use it. For the English Church to insist on its Catholicity is for it to insist on its Romanism. "Catholic" has always been as much the badge of a great party in the West as "Orthodox" in the East, and as applied to the English Church it means that this Church is part and parcel of the Western Patriarchate. Whether Colet would have reformed the Church, or Pole would have recognised the English Church, is of no consequence to the issue: the subsequent history of the Church in England would in either case have been entirely different to what it has been.

As we all know, among a certain party in England no one can belong simply to the English Church; he must belong to the Catholic Church, and he is, as those who study Anglican literature discover, a Catholic *tout simplement*. But a member of the Unreformed Church of history, whether in or out of England, is not a Catholic *tout simplement*. He is a *Roman Catholic*. So in Spain a man is not a Spanish Catholic, he is a Spanish Roman Catholic. In England only is he fortunate enough to be an English Catholic, *i.e.*, an unqualified Catholic. Now, must there not be here some jugglery with words and things? The fiction at work is

¹ The rise (half conscious) of a bolder meaning for Catholicity is referred to in my *Liturgy in Rome*, Part II. of the *Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome*, pp. 317, 318, but the position of the English Church is in no way affected thereby.

that the "Catholic Church" is in possession in England, and any other Church which seeks to gain converts "sets up altar against altar". The Catholic Church does so, and is dubbed "The Italian Mission"; the Greek Church does so, but no reference is made to the fact. On the other hand, some Umbrian schismatics are included in the diocese of Salisbury, and it would be admitted that no more flagrant instance of setting up "altar against altar" exists than the establishment of the Church of England in Ireland. This fiction, moreover, does not explain why it is that apparently the "Roman" Catholic Church functions in Austria, Spain, Italy, Belgium and France, while "the Catholic Church" functions in England. The fact is that by adding a mark of cadency to the historical Catholic Church of the West, the Church of England has confused the issues. She leaves it to be believed that there is a vague entity, "the Catholic Church," without habitat in time or place, of which both "Rome and England" are cadets. The "Branch" theory—that the English Church is a branch of the Catholic Church—sounds very business-like. But there has never been anywhere a branch of the Catholic Church which was not also Roman; and, above all, a branch implies organic union with the parent stem. The Russian Church is a true daughter of the Holy Orthodox Church, from which it was founded and missionised, for "how shall they preach unless they are sent"? Is the Anglican Church a daughter of the Catholic Church in communion with Rome? If not, from what Catholicity does it claim? Do the Umbrians in the Bishop of Salisbury's diocese become "Italian Catholics" or "English Catholics"? and do they thus drop all qualification because they have broken away from Rome, while the historical Church next door (say in Lombardy or Venice) is *Roman* Catholic? For be it observed that the "Roman" is here used not in the sense in which we rightly say "Greek Orthodox," "Russian Orthodox," "French Catholic," "American Catholic," but as qualifying its Catholicity. The confusion is encouraged by the gratuitous assumption that "Roman," "Greek" and "Anglican" are obvious designa-

tions of three divisions of "the Catholic Church"; although "Roman Catholic" was not the title of the Unreformed Church of the West subject to the Western Patriarchate before the Reformation, and "Greek Catholic" does not signify the Holy Orthodox Church even in English Church newspapers. The "Branch" theory will not serve as a note of Catholicity, because the only and sole meaning of "branch" in these cases is a Church which is not in communion with either of the others.

When the Döllingerites separated they assumed the name of Old Catholics; New Catholics has not yet been appropriated, nor is Reformed Catholic or Branch Catholic. Or is it judged more seemly that the Catholic Church should take on a qualifying adjective every time that a "branch" determines to break off from her? Will "Protestant Catholic" be adopted? For the title "English Catholic" is misleading on the continent, and is indeed not infrequently used to mislead, as when members of the English Church snatch an absolution at St. Peter's in Rome by telling the priest they are "English Catholics". I know of a clergyman who induced the persons temporarily in his employ in an Italian country place to attend the "Mass" he celebrated in his house. Had he explained to them that, however erroneously, this Mass *all'inglese* was reputed heretical by their own lawful pastors they would certainly not have gone. I trust the "Italian Mission" in England is not capable, with all its proselytising faults, of so swelling a congregation, though it has never subscribed to the "altar against altar" theory. I myself had an experience more curious than edifying some years ago when I was spending the summer in Italy. In a small country town I met an English canon and his wife, and we had some very pleasant conversations at the *tables d'hôte*, where we were the only English people. One evening I pronounced the word "Protestant"—I remember I was quoting Mr. Wilfrid Ward. My English canon's opportunity had come—thrusting his chair away from the table he declared he would not sit there to be called a Protestant. He and his wife thereupon left the table, and neither this grey-haired old

clergyman nor his grey-haired wife—hailing from a diocese associated with “High Church” causes—could find it in their hearts even to salute me when we met at the next meal.

Now, when did the English Church officially notify the rest of Christendom that she had repudiated the term Protestant and blotted the word out from her formularies? (In which, be it remembered, she has never ventured to describe herself as the Anglican Catholic Church.) Until this is done, what bishop or clergyman has a right to resent an appellation which is that used by the ecclesiastical head of the English Church when he administers to his sovereign the oath “to maintain the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law,” and which the late Archbishop of Canterbury (Benson) said formed part of the proper description of his Church? Is it not reasonable that there should be some distinction between the Catholic Church of history (which had a local existence and authority and voice through the centuries) and that Reformed Church, which its late head declared was “both Catholic and Protestant”? Let us suppose that in France there were to be not only Calvinists and Catholics but a “branch” off from the Catholic Church, which either refused or was refused communion with Rome. This would not be the French Catholic Church. It might conceivably be of sufficient importance, sufficiently historical, sufficiently bound up with the laws and affections of the land to be known as the *Gallican* Church. But let us suppose that in every country “branches” broke off from communion with Rome—in such an event there might cease to be a Catholic Church at all. There might still be, let us say, a “Holy Church” (as our Apostles’ creed originally ran), but there would no longer be a Catholic Church—for Catholic is a word denoting the Roman orthodoxy of Christians outside the local Roman Church. But the truth is that neither “Catholic” nor “English Catholic” would at any time denote the English Church to a majority of its members, and no body of Christians in existence to-day would concede her the title.

If this is the case with "English Catholic," what can be said for "Roman Catholic"? This can only mean Catholic in communion with Rome, and as such is not an improper, though it is a redundant title. Nevertheless there is no such historical warrant for its use as for that of the title "Protestant". As I understand Cardinal Vaughan, he thinks the description "Roman Catholic" preferable to the equivocal use of "Catholic," and I have no doubt that had "Papist" been adopted as a consequence of the rise of an anti-papal party, say in the third century, to designate Catholics in communion with the Pope, Christians would have been well content with it. But historically "Protestant" has the advantage of "Papist"; it was chosen by the parties so described, and it has not the offensiveness of a nickname given to offend or to imply a character not claimed by the persons so denoted. But why are we to like "Papist" as a fitting description, and you to regard "Protestant" as a malicious nickname?

In claiming that "Catholic" is as much the distinctive, appropriate and historical title of the Unreformed Church of the West, as "Orthodox" is the distinctive, appropriate and historical title of the Unreformed Church of the East—that no other solution is conformable to history or the common usage of language—we are supported not only by Professor Harnack, who has been called the first of living Church historians, but also by the finest of English critics, Matthew Arnold, who, while allowing to the Anglican communion the historic title of "Church of England," deemed the changes fitting in the sixteenth century too far-reaching to warrant its retention of "Catholic".

Enough, I think, has been said to show not only that Catholicism is the characteristic of the Roman Church—its child, its creature, the outcome and expression of its genius—but that the Roman Church and the conception of Catholicity are inseparable. No Church separated from Rome has continued to prize or represent Catholicity, which is still (for better or worse) the strength and marrow of the Churches of the Western Patriarchate. The conception of Orthodoxy—

the imposing of a mental agreement—is in itself a disintegrating, not a binding principle. In any case, it was foreign to the tolerant, social, imperial and non-metaphysical Roman Church, whose quota to Christendom is hence not intensive but extensive. The sanction of Church membership in the West was at no time, as in the East, attachment to an irreformable formula, but, on the contrary, attachment to a divine society. But if the Roman Church has been non-metaphysical, she has shown a faculty for practical psychology unapproached by any other Christian Church. She instinctively understood that unity for the masses is a question of will and affections, not of intellect; that it cannot in the ultimate resort depend on a correct conception of doctrines which have never in fact been realised or comprehended; that the people cannot commit abstract defection (or heresy), it must be concrete defection from the visible society. Rome has never treated the schismatic as standing any nearer the truth than the heretic. She assumes (as imperial Rome assumed) that no man of good will need rend the unity of Christendom. She has had, moreover, the far-seeing courage not to shrink from the logical consequence, namely, that a man may be a heretic in thought yet remain a Catholic in intention, Church membership being based not on the theological knowledge of the flock but on their presence in the fold. The plague of the heretic is not in the mistaken thought, the incorrect concept, but in the use he makes of this to destroy the unity of the divine society.

Such a system may, and undoubtedly does, tend to substitute obedience to authority for the interior and ennobling *argumenta* of faith. But there must always be men to whom the ideas which group round *Catholic* have more power of attraction than those excited by *Orthodox*, and who are grateful to the Roman Church for making that great conception the handmaid of Western Christianity; whereby Christian unity came to signify the embracing of as many minds as possible under a common all-comprehensive formula, which threw the onus of defection on the dissentient member; and whereby it was understood that the universal notion repre-

sented by the *ecclesia* was the Ark of Unity, not the *archivium* of Orthodoxy.

At least this is the only Church system which has effected unity without courting stagnation : and it may safely be said that no body of Christians has ever so valued, so emphasised, so identified itself with this ideal of unity as the body of Christians formed by the Roman Church and the Roman Popes. While Orthodoxy indicated the ground of unity, but was powerless to effect it, the Roman idea was to knit the world of believers in Christ in a visible, tangible society capable of effecting what it signified. Rome rejected the spiritual idea of the "other sheep" who hear Christ's voice and form one intangible flock, preferring to it the conception of the one fold—the *ovile* boldly repeated by her in John x. 16. This is the greatness—it may also be the weakness—of Catholicism ; but this and nothing else is historical Catholicity.

M. A. R. TUKER.

Recent Theological Controversy in the Norwegian Church.¹

Two warriors worthy of each other's steel have fought and have retired to their camps; and he who spoke the word that started the fray has spoken also the last word: *In the Conflict of the Day*.

Bishop Heuch is the champion of Norwegian orthodoxy, a strong upholder of the old Lutheran dogmatic system; and Thv. Klaveness is one of the keenest intellects, the readiest writers, the most popular preachers of the Norwegian Church: indeed, he is the apostle of what Heuch calls "the new preaching". And this is how the strife began.

At a clerical conference at Lund, in Sweden, two years ago, Klaveness delivered a lecture which was afterwards published under the title "Modern Indifferentism and the Church". He propounded the questions—Why do not our men go to church? And what must be done to draw them? To the first question, he replied that modern indifference was mainly due to the present kind of preaching, which he denounced because of its poverty, its proclamation of doctrines unintelligible to the inexperienced, and its clinging to discarded dogmas. To the second question, he replied that a recasting of these doctrines is needed, a simpler setting forth of the Christian religion, a greater effort to look with brotherly affection on men, especially on men with modern minds, emphasising the fatherly love of God, and the offer of a full pardon to every penitent who longs for salvation and peace and seeks to do God's will.

The lecture led to much searching of heart and created a great sensation. Bishop Heuch replied to it in *Mod*

¹ *Svar (Rejoinder)* af Bishop J. C. Heuch, 1903. 3rd ed. Christiania: Aschehoug & Co. *I Dagens Strid (In the Conflict of the Day)* a Thv. Klaveness, 1903. Christiania: Steenske Forlag.

Strømmen (*Against the Stream*), which has passed through six editions within the year, and has evoked support and opposition in almost every dale and hamlet of the land. To the attacks made upon himself and his positions and his treatment of those opposed to him he has replied by publishing *Svar* (*Rejoinder*), which is already in its third edition. It is surely a speaking testimony to the widespread interest in the controversy that so many copies of polemical books have been disposed of in such a thinly peopled land as Norway within so brief a time.

In *Against the Stream* Heuch did not try to answer the two questions propounded by Klaveness; he simply assumed that sinister motives were prompting the "transition theologians" and the "new preachers" to attack orthodox Christianity and gain the Church over to rationalism. He desired to show that those he opposed were not avowed rationalists, but were really rationalists without knowing it and seemed to think that they were serving Christianity by their "new preaching," although they mutually differed as to the points and extent in which they parted from the Gospel. For instance, they emphasised the *genuine humanity of Jesus*, which Heuch terms "covert speech," because of the insinuation that the humanity of Jesus hitherto preached has not been *genuine* and that Christ is only now being set forth as a complete man; and all the time, he declares, they never mention that during His earthly life Jesus was, and knew Himself to be, God. The Bishop therefore tried to open the eyes of the Christian community to the new tendency that was creeping in, converting the living activity of the Church into ordinary philanthropy, often advancing with the fairest words, frequently appearing in most pious garb, a tendency, however, which would inevitably, in his opinion, if not boldly faced, prepare a grave for Christianity.

Unfortunately the Bishop's gift of very vigorous writing is spoiled by his lack of charity, fairness and honesty. For instance, he has perverted quotations, he has misinterpreted views held by those he challenges, he has attributed to some opinions they have never held, he has insinuated motives for

their actions, and he has failed to rectify his statements when the error has been pointed out to him. Indeed one is greatly surprised that Heuch's adversaries have resisted the temptation to turn and rend him.

One very significant contribution to the controversy is a brief declaration signed and published by Professor Brun and Revs. Thv. Klaveness, Chr. Brüun and Jens Gleditsch, refusing to accept the interpretations of their utterances which the Bishop has made the ground of his charges, and designating them as quite false and misleading. In a calm, sagacious tone they try to speak the Bishop to reason, and their declaration shows that they consider he has, all the time, been fighting with a man of straw, set up by himself. It is none of their business to defend the views the Bishop attacks, but they demand that he should forbear attributing the opinions to them.

One would have expected the Bishop to turn his weapons against this document in his *Rejoinder*. But he practically ignores it as well as other demands to withdraw unwarranted charges and unsupported statements; and this lack of courtesy gravely damages his case and alienates our sympathy.

The *Rejoinder* has the same faults and virtues as its precursor, *Against the Stream*; but in each case less pronounced. The unreasonableness of the standpoint is the same; but the details are less outrageous. In the preface Heuch maintains that he has gained his purpose, *viz.*, to open the eyes of thoughtful members of the Church to the insidious danger to be apprehended from rationalism, which, by its silence more than by its denials, is sucking the life out of the Christian faith.

The close connexion of Norwegian theology with the German undoubtedly threatens the Church of Norway with dangers in the direction of rationalism, and there are a few faint indications that one or two of the priests have slight rationalistic tendencies, but there does not seem to be one out-and-out rationalist professor or minister in the country.

Klaveness represents the situation thus: "A Christian tendency familiar with the age and its life is labouring to

replace an old, worn-out, theological system with another which corresponds to the requirements of the age; and this tendency faces another which seems to be running the risk of confounding theology and Christianity, and which convulsively clings to the old system for fear of losing Christianity along with the orthodox formularies". But Heuch holds that "the conflict is between two religions, the old Christianity and a renewed rationalism". Referring to the theory of the Trinity held by Klaveness, Heuch says that if he clearly saw the bearing of his views he would instantly place himself outside of the Christian Church. Klaveness had ventured the opinion that "from the Bible it is impossible to produce proof that 'the Father, Son and Holy Ghost are one God, the same in substance, equal in glory'. The very reverse—the Son says distinctly that the Father is greater than He." Heuch points out that in the same Gospel Christ says: "I and the Father are one," and that if Klaveness is right, then he has not *one* God, but an Over-God and two Under-Gods. He therefore holds that the Christiania cleric has reached the extreme boundary between Christianity and rationalism; and, if he is taken at his word, he has crossed the boundary. "But it is possible to assume that he does not see what his own words mean, does not mean what he says; and *it is therefore possible that he can still share the Christian's faith.*"

In the section "Naturalism—Rationalism—Christianity," Heuch points out that the "new preaching" believes that ordinary religiousness is in many cases a good, indeed a necessary, preparatory school for Christianity, that rationalism is better than naturalism. But even if examples could be produced of people who had been led through rationalism to Christianity, that would prove nothing; the same might be shown of Mormonism. The proper purpose of Christian preaching is to set forth Christ and salvation in Him.

Heuch is as ungracious to theology, the queen of the sciences, in *Svar* as in *Mod Strømmen*. He declares that "no long-deposed Bourbon can have bigger ideas about his right to rule" than theology. The duty of theology is to employ the other sciences on its own material. It is primarily

dependent on philology, for it can only render the Bible according to well-defined philological laws. It is dependent on history, for it can lay no limits on the results established by historical research. Theology should guard against seeking to explain what cannot be explained. When it tries to prove the existence of God, or the Atonement, or the two natures of Christ, it only makes itself ridiculous to thinking men; for these cannot be explained, they must be believed. Salvation is to be reached through convincing the conscience, not the mind, and theology ought to explore the life of the conscience; but it has quite neglected that.

The Bishop attacks Professor Michelet's *Old Sanctuaries in Modern Light*, in which the Old Testament narratives of Jacob, Joseph, Moses and David are compared with the Norwegian folk-tales. Partly because of this, partly because of his rendering and explanation of important parts of the Old Testament, Heuch finds the best proof that the charges he has directed against the "transition theologians" are perfectly warranted.

It is very probable that Heuch would never have acknowledged himself to be quite in agreement with the generation which passed away at his birth; and to every one who sees life and not fatal decadence in the evolution of the Church, it must be evident that there may prevail much difference of opinion between the older and younger generation of to-day, without it being necessary to fear that the generation to which the Bishop belongs will take with it to the grave the only true faith.

Bishop Heuch is jealous for the cause of Christ and desires that the Saviour on the Cross should stand vividly forth in the preaching of the Norwegian clergy. He fancied that the heart of the Christian life was in danger when he took up his pen. He felt that the Norse Church might lack and lose much elsewhere, but a loss here might be the losing of all. Nowadays men are seeking remedies manywhere, and they may all be required. But they must not drift away from the real springs of life for the Christian Church in our crucified and risen Lord. It was a fear of this which set the Bishop's

heart on fire, and it is to be hoped that in the final issue, for the sake of the truth, his manner of controversy may not have really injured the good cause for which he fought.

In the Conflict of the Day (I Dagens Strid), by the Rev. Thv. Klaveness, contains six sermons as his closing contribution to the controversy. A brief preface indicates that the author had at first intended to defend himself against the violent charges of false and corrupt teaching levelled at him by Heuch. But he has contented himself with publishing these sermons to show what he teaches, and why; and he leaves it to his readers to determine whether he is right or wrong. "For myself, Bishop Heuch's attack has taught me somewhat better than before the meaning of the Apostle's words: 'With me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you or of man's judgment. He that judgeth me is the Lord.' To His righteous and gracious judgment I appeal my cause."

The sermons prove in the clearest way, if they are to be taken as a fair sample of his preaching, that Klaveness has no *other religion* than Heuch, that he is no secret rationalist seducing others from the faith either deliberately or unconsciously. He certainly does not introduce justification and atonement into every sermon he preaches; but he acknowledges the Apostles' creed with an honest heart, and the renunciation likewise. He believes that Jesus Christ has died for the sins of men and that he himself has received the gracious forgiveness of his sins in virtue of the blood of the Redeemer. And that is the main thing, even if his theological theory about the Atonement be ever so shaky. Of the sermons as such much might be said as to their freshness, clearness, crispness, power, and the passion for immortal souls that permeates them all. But we have here only to do with the book as a vindication of the author against unrighteous charges; and no candid reader can deny that it is in this respect a triumphant success. In the preaching of Klaveness there may be much that is lacking. Some things he may over-emphasise; some things he may lay too little emphasis upon. But at the heart of it all there rings forth clear and true the gospel of the Fatherly love of God and of "the crucified, risen

and only-begotten Son in whom we poor sinful mortals have forgiveness and eternal life". If such preaching were heard in every parish in the land the churches would soon be full again, and no rationalistic deluge would overwhelm that Norway the Bishop loves so ardently and well.

The two books really show that the difference between the combatants is not so very great after all. The old school is satisfied with the dogmas and orthodoxy of former days. The "transition theologians" would reset the old doctrines, and the "new preaching" desires to gain an entrance for the old gospel into modern men's hearts. The two books have indicated the danger and pointed the way.

JNO. BEVERIDGE.

Religion as a Credible Doctrine : a Study of the Fundamental Difficulty.

By W. H. Mallock. London : Chapman & Hall, 1903.

IN the lively and not seldom brilliant volume before us Mr. Mallock assumes, as he says, the function of an accountant, whose "primary business is not to say things for either side, but to examine and tabulate what either side has to say—to reduce the arguments of each to their clearest and simplest forms ; to note and strike out such as are inconsistent with the others, and so exhibit the entire affairs of both that the reader may see how on each side the account really stands" (p. 6). We take him in his chosen function, therefore, and regard the argumentative items which he tabulates on either side of the ledger as not necessarily his own. He takes them at their face value, which may often be excessive ; while the major part of the securities are of a highly "speculative" character. But after the accountant has done his work comes that of the auditor. And the first question to be asked by him is, How is it that on neither side of the "intellectual ledger" does any entry appear of that item which ought to have the primary place of all ?

To illustrate the extent to which this is ignored, take a quotation from Herbert Spencer on p. 18: "The power manifested throughout the universe, distinguished by us as material, is the same power which in us wells up into consciousness". Thus the progress begins at the universe and comes back to find the *Ego*. Such a progress is false to the first principle of science ; which is to begin at the certain, and from it explore the uncertain, and from the known to feel our way to the unknown but knowable. What then is the one absolute and primary certainty ? Surely the mind's

own consciousness; on this all sense-impressions depend. By it they are verified and unified. In it lies the only proof of any reality or quasi-reality which they possess. They do not prove consciousness to the mind, but consciousness *proves them*. The mind can at pleasure withdraw itself from their outward phenomenal sphere and contemplate its own workings wholly apart from them. Sense-perceptions, strictly speaking, are both derived and mediate; but the mind's consciousness of itself is primary and immediate. All reasonings upon phenomena partake of the nature of the phenomenal; and, although the phenomena become that on which the mind exerts itself, those reasonings lie at a lower intellectual level than consciousness. They are all secondary; it alone primary. Its absolute certainty can never admit the competition of conclusions phenomenally derived. It is for them to harmonise themselves, if they can, with it, the primary and irrefragable, not for it to capitulate to them. Further, this consciousness is not solely intellectual. It includes will freely working within its own finite sphere of the possible. Intellect and will, both primary, coincide in constituting the notion of cause; which therefore, like these two, must be regarded as primary, inherent in the mind itself. This once established, all sense-perceptions, their percepts, and all interpretations of or reasonings upon them, may be left to batter as they will at the outer walls. The citadel of consciousness, including intellect and free-will, they can never reach. It stands sublimely aloof and apart from them all. Now this is the great first item which is left wholly out of the account. Of course consciousness is incidentally referred to, as in the quotation above; and further in chapters v. (The Free Will Problem) and vi. (Determinism of Psychology). But of its absolute and imperial prerogative no disputant introduced on either side seems to show any notion. Probably that is why our "accountant" skips it.

Yet it is curious and almost amusing to find a decisive tribute to its influence on p. 100. The question is there being discussed of the will as "determined" by motives independent of any free action of its own.

"The doctrine that, when two desires are unequal, the will is determined necessarily by that desire which is strongest, to many people seems to be refuted by an obstinate feeling on their part that they would, if challenged to do so, will in accordance with the weakest. But they wholly forget that they are here secretly introducing a third desire stronger than either—namely, a desire to disprove that the strongest is that by which their will is determined."

Here then we have admittedly the will generating *de suo* a desire stronger than "the strongest," and by that determining its own action, and therewith *cadit quaestio*. We can safely dismiss the rest of the chapter, and uphold the will as self-determining, although all the ologies conspire to dethrone it. Here, then, our accountant would seem to have placed on the credit side an item which ought to be debited.

Yet on the lower plane of the scientist, facts of brain lesion or disturbance carry great practical weight, as shown, says Mr. Mallock, in Dr. Hollander's work on *The Mental Functions of the Brain*, from which he quotes cases (pp. 135-140). These facts show the mind empirically conditioned, *qua* will as well as intellect, by morbid or pathological states. Although unable to impugn the philosophy of consciousness as above, determined from within, they open a wide question as to the responsibility of individual cases. But the whole subject probably needs further elucidation by registered experiments.

Certain incidental discussions on the relations of the phenomena to the substance behind them, as in colour, sound, etc., and on the "waste involved" in the evolutionary process, "frustrated purpose," etc. (pp. 15, 166-7), seem to lack agency and to be overstrained. But to discuss these is impossible.

The scientific argument throughout assumes that all opposition to the Darwinian (so-called) theory is dead, that "all thinkers" agree in accepting it. Even if that were so, it still only accounts for a process, and leaves the question of origination as wide open as ever. But "the selection of the fittest" only weeds, it does not plant. And why is the struggle for existence, so potent through countless ages, as alleged, in the evolution of species, so inert now? We are referred to one or fewer vertebræ in a pigeon's neck, or to the

change in the condition of an oyster transported from the mouth of the Thames to the Bay of Naples, as evincing its power still. When a famous scientist was asked to account for the identity of the monkey on Egyptian monuments of 4000 years ago with that of to-day, he is said to have replied that the surroundings were unchanged and therefore the monkey-type. But this rather increases the puzzle. Nature standing at ease in respect of environment as well as in respect of types, stagnation in short ever since, where struggle was so truculent once and long, is a fact which may well call a halt in the march of theory. Function, it is known, profoundly modifies organs. But to hold that the function generated the organ seems to postulate the contradiction that the organ was at the same time existent and non-existent. It is similarly more probably true that through evolution types were profoundly modified, than that they were by it alone produced. But the question has many more aspects, especially that related to design, than can be discussed here.

Like the argument from evolution, that from heredity, and that from physiology, are taken at what we may call their "face values"—liable to large deductions when we try to reduce them to the sterling standard; but similarly, to fix the quantum of deduction is impossible here, and may probably be impossible everywhere.

There is another item in the account which we also miss—that of the "Spiritualists": see the late Mr. Myers' work on *Human Personality and its Survival*, etc. It claims to rest on a scientific basis of phenomena investigated and evidence tested. None can deny the careful scrutiny of this latter which the volume evinces. Any scientist who should shut the door in the face of such evidence and declare it inadmissible, would be a scientific *felo de se*.

Only his last two chapters are devoted by our "accountant" to his entries on the side of faith, after ten allotted to those for unfaith, with an intermediate chapter xi., inserted as a bridge between the two, showing that contradictories (*e.g.*, those between the previous ten and the following two) are not necessarily incompatible. This, however metaphysically true,

does not seem likely to be generally convincing. Nor do the grounds on which belief in God, in human responsibility, etc., rest, in chapters xii. and xiii., seem the most valid which could be stated. They chiefly amount to this, that, when those beliefs are eliminated from human nature, "we shall find that we have eliminated the essence of all moral and all social civilisation" (p. 249); and "that all the higher, the deeper, the more delicate, the more interesting elements in life would be annihilated" (p. 247). The attempts of Professor Huxley and Mr. Herbert Spencer to dress up a sentimental dummy to do duty as a deity claiming moral and spiritual devotion are trenchantly exposed in chapter xii. But on the whole the constructive side in this and chapter xiii. is weak; and the average result to be expected from the volume is rather in favour of scientific unfaith than against it.

HENRY HAYMAN.

The Fatherhood of God in Christian Truth and Life.

By J. Scott Lidgett, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xxiv. + 427. Price 8s. net.

A NEW book by the author of *The Spiritual Principle of the Atonement* is likely, we think, to arouse great expectations in the minds of many who read, and gratefully learnt much from, the earlier work. This volume, in some sort a sequel to that already published, is certain to enhance Mr. Lidgett's reputation as a writer of broad and massive thought, competent learning, and a marked capacity for subtle and sympathetic exegesis. On this occasion he has selected a doctrine which comes, in his hands, to include almost the entire range of Christian theology, and does so, we feel, without any strain or artificiality; for, as he justly observes by way of explanation, "God's Fatherhood embraces all the relationships subsisting between Him and us". The subject is far from being one of merely historical or narrowly religious interest; on the contrary, Mr. Lidgett tells us that his experience (as Warden of Bermondsey Settlement) of social and administrative work has led him to regard the doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood as more adequately than any other fitted to yield the principles on which such philanthropic activities should be based, and human effort in every sphere of life united in a consistent whole. We are singularly fortunate, indeed, in having before us the ripe and measured theological conclusions of one so rarely qualified to hold out a linking hand to the professional theologian on the one side and the social evangelist on the other.

The cast of Mr. Lidgett's mind is such as to bring him habitually into sympathetic contact with theology of what we may call the Alexandrian order. As with the late Bishop Westcott, the unity of men in Christ is a thought to which

he perpetually recurs. The Incarnation is for him already latent in creation, and in his discussion of the old and fascinating question whether the Word would have become flesh had man not sinned, it is easy to perceive whither his prepossessions tend. Again, constant and significant emphasis is laid upon the doctrine of Divine immanence, and the idea that the whole creation is a spiritual organism, part vitally interlaced with part, nature crowned in man, and humanity inherent and coherent in the Logos, is repeatedly urged upon us in very impressive terms. Of course it is obvious that such a type of thought runs the risk of certain exaggerations which it is not easy for human logic to control. For example, there is the probability that the conceptions which prove determinative at critical points in the progress of the argument may be such as properly apply to things rather than to persons, and that the importance of history, as something inexplicable apart from the human will, may be wrongly estimated or partially ignored. Between Nature on the one hand and the Divine on the other, personality has sometimes received less than its due from theological idealists. But if these perils exist, Mr. Lidgett has known how best to avoid them. Against the worst he is triply armed by his virile insistence on keeping doctrine close to "the hard facts of the world's life," by which belief in the Fatherhood of God must be judged, as well as by his inveterate distaste for sentimentality.

Fatherhood and Sonship being essentially correlative, Mr. Lidgett has wisely declined to discuss either save in immediate relation to the other. Clearly, in view of the immense variety of issues raised and canvassed, we can offer only a brief and scanty *résumé* of the conclusions at which he arrives. His book, however, is one which must be read throughout to be valued as it deserves, though no discerning eye, glancing through its pages, will miss the wealth of material it offers to a receptive mind. First comes an introductory chapter, starting the question why the doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood has not enjoyed the supremacy it merits in Christian theology, and suggesting various reasons in reply. For the

next three chapters we are occupied with the teaching of the Biblical writers. The Fatherhood of God, we are told on their authority, was revealed by Jesus Christ, and rests ultimately on His consciousness. His sense of it, as embracing primarily Himself alone, is original, unique and all-pervasive; but through Him it becomes a personal experience of believers, in a derivative and secondary sense. One point on which Mr. Lidgett repeatedly lays stress is the fact that, according to the writers of the New Testament, God does not *become* our Father when we apprehend Him as such, but only becomes so *for us*; and this conclusion, as might be anticipated, receives a prominent place in his own exposition in later chapters. It may be doubted, however, whether Mr. Lidgett has elucidated any rational and credible basis in the Divine Fatherhood for such dissimilar manifestations of it as are to be found, for example, in God's treatment of the true saint and of the finally impenitent sinner. That there is such a basis is indeed a belief worthy of all acceptance; that Mr. Lidgett has made it clear is, to say the least, extremely uncertain. Reason seems to declare that we cannot speak of so radical a change in manifestation as if it left that which is manifested quite unchanged.

A serious difference exists between the two conceptions which we have seen to be correlative, in that "while the Fatherhood is real, the Sonship of man may be unfulfilled". Though human nature is essentially and universally filial in its constitution (or as we might put it, while every soul of man has a right to use the Lord's Prayer, and say "Our Father"), yet that constitution may never become what it might have been, for sin is simply the unfilial as such. How high human nature might have risen in all men, we behold in the unique Divine Sonship of Christ, which was the perfect realisation of the implicit possibilities of mankind. When we sum up the teaching of the New Testament, accordingly, we are left with this all but insuperable difficulty on our hands that, as Mr. Lidgett puts it, "the sonship of men does not stand on the same footing as the Fatherhood of God". The latter is a reality, however restricted in its manifestation, the former

may be practically absent. In this connexion we wish that Mr. Lidgett had discussed more directly the bearing of sin upon the sonship of man, and dealt with the question whether the coming of sin does not imply the entrance of a purely irrational factor, an irreducible surd, which it is impossible to eliminate from any account we can offer of the relations between God and mankind, as construed from the imperfect standpoint of a limited intelligence.

An examination of the various types of doctrine in the New Testament next reveals the fact that there is nothing in all the teaching of our Lord or of St. John which cannot be brought within the sweep of the Fatherly and filial relationship. It is true that St. Paul introduces new "forensic" elements, which seem at first sight incompatible with the thought of the Divine Fatherhood by which he also is guided; but on these Mr. Lidgett passes the suggestive remark that while such elements are forensic when abstractly taken, yet they are inherent in a whole which is not forensic, but something more. The standard with which Mr. Lidgett is working in these Biblical inquiries may thus be stated in his own words: "The only satisfactory test of the New Testament doctrine of the subject is not the discovery of proof-texts, but the establishment of the fact that these writers everywhere set forth the Fatherhood of God as the clue to all His action, whether in creation or in redemption, whether in grace or in law, in bestowment on man, or in requirement of him".

We need not linger over chapter iv., which contains a finely sympathetic account of the premonitions and adumbrations of the Fatherhood to be found in the Old Testament. But attention may be called especially to the reasons Mr. Lidgett has adduced to explain how it was inevitable that in Old Testament times men must learn to call God King, before they rose to the loftier and more tender name. Fatherliness rather than Fatherhood is the highest note struck by prophet and psalmist.

On this there follows a chapter entitled "The Fatherhood of God in Church History," which we think might fairly be singled out as the richest and most memorable in the book.

We are tempted to dwell on its many inspiring and enlightening passages, but must content ourselves here with the briefest characterisation. It tells the story of how the doctrine of God's Fatherhood in the deep Scripture sense gradually faded from the view of the great Church writers, and was replaced by a hard and inflexible conception of Divine Sovereignty. From Irenæus to Dante the transformation ran its baleful course. Though it can still be said of the former that "he is the teacher, above all others, of the Fatherhood of God," yet even Irenæus, by so frequently designating Christ as Logos rather than as Son, helped to pave the way for the descent which followed. There is a good account, at this point, of the Platonic influences which played on theology in the early centuries, and of the deleterious intellectualism into which so many of the Greek Fathers were betrayed. The statement, however, that Tertullian "knows nothing of" the Fatherhood of God is a needlessly hard saying, and suggests a sharpness of division between religion and theology which is untrue to life. Tertullian, after all, was a Christian. A gratifying number of pages is given to Augustine, and here especially both exposition and criticism reveal the touch of a master. In due course we are shown how this degenerate movement, which even Augustine did nothing to retard, culminates in the typical and deliberate utterance of Dante, in which he names God "the Emperor of the Universe". The pages devoted to the *Divina Commedia*, it may be said in passing, impart to the discussion a sense of wider interest and broader culture than is commonly to be found in works of this class. We pass on to Anselm, and are taught from *Cur Deus Homo* how far he had moved away from the central truth of the Fatherhood. Thomas Aquinas' highest category, with the New Testament in his hand, is that of Supreme Cause. Not even the Reformation replaced the doctrine in its rightful position of theological supremacy, though Calvin returned to the spot where Irenæus had stood, and was the first, for ages, to take "this relationship seriously, as that in terms of which the spiritual life must be expressed". Other and more modern influences, to which Mr. Lidgett

ascribes peculiar importance in the restoration of the belief in question to its proper place in Christian theory, are the works of Wesley, McLeod Campbell, and Maurice; while the Oxford movement, by its reactionary tendencies, pressed hard in the opposite direction. Once more let it be said that to read this masterly chapter is a liberal education in historical theology.

From this point onward we have to do with Mr. Lidgett's own interpretation of the Fatherhood, and the principal themes in Christian doctrine with which its relations are close and vital. His method of defining his subject may be gathered from the following words: "The Fatherhood of God represents, above all, a spiritual and moral relationship; that spiritual and moral relationship rests upon a natural basis as its necessary condition; and that natural basis springs from, has its essence in, and is shaped by, the fatherly love which gives it being". He points out, very appositely, that the only proof we can have of the truth of this doctrine must be immanent and experiential, not external, and ultimately depends on our being able to show that the truth of God's Fatherhood embraces, completes, and harmonises all other truths we possess regarding Him. Some of Mr. Lidgett's observations on the experimental bases of Christian doctrine as such are extremely refreshing, and may help to disabuse the minds of some friendly outsiders of the notion that the systematic theologian regards dogma as of itself quite sufficient to guarantee faith, and, indeed, to prove to every one, with experience or without, the validity of the Christian creed. Again, there is nothing in the book more characteristic than Mr. Lidgett's rejoinder to Kaftan, who has asserted that the two alternatives for the interpretation of Christianity are the Logos idea, by which the Church was led astray, and the conception of the kingdom of God, to which we should all return. The criticism of our author is put succinctly in one or two sentences: "Neither the Logos idea nor that of the kingdom of God is the highest concept for the interpretation of Christ or of His religion. Each falls into its place as part of the larger and higher whole of Sonship, corresponding

to the Fatherhood. If the Logos idea accentuates the revelation of truth, and that of the kingdom the attainment of spiritual and moral ends, the higher concept of Sonship places foremost the fellowship of love and life." This witness is true, and not a little timely.

In the last three chapters of the book the doctrine of the Fatherhood is applied to the explanation of the three great stages in the dealings of God with the world, *viz.*, creation, redemption, and the consummation of all things. It is difficult to make a selection from the numberless points of theological interest with which these chapters are crowded. Here and there, in a way which reminds us of the gifted and lamented Canon Moberly, Mr. Lidgett urges that, if we took the New Testament for our guide, we should rediscover in the fact of the Holy Trinity, as manifested in the redemption of the world, the true secret and explanation also of its creation and constitution; or again, that we can construe the world adequately only through Christ, inasmuch as His is a Sonship "which perfects the human race both objectively in His Incarnation, and subjectively as men receive Sonship from Him and share it with Him". These are thoughts which certainly do not receive any undue prominence in modern theology, and so long as they are stated with the moderation and insight here displayed, they will never lack an audience. We may refer also to Mr. Lidgett's brief discussion of the Atonement, which is on the whole a brief condensation of his earlier volume, but has features of its own which it will well repay readers to consider. Two things are clear, that Mr. Lidgett is convinced of the objective necessity of atonement in order to forgiveness, and that, in his view, what Christ did and underwent must be construed as a personal representative dealing on His part with the Father, rendered possible only by His perfectly filial mind and will, and responded to, nay co-operated in, by the Father in love and grace. Here as elsewhere Mr. Lidgett makes very much of Christ's solidarity with mankind. But, if we are to follow Scripture and experience, is it not more relevant to emphasise His solidarity with believers? The first is, after all, a spec-

ulation, the second is something that can be spiritually discerned and known. And of course in the end, as Mr. Lidgett practically concedes, it is only the second that counts in the Christian estimate of the final issue.

But we must resist the temptation to quote or illustrate further. Mr. Lidgett's book, it may be predicted with some confidence, will make its way into the hands of most serious students of theology, all the more that it everywhere calls upon us to use our imagination as well as our reason. The style in which it is written, while certainly not rich in classical graces and felicities, is eminently suited to the author's practical purpose, and is never obscure. His argument has been built on large, grand lines, and the theological structure to which this book may be regarded as the second contribution bids fair to be of a massive and abiding character. The intellectual temper in which our author writes is nobly hospitable and appreciative; his prevailing religious tone is that of a deep, calm optimism, undismayed by the difficulties which attend every human theodicy, but very sure of God. His work belongs to that class of books upon doctrine which, if not the highest, yet ranks very high—books which offer to the reader, not impromptu and undigested novelties of theory, but a sane, human, living, profound discussion of familiar truths, touched with the emotion of a glowing Christian faith. We are persuaded that its vitality and power will be recognised by all but those who cannot recognise truth save in the technical dialect of their own theological party.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

1. Jeremia und seine Zeit.

Von Wilhelm Erbt. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. viii. + 300. Price M.8, paper.

2. Die Poesie und die poetischen Bücher des Alten Testaments.

Von E. Kautzsch. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. Mohr (Paul Siebeck); London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. viii. + 110. Price 2s., paper, 3s. bound, net.

3. Der Knecht Jahves des Deuteriojesaja.

Von Fried. Giesebrecht. Königsberg i. Pr.: Thomas und Oppermann (Ferd. Beyers); London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. iv. + 208. Price 5s. 9d., paper, net.

4. Über die Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit einer neuen Ausgabe der Hebräischen Bibel.

Von R. Kittel. Leipzig: A. Deichert (Georg Böhme), 1902. 8vo, pp. 86. Price M.2, paper.

5. Studies in the Greek and Latin Versions of the Book of Amos.

By the Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, M.A., Jesus College, Cambridge. Cambridge: University Press, 1902. 8vo, pp. viii. + 112.

1. THE great importance of Wilhelm Erbt's *Jeremia und seine Zeit* lies in the fact that he accepts Sievers' views on Hebrew metres, and claims that they can be applied to the book of Jeremiah without having recourse to impossible devices in the way of textual criticism. The work, moreover, has been submitted to Professor Sievers, and approved by him, at any rate, apparently, as far as the exposition of

the metre is concerned. The present writer has tried a few independent experiments on the possibility of discovering metres, with a view to comparing the results with those of Erbt. It is a fascinating pursuit, and develops facility in recognising glosses and constructing emendations with a rapidity which is alarming to a student of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, haunted by the ubiquitous spectre of Jerahmeel. The result of one of these experiments was approximately as follows. In six verses, half of the present writer's hemistiches were the same as those of Erbt's; Erbt omitted twenty words as glosses, and the present writer twenty-one; less than half the words omitted were the same in the two cases. The feeling of most readers will be that the scholars who are wrestling with the problem of Hebrew metres are feeling their way with some prospect of success, but have not established a case which will command general acceptance.

Less than half of the book is occupied with discussions of text and metre; the rest consists of an interesting series of suggestive studies of the character, career and teaching of Jeremiah, which are intended to form the basis of a connected account of the prophet and his work.

2. Professor E. Kautzsch's monograph on *The Poetry and the Poetical Books of the Old Testament* deals with the following topics: the Form of Hebrew Poetry; the Varieties of Hebrew Poetry; Old Testament Indications of the Cultivation of Secular Poetry by the Ancient Hebrews; Collections of Poems in Ancient Israel; and lastly, on the Individual Poetical Books of the Old Testament. The contents were delivered as a series of six popular lectures, and are an admirable example of successful exposition of modern criticism for the benefit of educated laymen.

3. Professor Friedrich Giesebrecht's *Servant of Yahweh in Deutero-Isaiah* is yet another assault on one of the most fascinating problems of Old Testament criticism. These poems propound a veritable riddle of the Sphinx, which some answer

to their own satisfaction, but rarely succeed in convincing others. If there is any tendency towards a consensus of opinion, it is in favour of the view which Giesebrecht advocates that the servant of Yahweh, in the servant-passages (including Isaiah liii.), as well as in the rest of II. Isaiah, is Israel. This view is an inevitable sequel of Giesebrecht's decision as to the authorship of these passages. He holds that they were composed by the author of the rest of II. Isaiah as separate poems, "zu Papier gebrachten Monologen oder Betrachtungen"; and first published with the rest of II. Isaiah, in the position in which they now stand. In discussing the question of the servant as a person, special attention is given to Sellin's view; not so much his latest theory that Isaiah liii. refers to Jehoiachin *vice* Zerubbabel superseded, but his general position that the subject of these poems is an individual and not the nation. Two important points in connexion with this subject are very clearly stated and discussed. The theory that Isaiah liii. refers to an individual implies that the speakers in the opening verses are Israelites. There would then be an antithesis between them and the servant, who is regarded as a typical sufferer. But the Jews of the period had themselves experienced great sufferings, and would not think it necessary that some one else should suffer in order to atone for their sins. Thus Isaiah xl. 1: "Jerusalem . . . hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sin". This point makes for the interpretation of the servant as Israel; the second point at first sight favours the view that the servant is an individual. Isaiah liii. seems to imply that the servant offers himself a willing sacrifice for the sins of others; and it is difficult to think of the Israel of Jeremiah and Ezekiel offering itself for the sins of the world. But probably the Jews' idea of themselves was different from that of these prophets, even at the time of the fall of Jerusalem; and as the years of the Captivity went on, the sins of the past may have been forgotten; and those Jews who remained loyal to their nationality and their faith may have felt, *pace* Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, that they were morally and spiritually superior to their

Babylonian oppressors ; and may have looked for an explanation of their sufferings in a religious mission of Israel to the world.

It would be base ingratitude, especially in a reviewer, to omit to record the fact that this monograph is published with the leaves ready cut ; and that, even in paper covers, it is so well sewn that the sheets do not show any immediate inclination to fall asunder.

4. Professor Rudolf Kittel's *On the Necessity and Possibility of a New Edition of the Hebrew Bible* is a manifesto against the current editions of the Massoretic text of the Hebrew Old Testament, and a proposal to construct a new *Textus Receptus*. We need not consider the objections to current editions of the Massoretic text. These, Van der Hooght, Baer and Delitzsch, Ginsburg, etc., are avowedly editions of a text which cannot be shown to be older than some centuries after Christ ; a text, moreover, that is obviously extremely inaccurate. A better standard text is by common consent most desirable, whether it is a "possibility" is another question. Kittel admits that even an approximate reconstruction of the original text is impossible ; he recognises, of course, that the Septuagint and the Massoretic Text represent two different forms of the text ; and he proposes to reconstruct the recension from which the Massoretic text has developed, as that recension existed about B.C. 300, or in the case of *Daniel*, etc., at a later date. He suggests that such a reconstruction might be used as a standard text.

He mentions the fact that for many books a critical text has been formed in Dr. Paul Haupt's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, to which Kittel himself contributed *Chronicles*. But this series is expensive, it is unpointed, and too free a use has been made of conjectural emendation ; the *Sacred Books* are not a suitable manual text for the ordinary student.

We entirely agree that the reconstructed text proposed by Kittel would be a valuable addition to the apparatus of the student of the Old Testament. But it would be still more

useful if the original readings were restored when this could be done with anything approaching to certainty. Moreover a reconstruction of the text underlying the Septuagint is equally desirable and should come first in the natural order of things.

But the recognition of a new *Textus Receptus* does not depend merely on its superiority to the editions now current. If the new text is to supplant them, it must be handy, attractive, well-printed and cheap. Indeed in England it would be almost necessary that it should be published and circulated by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

5. Mr. Oesterley's *Studies in the Greek and Latin Versions of the Book of Amos* is a specimen of the work of the severest school of Cambridge scholarship, the patient and painstaking accumulation of innumerable details with a view to providing material for the critic and the exegete. Scholars who labour in the more popular branches of biblical study are under deep obligation to students like Mr. Oesterley. This monograph is a useful addition to the *apparatus criticus* of the Book of Amos. We think, however, that more account should have been taken of the influence of Origen's *Hexapla* on the text of the Septuagint.

W. H. BENNETT.

1. A Study in the Psychology of Ethics.

By David Irons, M.A., Ph.D., Associate Professor of Bryn Mawr College. William Blackwood & Sons, 1903. Pp. xviii. + 176. Price 5s. net.

2. A Dawning Faith; Or, The World as a Spiritual Organism.

By Herbert Rix, B.A. Williams & Norgate, 1903. Pp. 229. Price 5s.

3. All These Things Added.

By James Allen. The Savoy Publishing Company, 1903. Pp. 150. Price 3s. net.

4. What a Piece of Work is Man.

By Frederick James Gant, F.R.C.S. London: Elliot Stock, 1903. Pp. x. + 105. Price 2s. 6d.

5. Fallacies in Present Day Thought.

By J. P. Sandlands, M.A., Vicar of Brigstock. London: Elliot Stock, 1902. Pp. 324. Price 6s. net.

I. SINCE a true ethic rests on a true psychology, and psychology hitherto has been largely false, regarding mind as purely receptive, and so stirred to action only by the tendencies to seek pleasure and avoid pain, Mr. Irons declares that the moral philosopher must do for himself what the psychologist seems unwilling to do for him—study the reactive side of mind and make a systematic inquiry into the principles of action.

Approaching these through that peculiar reaction of feeling we call emotion, the author of this brief but able volume, who, as his second chapter reveals, writes with full knowledge of the best and latest books on his subject, shows first

of all that emotion, instead of being explicable in terms of other mental phenomena, is really an ultimate aspect of mind which may be described as "feeling-attitude". Like feeling (pleasure-pain) it is subjective, but, unlike feeling, it is a reaction, an attitude taken up towards some object or person. Moreover, while pleasures and pains differ only in quantity, emotions are qualitatively distinct; and whereas the former look inward and are engrossed with the self, emotions look outwards and are regardless of the subject so long as they get their way with their object. At the same time emotion is to be distinguished from conation, inasmuch as it is a feeling or attitude towards existing objects, and not a sense of striving or want in view of objects or ends still to be realised. Emotions are just the different attitudes we take up to the changing objects or situations of our environment. They are therefore qualitatively distinct and prompt each to its own proper activity quite apart from all hedonic considerations—ill-feeling, for instance, being the attitude we take up towards any one who has injured us and inciting us to retaliate even though in so doing we should suffer; pity being the attitude we fall into at sight of distress, and stirring us even at the cost of pain to ourselves to take measures for its relief.

But now it is plain, if we will go a little deeper, that we should take up no such attitudes towards objects—have no emotions at all—unless these objects possessed some interest or significance for us; and, if we go a little deeper still and ask why we should have an interest in anything, we find that we could have none unless there was something within us that responded—that is, some basal and primary tendency to action. Danger could not make us afraid unless deep within us we had a natural tendency to preserve our life; good work or high character raises our admiration only because we have a natural tendency to make our existence effective.

That is to say, through our study of emotion, we have caught sight and hold of certain primary principles of human activity more fundamental than the emotions to which they give occasion, and also *not* hedonic. Indeed, were there no

such primal tendencies to action there would be no experiences of pleasure and pain; for these are mere incidental results conditioned exclusively by the success or the failure of primary impulses, and so to be regarded as themselves secondary. This argument against hedonism is of course not new; for instance, it was well stated years ago in Martineau's *Types of Ethical Theory*—a book with which the present volume has many points in common; but Mr. Irons has done not a little to place it on a sound scientific basis.

Among the basal tendencies thus laid bare the sixth chapter gives the tendency of function to realise itself, the tendency to sociability, the tendency to self-assertion; and in the seventh and last chapter, which is rather closely packed, but runs on familiar lines, Mr. Irons, of whom we expect to hear again, completes his *Study* by showing that the various tendencies, otherwise a chaos of conflict, can be brought into a system of conduct only by some ultimate, all-inclusive ideal of worth, for the reality of which we have, he hints rather than proves, abundant evidence.

The style is plain and at times a little heavy, but it is clear; a table of contents or marginal summaries would lighten the book. There is an index, though not a very full one.

2. Mr. Rix has so distinct a gift of exposition that we do not wonder at his being asked to publish in book form what were first given as addresses to the members of the Croydon Ethical and Religious Fellowship. His style is so exquisitely clear and frank that we see at once where he is and also how he got there.

"The old creed was based upon the Bible, and the Bible is gone." "Literary criticism has robbed us of our supernatural Bible." The organic conception or idea of continuity has so entered into our thought that not only do we regard all literature as one, so that we can no longer "suppose that the spiritual realities, the eternal verities, are infused into one literature and withheld from another," but also "miracle of every kind will have to go," and with it any theism, like

that of Dr. Martineau, which admits breaks in the natural order. Therefore the need of the time is a new faith, a new view of the world as a whole, which will be a philosophy rather than a theology, because "when miracle is gone, theology and philosophy are one".

The above quotations are from the first chapter, and in the chapters that follow Mr. Rix tells us what this "dawning faith" is to be. It is just a thoroughgoing idealism. The world is a veritable universe: the universe is an organism: the universe is spirit: matter is no real existence, space and time are mere forms of human thought: this spiritual universe is God and God is it, man being just His thoughts: duty is submission of the part to the whole: the future life is absorption into God, which is no hateful annihilation but a gentle gliding into the eternal bliss.

That is what idealism works out at and takes us to. And this able and fascinating little book may well make theology ask whether she has not taken idealism too readily to her bosom, and make the Church ask why it is that some of the finest minds among us find her teaching a stone, and turn for bread to ethical societies.

3. Mr. Allen is one of those whom Professor James would hail as of the healthy-minded. He is an invincible optimist, something also of a mystic; and this dainty little book, though it says nothing of mind-cure, recalls in many ways Mr. R. W. Trine's *In Tune with the Infinite*. So long as we put self first, and worry over its preservation, we set a high value on meat, drink, money and the like, and are immersed in the world's struggle and miserable competition, afraid of defeat, disappointed when we fail to get our desire, and never satisfied. But cease to be selfish, be willing to lose your life, ask nothing as a right for self, and you will find yourself in a new world: for, whatever may come or not come to you, you will be content and at peace. Mr. Allen seems to say at times that those who thus give up self will, as a matter of fact, never lack bread in a world whose God is love. Once or

twice he hints that, having simplified life by giving it a single aim, they will develop new powers for the management of their material affairs. But his main thought, expressed in different ways, is just the familiar Christian truth that to the man of faith it really does not matter what happens; he is invincible, victorious over the world. The only fault of the book is that it is somewhat strained; and in calling upon us to rise above the facts of life sometimes misreads them or loses sight of them altogether.

4. Mr. Gant has added yet another to his "Small Books on Great Subjects," the purpose of it being to show that human nature has intuitions of the Divine—that there are witnesses within to the being and perfections of God and also to the reality of a Redeemer such as we have in Jesus Christ. The tone of the book is high and rich; but the execution is poor. Spite of a full table of contents and much repetition, the argument is by no means clear and the sentences are often involved and not seldom ungrammatical. Perhaps the best pages are those in which it is shown that, sinful as man is, there is that in him which disowns and repudiates sin as foreign and adventitious to his true nature, and so points to the existence of a purely righteous Person, in whom he was created and through whom he is redeemed.

5. The title is much too high and serious for the contents. The author is no intellectual giant striving to lay bare the fallacies that lurk under modern thought, but only a chatty, genial clergyman, who, finding in his talk how many things commonly taken as facts are really fictions, determined to bring as many as he could think of together in a book. Hence no fewer than sixty chapters—among the titles are "Sleep," "Josephus," "Coal," "Beer," "Angels," "Spiritism," "Smells"—every one of which ends with the word "fallacy" in capital letters.

The author, in short, is one of those curiously constituted people who are always suspicious of authorities—especially

medical ones. He is, of course, opposed to vaccination and has views on tuberculosis ; but his pet idea is that all disease is due to food—cooked food, mixed diet, boiled milk and many other things being all fallacies. He is very suspicious of baths ; and has grave doubts as to the trustworthiness of Josephus ! An angel, he is good enough to say, is not a fallacy ; but to think that we know about angels is. In reading the chapters where he declares that Babylon, Jericho, Ephesus, Nineveh and other places never really existed, one begins to wonder whether the whole book may not be a joke. There are, however, some few deviations into sense and not a few gleams of humour. But the book has no serious value.

JOHN LENDRUM.

The Development of Modern Philosophy.

With other Lectures and Essays. By Robert Adamson, M.A., LL.D. Sometime Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow. Edited by W. R. Sorley, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge. In two volumes. Vol. I., pp. xlvii. + 358. Vol. II., pp. xv. + 330. Demy 8vo. Price 18s. for the two volumes net. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons.

Kant's gesammelte Schriften. Herausgeben von der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Band I. Erste Abteilung. Werke: Erster Band. Pp. xxi. + 585. 8vo. Price 12s. net, bound 14s. net.

Band XI. Zweite Abteilung. Briefwechsel: Zweiter Band. Pp. xv. + 517. Price 10s. net. Band XII. Zweite Abteilung. Briefwechsel: Dritter Band. Price 9s. net. 8vo. Berlin: George Reimer; London: Williams & Norgate.

THE late Professor Adamson was universally acknowledged to be one of the most learned in the history of philosophy, one of the keenest critics of philosophical theories, and one of the most influential teachers that ever occupied a philosophical chair. He had many qualities that invited confidence and commanded respect. He was a wide reader, and read to purpose; he thought deeply, and there were few problems in philosophy which he had not seen, and on which he had not his own solutions. Keen reasoner as he was, and interested in thought, he was ever ready to recognise the difficulty of stating a theory of reality. The conclusions to which he tended will no doubt be keenly scrutinised, yet every one must reckon with them, for they are the con-

clusions of a real thinker, who looked at all problems with his own eyes.

Professor Sorley, who was his colleague while both were professors in the University of Aberdeen, has edited these lectures with great care, and has done his work well. In the biographical Introduction he has given a brief and life-like sketch of the life, the work, the mental development of his friend. He has also sketched his mode of work, and the general trend of the philosophy to which Professor Adamson tended. "From first to last," say Professor Sorley, "he looked upon the Kantian criticism as the stage from which the next advance in philosophical thought must be made. In his books on Kant and Fichte it is clear that he regarded the legitimate issue to be an Idealism such as Hegel's. At no time, perhaps, would he have described himself as an Hegelian: it is difficult to get any one to accept that title. But in reference to what he called 'the present radical opposition of philosophic doctrine—the opposition between Hegelianism on the one hand and scientific naturalism or realism on the other'—he would have sided with the Hegelians. 'It is not possible,' he said, 'that the view of thought as a thing or product should also be competent to explain the nature of thought as self-consciousness.' The evidence of his lectures shows that, during most of his time at Owens College, he looked at things from the Idealist position, though he seems to have become more and more critical of all idealist constructions. The solid achievements of empirical psychology, which he all along followed with keen interest, were also not without influence in bringing about the change in his point of view, which is unmistakably announced in his inaugural address at Glasgow. For him, unlike Kant, the Copernican change consisted in displacing self-consciousness from the position which it occupies in every system of Idealism" (Introduction, pp. xc.-xci.).

It is a pity that Dr. Adamson has not given us a fuller account of the Copernican change in his attitude towards philosophical questions. The question is of the highest importance, and we feel in reading his books, especially these volumes, that

we are dealing, not with a complete and full exposition of his views, but with something far from complete. His mode of lecturing, while the most effective for teaching, consisting as it did of oral exposition, is not so effective for obtaining a full and final expression of his thought, and of his reasons for his thought. In reading the lectures and other writings in these volumes the reader is somewhat perplexed, for he is not sure whether Professor Adamson, in setting forth the systems of the philosophers with which he deals historically, and specially when he is criticising them, is dealing with them and their systems from the latest standpoint of his thought, or from the idealist point of view which he once occupied. Thus his criticisms of Descartes, Spinoza and Leibniz seem to assume the truth of the Idealist philosophy, and are valid from that point of view. We are sorry that Professor Adamson had not the opportunity of setting forth his views in systematic order, and specially that he has not elaborated his views more fully. As it is, one is not sure that he understands, and one fears that he may do injustice to so careful and thorough a thinker.

Professor Sorley has given us a complete list of the writings of Professor Adamson, arranged in chronological order. They form a considerable body of writing, and had taken their place among the authoritative documents on the subjects whereof they treat. Professor Sorley has helped the reader by giving him an extended table of contents, which greatly helps him in following the course of the argument. A full and detailed index makes the work of reference easy.

The first volume is connected with the history of philosophy, and its title is *The Development of Modern Philosophy*. The course is begun with a statement that the history of philosophy is essential for the study of philosophy. He dwells on the continuity of philosophical thought, and shows that apparent breaches are only seeming. The connexion of philosophical thought and scientific thought is shown, and a brief description of the influence of mathematics and of the mechanical theory on the thought of that time leads to the life and work of Descartes as the founder

of modern philosophy. We have read with great interest the chapters which follow the development of modern philosophy, from Descartes onwards. What strikes one who has read many histories of philosophy, is the brevity, fulness and freshness of the exposition. Evidently the characterisation of any system is drawn from a minute and exact acquaintance with the works of the writer in hand. There is a firmness of grasp, and a precision of statement which could not be drawn from any other than the original sources. The information is always exact, and the student feels that he may trust his guide. In this spirit and after this fashion he describes and briefly criticises the systems of Descartes, Mulebranche, Spinoza, Leibniz; passing to English empiricism, he deals with Locke, Berkeley and Hume. Then the lectures expand to a larger fulness while he deals with Kant, while Fichte, Schelling and Hegel are limited to a smaller space, and to less adequate discussion. Finally, in this volume, we have a considerable section of original work entitled "Suggestions Towards a Theory of Knowledge Based on the Kantian". A writer (treating of the writers described and criticised by him) will inevitably betray his own sympathies and indicate his own point of view. If, however, the writer is shifting his point of view, and moving towards another position, there will likely be some variation in his attitude, and his criticism will vary. Something in the criticisms of the various systems described and criticised in the historical part of his work may be due to the fact that these lectures apparently represent the attitude of Professor Adamson's mind while he was moving on. At all events the criticism seems to assume the truth of some form of Idealism, while, for example, the brilliant criticism of Hume seems to assume the truth of the latest position attained by him.

All readers will turn with the deepest interest to the suggestions towards a theory of knowledge based on the Kantian, and all readers will regret that Professor Adamson has not given us a full theory of knowledge. An epistemology from him would have had the highest value. He begins with Kant, and especially with Kant's rejection

of Cartesian and subjective Idealism. The two factors in Kant's doctrine of external perception are stated and examined, the basis of Subjective Idealism is examined, and Professor Adamson comes to the significant conclusion that the recognition of inner experience as subjective is neither chronologically nor logically prior to external perception. As this position is fundamental with Professor Adamson we quote: "We may fairly insist that, before any assumption is made that would require us to raise the probably unanswerable question, how the subject with only subjective experiences of his own forms even the notion of an objective, of that which is trans-subjective, we should ask, how does the subject come to define his own mode of existence, to characterise his experience, as subjective? The Cartesian Idealism had started from the position that such determination of experience was the prior fact in knowledge: making indeed, as we can now see, a quite illegitimate identification of the two propositions—that whatever is known is known through consciousness, and that what is known primarily and directly is the inner experience of the conscious subject. And it has often been insisted, in defiance of all the experience we possess, that in fact our knowledge of inner subjective experience is direct and certain, while that of so-called outer objects is mediate and uncertain. Were we to deal fairly with the distinction implied in the term 'subjective,' we should be compelled, I think, to say that neither chronologically nor logically does the recognition of the subjective character of inner experience precede external perception—the recognition, that is, of an objective that is wholly distinct from the inner life. In other words, we should have to insist that there is a profound difference of meaning between consciousness and the recognition of certain experiences as forming the inner life of a finite subject" (vol. i., pp. 286-7). He proceeds to describe the origin of the antithesis of inner and outer, and tries to show that the primitive character out of which objectivity is developed is to be found in the space-character of certain contents. He works this out from the point of view of the theory of know-

ledge, and in the second volume in the lectures on psychology he works at it from the purely psychological point of view. It appears, also, in a passage of his inaugural address to the University of Glasgow; we quote it as it seems to sum up the main outcome of all his thinking. "Specialised research into nature has not only deepened and strengthened our ideas as to the systematic interconnectedness and interdependence of all parts of reality, but in particular, by extension of what comes closest to the life of man, has enforced a conclusion one would feel inclined to advance from purely philosophical grounds, that the antithesis we make between the abstract mechanism of nature and the subjective life of mind is falsely conceived when taken to mean absolute severance in concrete existence. That the antithesis, the opposition, is a necessary condition in consciousness for the very being of consciousness, that mind, in other words, only realises itself in the form of that which is contrasted with nature, ought not to lead us to confer a wholly fictitious and unwarranted independence upon the opposites themselves. It is true that self-consciousness implies a contradistinction from nature, that mind only knows itself in knowing a nature that is distinct from itself. But the very implication of this truth is that neither mind nor nature as thus contrasted in consciousness is possessed of independent being, that mind knows nature only in so far as it is a part of nature, and that its knowledge of nature, its apprehension of fact other than itself, is the living link which binds it to nature and to the sum-total of reality. Ideas, as one may put it, are not so much in mind as of mind; they are the actual modes of our participation in that reality of which external nature is a part" (vol. ii., pp. 17, 18). It is a change from idealism to realism, from rationalism to empiricism or naturalism. Professor Adamson, both in the *Theory of Knowledge* and in his psychology, brings us back to the primary factors. He works under the supposition of development, and from development he excludes the idea of end. Beginning as far back in mental history as he can, he asks what are the distinguishable features in immediate

experience and those distinctions, say of feelings as subjective from sense-presentations as objective, he regards as derivative. Other distinctions are also the outcome of development, even the distinction between subject and object. The reasoning is clear, able in the highest degree, and is as convincing as the nature of the case will allow.

One has a conviction, however, that the primary elements in experience as set forth by Professor Adamson are too elementary to stand by themselves, or to have the functions ascribed to them save as inherent in an experience the unity of which is implied in the possibility of their statement. Development must be conceived as towards an end. Able and clear as the statement of Professor Adamson, both in its epistemological and psychological aspects, yet their relevancy depends on the implied possibility of a centre of unity in the organic life, a unity which grows necessarily until it becomes the full-orbed unity of self-consciousness. It is quite true that self-consciousness is something that comes to clear consciousness through a process of development, and it is quite possible to describe the process as Professor Adamson, but the completed process is implicitly there from the outset, otherwise the steps of the process could never have been described.

There are many things of the deepest interest in these volumes. There is, for example, the treatment of "Change and Time". Something interesting would emerge from a historical account of the idea of time, as it has appeared in successive systems of philosophy, say from the time of Spinoza down to Professor Adamson and Mr. Shadworth Hodgson. It would be an instructive story, but one that cannot be told now. It would be instructive to compare the views of Professor Adamson with those of Mr. Hodgson.

But the number of points of interest in these volumes is very great. Whether we have regard to the general analysis of mind, or to the special forms of mental experience, feeling, cognition, volition, whether we dwell with the author on the analysis of thinking, or look at problems in the theory of thinking, we feel always that we are in the presence of a

man to whom all the problems of philosophy are familiar, that he has come to close quarters with all of them, and has something of worth to say of all of them. Whether we shall agree with him is another question, but whether or not, we shall have a firmer grasp of the problem, and shall know more clearly the conditions of an adequate solution of them, after we have listened to the discussion of them by Professor Adamson.

The second division of the works of Kant, edited by the Prussian Royal Academy, is now complete, and the first volume of the works has also appeared. The collected edition consists of four divisions, (1) Works, (2) Correspondence, (3) Manuscript Remains, and (4) Lectures. The number of volumes will be from twenty-two to twenty-five. In the edition there will be collected everything of significance that Kant ever wrote, and without any hesitation it may be said that this will be the final and authoritative edition of Kant's works. It is edited with the greatest care. Everything has been attended to: text, punctuation, literary form, Introductions; in fact, everything that can help the student to trace the evolution of the thought of Kant and to understand the master and his system, has been looked after with thoroughness, and has been accomplished with success. It has been a labour of love, and the editors have done their work so as to earn the gratitude of all students of the history of human thought, and of the place and function of Kant in the history of philosophy. For Kant occupies one of the most significant of all places in the history of philosophy, and he who would understand the problems of to-day must so far master Kant, and understand him. Thus the edition of Kant's works now before us is a boon for which students in all lands ought to be thankful, and to express their thanks to the Royal Prussian Academy.

As to the volumes now before us, the first volume contains the first instalment of what is now called the pre-critical works of Kant. It is arranged in chronological order and contains the works written between the years 1747 and 1756.

The second volume will contain the pre-critical works from 1757 to 1777. The Foreword of the editors is rich in interest. It characterises briefly, yet appreciatively, the work of the various editors of the works of Kant, states the principles that guide them in the elaboration of the present edition, speaks of the human and historical significance of the *Entwicklungsgeschichte* of Kant, and indicates what that significance is. The Foreword is brief, but every sentence is weighted with meaning, and it is a word worthy of its place.

It will be enough at present to enumerate the works contained in this volume, and to note that they form part of Kant's scientific training for the great work of inaugurating the critical philosophy. The first treatise, dated by the present editors in 1747, by Paulsen in 1746, is that entitled "Thoughts on the True Estimation of Living Forces," and the writers with whom he deals are Descartes, Leibniz, and Euler. The second work, published in 1754, is an "Examination of the Question whether the Earth has undergone an Alteration of its Axial Rotation". The third is on the question "Whether the Earth grows old? Physically considered". Then follows the treatise, the significance of which is more and more appreciated as time goes on: the title is, "Universal Natural History and Theory of the Heavens". We may say in passing that there is an excellent translation of this treatise, accompanied by a remarkable introduction by Professor Hastie of the University of Glasgow. The characteristic attitude of the treatise is the strict application of physical principles of explanation, and the rejection of all hyper-physical sources of explanation, together with the assertion that only by this procedure can the divine origin of the world be maintained. Along with this is the thought that the Newtonian Laws are not only laws in operation at present, the operation of these laws is the explanation of the history of the cosmos. The evolution of the heavens and the earth flows from the operation of these laws.

In the edition before us there follows the treatise "De Igne" and "Principiorum Primorum cognitionis metaphysicae nova dilucidatio," both dated in 1755. This treatise is of

interest because it shows that Kant, while he makes attacks on the philosophy of Wolff, still occupies in the main the Wolffian standpoint. For the year 1756 we have various works, showing that the physical side of things is still the main object of Kant's thought. One of these is an inquiry into "The Causes of Earthquakes from which the Western Part of Europe suffered toward the end of the preceding year". These and other two short essays on the same subject originally appeared in the *Königsberger Nachrichten* of 1756. To the same year belong the treatise "*Metaphysicæ cum geometria junctas usus in philosophia naturali, cujus specimen, continet monadologiam physicam,*" and with "New Remarks in Explanation of the Theory of the Winds" complete the first volume of the works. Another volume will complete the pre-critical works.

As to the two volumes of Correspondence now before us, along with the former volume, it completes the correspondence. While a large number of letters are written to him, the letters written by him are of the utmost importance in enabling us to trace his mental development, and to understand the problems which successively engaged his attention. Thus in 1772 in a letter to Marcus Herz we find him asking the significant question: "How are these things given to us if not in the mode in which they affect us? And if such intellectual presentations or notions rest on the activity of the mind, whence comes their agreement with objects which are certainly not produced by them? And the principles which reason gives us about objects, independent of all experience, whence comes the actual validity of them?" In other words, Kant had set himself to inquire into the source of the agreement between reason and things. Then we have such letters as that to Johann Bernoulli in 1781 giving his own account of his development, and of the problems which engaged his attention, and his solutions of them. These letters are of great importance for the understanding of Kant, the man and his system. We have also a number of letters which help us to understand the man and his environment. But a full description would far exceed our limits.

We need only say that the correspondence leads us into the life and thought of the time of Kant, enables us to speak with the people of that time, and brings us into the presence of Kant himself. This edition is worthy of the man, and of the Royal Prussian Academy.

JAMES IVERACH.

A Harmony of the Gospels in the Revised Version, with New Helps for Historical Study. By JOHN A. BROADUS, D.D., LL.D. Revised by ARCHIBALD THOMAS ROBERTSON, Professor of Interpretation of the New Testament, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. New Seventh Edition, revised and enlarged. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1903. Square 8vo, pp. xvii. + 290. Price \$1.50.

Dr. Broadus' *Harmony* has long established itself as one of the best. It is the result of more than thirty years of study and teaching, and it has features of its own. Dr. Broadus does not agree with most Harmonists in the stress laid on the division of our Lord's Ministry into Passover years. He thinks it best to give up the idea of attempting an exact chronology, or of taking the Feasts (the last Passover excepted) as important epochs in our Lord's Mission. He finds the ministry then divides itself into well-defined periods, in each of which it is possible to "trace a gradual progress, (a) in our Lord's self-manifestation, (b) in the hostility of His enemies, and (c) in His training of the Twelve Apostles". Thus the *inner movements* of the history become the important thing, and are capable of being followed. The book, which has passed through six editions in ten years, has been carefully revised by Professor Robertson. Certain alterations and additions have also been made, which increase its value. The analytical outline is put by itself at the beginning as well as in the body of the text. Cross references are given in a separate Appendix as well as in the text. A full Index of persons and places is added, new lists of Parables, Miracles, Old Testament quotations, Uncanonical Sayings of Jesus, and Harmonies are given. We get also an admirable map of Palestine. The book is thus improved in various ways,

while in substance it remains what it was. It should be of great use for Theological Halls, and all kinds of Bible Classes, as well as for the minister's pulpit preparations. And it has the special interest of giving a conjunct view of our Lord's Life according to the natural unfolding of His ministry.

Christian Difficulties in the Second and Twentieth Centuries. A Study of Marcion and his Relation to Modern Thought. By F. J. FOAKES JACKSON, B.D., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Hon. Canon of Peterborough. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons; London: Edward Arnold, 1903. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 175. Price 3s. 6d. net.

This volume consists of the Hulsean Lectures for 1902-1903. It has a good deal to say on the subject of Gnosticism as it appeared in the second century. But its main purpose is to discuss the religious problems of to-day in the light of those of that important era. In the preface the author states his own position frankly to be that of one who does not think that "any form of Christianity can survive if it abandons what have in all ages been considered the fundamentals of the faith, such as the Divinity of our Lord in the sense accepted by the Universal Church, the fact of the Resurrection, and the indissoluble connexion between the Old and New Testaments".

In the first lecture Mr. Jackson draws out with considerable skill the main points of resemblance between the two centuries, especially as regards the openness of the question "What is the essence of Christianity?" He also gives his view of the way in which Gnosticism arose, a short sketch of Marcion and some account of his theories, and of Tertullian and his polemic. The second lecture bears the title of "The Rival Gods". It expounds and criticises the Marcionite doctrine of God and that defended by Tertullian—the unknown God, distinct from the Creator, the God whom the universe is unworthy to reveal, of the former, and the "Supreme Power existing for all eternity, unbegotten and uncreated, without beginning or ending," of the latter. This is followed by a lecture on "Marcion's Gospel," most of which,

however, is devoted to a statement of Tertullian's side of the question and the arguments by which he sought to show that, even when Marcion's curtailed version of Luke's Gospel is accepted for working purposes, we have enough to demonstrate the identity of the Messiah of the Old Testament with the Christ of the Evangelist. The closing lecture deals with the "Pauline Theology". Here Tertullian's fifth book plays a large part, and a good summary is furnished of the reasoning pursued by the great North African in his endeavour to prove that Paul was a continuator of the work of our Lord and His immediate followers; that the God of St. Paul was the same as the God of the Old Testament, etc. The book is an interesting one, and its main positions are sound. Its estimate of Marcion is appreciative, and it makes all due allowance for the fact that the representations of the man and his views come so largely from controversial sources. It does justice to Tertullian, and gives a very useful survey of his doctrinal position. At times, most of all in the opening lecture, it leaves us with the sense of a certain immaturity in its conception of the conditions of religious thought in the second century. Yet the parallel between that time and our own is worked out on the whole with discernment. But what is the conclusion to which Mr. Jackson would bring us? He seems, so far as it is possible to grasp his contention, to have a terror of the name Protestant, and to claim an exceptional position for the Church of England which none outside her, nor by any means all within her, can justify. Of the Church of England he says that from the day she asserted her freedom from Rome, she "took her stand on Scripture and primitive tradition," and "refused to commit herself to any doctrine, practice, or theory of government unable to bear an appeal to these tests". But he gives no indication of which is in his view the *final* test—the tradition or the original sources. On questions of this fundamental kind he is in the clouds. He tells us that the Church of England "perhaps alone of all Christian Societies, can display the liberal spirit of the early days". One can place

this claim to the credit of his love for his own Church. But when he proceeds to assert that "the Church of England cannot be Protestant, in the sense in which the word is now used in Germany, and regard the fundamental doctrines of the Creed of Christendom as subjects to be handled with freedom, and perhaps without reverence," we must say that he entirely misunderstands what Protestantism is and what it was to the founders of his own Reformed Church. And further, the position which he takes means that he would make the Creeds the final authority, not Scripture itself. In a footnote he calls attention to Harnack's definition of Protestantism as bearing that it has taken its stand on "the principle of the Gospel exclusively, and declared its readiness at all times to test all doctrines afresh by a true understanding of the Gospel"; and he actually refers to this as something to be repudiated. But here again the curious immaturity which we have noticed as coming to the surface now and again, we might almost call it the *boyishness* of the excellent author's judgments of fundamental things, asserts itself. No doubt Mr. Jackson in due time will see that there is a good deal more to be taken into account than his naïve and limited Anglicanism is conscious of at present.

Encyclopædia Biblica. A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political and Religious History, the Archæology, Geography and Natural History of the Bible. Edited by the Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, D.Litt., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, and formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Canon of Rochester, and J. SUTHERLAND BLACK, M.A., LL.D., formerly Assistant Editor of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Vol. iv., Q to Z. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1903. 4to, pp. xxix. + cols. 5444. Price 20s. cloth.

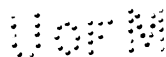
The last volume of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* is in the hands of the public. It is of the same general character as the former three, and it is not necessary, therefore, to say again what has been already said in criticism of it. There is nothing in this concluding volume to alter in any way the

view we have already been led to take of it. The volume includes a number of articles which are of real value, and fully answer the idea of an *Encyclopædia*. There are many contributions which are full of information that has been carefully acquired and sifted, and is presented in useful, reliable form. And there are many which are thoroughly independent and far from being given over to the slavery of a particular school or the idiosyncrasy of some peculiar theorist. But there are others, far too many of them, which are of a very different order, giving only one side of a question and taken up with flimsy and extravagant speculations which have little or nothing behind them.

This concluding volume is accompanied by a Publisher's Note which explains and vindicates the form given to the undertaking. The claims which are put forward by this Note in behalf of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* are high and varied. With some of them all will at once agree. Undoubtedly the editorial work on its business and mechanical side has been admirably done throughout. The four volumes are singularly free from printer's blunders, scholar's mistakes and the minute inaccuracies which, in many books and especially in large and complex publications like this, are so irritating and disturbing. Conciseness of statement, too, could scarcely be carried further. As we read we feel that every superfluous word and every merely stylistic phrase have been removed without compunction—often, we doubt not, to the discomposure of the writer. The system of cross references, the maps, the illustrations, etc., all deserve the highest praise. But when one looks at the claims for uniqueness, superiority, scientific exactitude, freedom from all prejudice and sectarianism and the like, which are urged in this remarkable Note with such emphasis and with so imperturbable a confidence, he is tempted to insist on the other side which has to be presented to the strong statement of virtues, and to point to those unhappy characteristics of the work in which it fails to satisfy one's expectations of an *Encyclopædia*. For a book of that kind is not meant to be a house of refuge for the admittance of starving fancies, vagrant speculations

or heady theorisings which would have difficulty in finding shelter in the broad and hospitable domains of real science—the science that is at home in the laborious field of fact patiently gathered and rigorously examined, and that keeps aloof from all hypotheses which spring easily from the errant imagination and are not broadly and securely based on large and exact inductions. That a serious mistake is felt to have been made in admitting so much matter of this doubtful kind may be gathered from the Note in question. For at certain points it takes a tone that is very like that of apology. This appears in what is said of “the variety that is due to obvious difference of standpoint,” and in the explanation offered of the invitation given to “more than one writer to contribute to the discussion of a subject from different points of view”. Thus we get in one article “a vigorous defence of the non-Pauline authorship of the major ‘Pauline’ Epistles,” and in another an “able defence of the opposite view”. And in the same way we get an enforcement of Professor Cheyne’s new theory in many smaller articles (in how many alas!), and alongside that a statement of other views “in the major articles by other scholars”. We are not inclined to look on this as a virtue. We are the less disposed to take that view of the method after we have fought our way through the extraordinary reasonings and self-confident assertions which make the substance of many of these articles.

It is a pleasure, however, to point to the considerable list of thoroughly satisfactory contributions in the present volume. Among these we may name Dr. Benzinger’s article on the “Temple”; Professor Bennett’s on the term “Stranger,” etc.; Mr. Burkitt’s on “Texts and Versions”; Professor Geldner’s on “Zoroastrianism”; Mr. Cowley’s on “Samaritans and Synagogue”; Dr. Buchanan Gray’s on “Theophany,” etc.; Professor Kennedy’s on “Weaving,” etc.; Professor Stade’s on the “Books of Samuel”; Professor G. A. Smith’s on “Trade and Commerce,” etc. There are other articles, such as those on “Son of God” and “Son of Man,” which are of more mixed value, yet instructive and helpful. And there are others in which King Charles’ head still protrudes itself.



Studies in Contemporary Biography. By JAMES BRYCE, Author of *The Holy Roman Empire*, *The American Commonwealth*, etc. London: Macmillan & Co., 1903. 8vo, pp. ix. + 487. Price 10s. net.

Mr. Bryce has written a delightful book. It is needless to say it is an able book, full of penetration, and singularly free from prejudice or political bias in its estimates of men. It is more in point to say that it is full of interest from beginning to end and holds the reader easily. It gives sketches and appreciations of twenty men, belonging to recent years, who have left distinguished names behind them. They are men of very different kinds in personal character, public service and department of work. They include statesmen like Lord Beaconsfield, Robert Lowe, the Earl of Iddesleigh, Mr. Parnell and Mr. Gladstone; Churchmen like Archbishop Tait, Bishop Fraser, Dean Stanley and Archbishop Manning; great lawyers like Sir George Jessel and Earl Cairns; philosophers like Henry Sidgwick; novelists like Anthony Trollope; scholars like William Robertson Smith; journalists like E. L. Godkin; historians like J. R. Green, E. A. Freeman and Lord Acton. With each and all Mr. Bryce shows himself to be at home, and on each he has something worthy to say. His estimates of the two great rivals in English statesmanship, Beaconsfield and Gladstone, are given with complete detachment from personal likings and political convictions, and are remarkable for their insight into character as well as for their fairness. Many will read with peculiar pleasure the tribute to the character of Sir Stafford Northcote, the statement of the great acquisitions and unfulfilled possibilities of Lord Acton, and the appreciative paper on John Richard Green. Even when he touches on theological questions, as in his just and sympathetic notice of William Robertson Smith, Mr. Bryce can hold his own with most. It is impossible, however, to give an adequate idea of the value and interest of this series of biographical sketches. No one will read the book without feeling grateful to the writer.

Addresses on the Temptation. By EDWARD LEE HICKS, M.A.,
Canon of Manchester. London: Macmillan & Co.,
1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. + 122. Price 3s. net.

*The Temptation of Jesus. A Study of our Lord's Trial in the
Wilderness.* By A. MORRIS STEWART, M.A. London :
Andrew Melrose, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. + 230. Price
6s.

Canon Hicks deals with the story of our Lord's Temptation as a "self-revelation of the mind of Christ, embodied in a brief and deeply symbolical narrative". After some preliminary remarks on the characteristic variations of the synoptical reports of the Temptation, its time and circumstances, etc., he takes up the three scenes in succession according to Luke's order, and closes with two chapters on the "Mystery of Temptation" and "Our Lord's use of Holy Scripture". There is much useful practical matter in the volume, and on the more difficult aspects of the subject the author writes with good sense. In interpreting the narratives he makes special use of two "obvious sources of information and suggestion," as he terms them. The first of these is the "antecedent course of Hebrew religion, and those anticipations of the Messianic Kingdom which certainly coloured the mind and language of Christ". This is handled with understanding. The second is the "consentient testimony of the primitive Church, whose earliest writings are admitted to be all but contemporaneous with the events in question". In his appeal to this source Canon Hicks is less successful. Neither the critical questions nor the independence of the exegete can be said to be kept adequately in view. The problem of the supernatural is fairly faced. On this the right position is taken. Canon Hicks sees that "the miraculous or supernatural in the gospels centres in the personality of Christ," and his view is that, when we have first made up our minds "as to who and what He is, we shall be able to decide whether the miraculous element in the story befits our conception of Himself". At the same time it is the author's object to show that his "view of the essential meaning of the

Temptation is independent of any theory of the miraculous". The book contains not a few acute and suggestive ideas, and is well worth study.

The author of the second volume on the same great subject has made himself known by his former publication, *The Crown of Science*. That book has been widely recognised as a thoughtful and attractively written contribution to the subject with which it deals. This new effort is not less distinguished by the good qualities which have won deserved favour for its predecessor. The style is admirably clear and finished. There is a certain literary flavour about the book, while the subject itself is handled with ability, insight and reverence. Questions of criticism and "purely theological discussion" are not formally dealt with. It is easy to see, however, that the author is by no means unfamiliar with these, and in the Appendix he gives some good notes which show his acquaintance with disputed matters. He gives short discussions of the significance of the number *Forty*, the meaning of the phrases *ἐἰς τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας* and *τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, and the "Relation of Human Nature to Sin; especially in Jesus". On this last Mr. Stewart's conclusion is that when we look at the sinlessness of Jesus and His true humanity we see that "our original sinfulness lies, not in a taint which is essential to our nature, but in alienation from God, which makes communion with Him impossible". He adds, and in this we entirely agree with him, that "the modern view of heredity supplies a sufficient and very impressive doctrine of original sin, which is almost Augustinian in intensity, if rightly apprehended".

In his interpretation of the narratives of the Temptation, Mr. Stewart differs considerably from Canon Hicks. His idea is to keep in view the significance of two things—the facts which concern our Lord, and the narrative which "sends them on to us". He prefers to follow Matthew's order. He is of opinion that Luke's order "seems designed to end on a level which shall be close to the beginnings of our Lord's ministry," and to present Christ as at last "choosing an ordinary road towards His extraordinary work: returning in

the power of the Spirit into Galilee". We question whether this is the explanation of Luke's order. Mr. Stewart, however, regards Matthew's as the *logical* order, the temptations rising from the less to the greater; and he makes effective use of this idea in his exposition. We wish the volume a good reception. Those who are induced to begin it are not likely to leave it till they get to the end.

The Power of God unto Salvation. By BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, D.D., LL.D., Professor in Princeton Theological Seminary. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 254.

The eight sermons included in this volume were preached in the chapel of the Theological Seminary, of which the author has been long one of the most distinguished ornaments. They are strong discourses, full of matter, treating of the highest themes—serious studies in short and powerful expositions of fundamental Christian truth. They recall the days when the pew was more inclined than it now is to receive instruction in the deeper things of the Kingdom of God and to delight in doctrinal preaching. They deal with such subjects as "The Revelation of Man," "The Saving Christ," "The Leading of the Spirit," etc. One of the best and most striking bears the title of "The Argument from Experience". The text is Romans v. 1, 2, and the subject is the Christian's peace and joy. And the point of the discourse is that this grace of peace and joy is not argued out as a thing which the Christian ought to possess, nor enjoined as a thing to be sought, nor even expounded in respect of its nature, but simply assumed as a matter of experience. Following out this idea Dr. Warfield shows how large a place this argument from experience has in Paul's writings; how fatal the misuse of it is when it is made to bear the "whole weight of the evidences of our religion"; what it really means and where its validity lies. The two closing discourses are on "Paul's Earliest Gospel" and "False Religions and True". Of these, as well as of that on "The Paradox of Omnipot-

tence" and others, we might be tempted to say much. But it is unnecessary. All have the excellent qualities of weighty thought and strong doctrinal statement coupled with practical application and direct personal appeals.

Ritschlianism. Expository and Critical Essays. By JAMES ORR, M.A., D.D., Professor of Apologetics and Systematic Theology in the Glasgow College of the United Free Church of Scotland. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 283. Price 6s.

This volume consists mainly of matter which has already appeared in the form of magazine articles. The republication of these scattered papers in a handy volume, however, will be welcome to those interested in the Ritschlian theology. Much in that theology remains almost as obscure and debatable now after many years of discussion as it was felt to be when it was first broached. It has undergone great modifications at the hands of its more recent representatives. The way is being prepared for other forms of theology with a more definite message, and to some extent the Ritschlian movement has spent its force. It will remain an interesting chapter, however, in the history of nineteenth century religious thought, and it will be for some time yet a considerable influence. All contributions to the better understanding of the system are welcome, and few British theologians have so good a right to ask us to take his version of it as Professor Orr. He has been a careful and discriminating student of it, and he has reached conclusions on its general drift which claim our attention. His judgment of the system, in respect both of its foundations and its expositions of particular doctrines, differs in important points from that of some others, *e.g.*, Dr. Alfred Garvie. We are glad, therefore, to have these papers with their varied contents. They travel over a considerable variety of subject. They present a good general view of the Ritschlian theology. They furnish useful sketches of Ritschl himself and his school. They also give important criticisms of Professor

Swing's view of Ritschl and his critics; of Harnack's conception of Christ and His Gospel; of McGiffert's construction of Apostolic Christianity, etc. One of the most opportune papers is that on the system of the Parisian school known as *Symbolo-fidélisme*, which will be comparatively new, we imagine, to many. There are two papers of more general scope—the “Miraculous Conception and Modern Thought” and “Faith and Reason”. The closing chapter is given to the question of the “Judgment of Value”. The point of this discussion is to show how mistaken the notion is that there is or can be any real opposition between “value-judgments” and “theoretic judgments”. Disciples of the Ritschlian theology will no doubt dissent from not a few of Professor Orr's criticisms, and after all his careful study of a pre-eminently difficult system of religious thought we confess to the feeling that there is more to be said regarding what Ritschl himself meant by the “value-judgments” and their application. But we entirely sympathise with Dr. Orr in the verdict that must be pronounced on Ritschlianism, if it is of the essence of that system to set up “two distinct and mutually exclusive classes of judgments, and to place religion in the one, while debarring it from the other”. Can it be said, however, that the relations in which these two classes of judgments stand to each other have been sufficiently cleared up as yet?

Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century. By H. V. HILPRECHT, Clark Research Professor of Assyriology and Scientific Director of the Babylonian Expedition, University of Pennsylvania. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. Large 8vo, pp. xxiv. + 809. Price 12s. 6d. net.

This is a large and important volume, admirably printed and splendidly illustrated. The learned author, who has acquired a great and deserved reputation for thorough work, indefatigable industry, constructive talent and sobriety of judgment, has had the co-operation in the preparation of the book of four scholars each eminent in his own particular line—Dr.

Benzinger, formerly of Berlin University, and Professors Hommel, Jensen and Steindorf of the Universities respectively of Munich, Marburg and Leipzig. Nothing has been left undone to make the volume complete, reliable and attractive. The illustrations, which are of excellent quality, amount to nearly two hundred, and there are four very useful maps. The book gives the fullest, clearest and most trustworthy summary of results in the wide field of Eastern exploration that is at present to be had. It is written with scientific precision, and yet is adapted to the use of the general public. It is appropriately dedicated to H. Clay Trumbull, the re-discoverer of Kadesh-Barnea, and it takes up in succession the researches and discoveries in Assyria and Babylonia, Palestine, Egypt and Arabia. The story of the resurrection of Nineveh and Babylon fitly leads the way, and is graphically told. The work done by men like Rich, Buckingham, Mignan, Fraser, Jones, Lynch and others is next summarised. Then follows an interesting account of the excavations of Botta, Layard, Rassam, Rawlinson and others. The French work at Tello, the German at Surghul, and the American at Nuffar, is represented in clear, concise statements. The case of Egypt is handled with equal precision and ability by Professor Steindorff, the accounts of the Fayum and El 'Amarna being particularly interesting. Dr. Hommel deals with the history of exploration in Arabia, and gives valuable discussions on the South Arabian Inscriptions and on Arabia and the Old Testament. The archæological results of the work in Palestine are presented with admirable skill by Dr. Benzinger, and the volume closes with a communication by Professor Jensen on the so-called Hittites and their inscriptions. It is interesting to notice that Dr. Jensen still confesses the extreme difficulty of the question raised by the Hittites of Palestine mentioned in the Bible. The *name* itself tells us nothing of the nationality of the people, and no definite answer can be given as yet to the questions whether a section of the inhabitants of Khate in North Syria did really settle at any time in Palestine, and whether these Palestinian Hittites were merely a race cognate with those

of the inscriptions. All that Dr. Jensen thinks we are entitled to say is that "about the year B.C. 1400 a people is found in Palestine with names which to all appearance are Indo-Germanic, and therefore may possibly be ancient Armenians".

With all its rich contents, the book does not cover the entire field of exploration. The work done in Persia and Cyprus is left unnoticed, and there are some names that seem to be passed over, *e.g.*, that of Young and the part he played in the decipherment of the hieroglyphics. But the book is one of great value and wonderful completeness within its limits. All students of the Bible should have it beside them.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Studien zur Israelitischen Religionsgeschichte.

Von D. Johannes Meinhold, a. o. Professor der Evangelischen Theologie. Band I.: "Der Heilige Rest". Teil I.: *Elias, Amos, Hosea, Jesaja*. Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag, 1903.

Geschichtsbetrachtung und Geschichtliche Überlieferung bei den Vorexilischen Propheten.

Von Lic. Dr. O. Procksch, Privatdocent der Theologie. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1902. Price 5s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR MEINHOLD of Bonn gives us the first part of a monograph on the prophetic conception of the "Remnant" of Israel, which plays such an important part in the Old Testament Scriptures. "The need for a detailed investigation of this subject lies in the fact that in commentaries and theologies far-reaching conclusions are drawn from this expression and the ideas connected with it, as if we were clear about this conception itself and its origin." It is commonly held that Elijah was the first to introduce the idea of an Israel *κατὰ σάρκα* and *κατὰ πνεῦμα*, an idea which naturally connects itself with a monotheistic faith in Jahveh as Lord of the moral world. Those who by their actions acknowledged Jahveh in this moral aspect formed a "Remnant," not because they were Israelites, but because they were pious Israelites. This is Wellhausen's view. "To Elijah," he says, "there exists over all but one holy and one mighty One, who reveals Himself, not in nature, but in law and righteousness in the world of man." Smend agrees with Wellhausen, holding that in Elijah's struggle with Tyrian Baal the spiritual and the worldly for the first time came into direct conflict in Israel, and that "Elijah was fighting not with Ahab but with the kingdom and even the nation as such".

Gunkel is in essential agreement, classing Elijah with Amos and Hosea as a monotheist. In Meinhold's monograph all these positions are traversed. Elijah was "no monotheist"; the struggle in which he was engaged was ritualistic rather than moral; and the 7000 were no more Israel *κατὰ πνεῦμα* than the feeble remnant who erstwhile clung to David after the civil war under Absalom. An examination of the writings of Amos and Hosea leads Meinhold to the conclusion that the idea of the holy Remnant is equally foreign to those later prophets. "It is in Isaiah that we first find this idea. He gathered round him a holy Remnant, in order thereby to deliver his state and his country. If towards the close of his life he despaired of this deliverance, it does not follow that the idea of a holy Remnant, and the holy Remnant itself, died with him." The writer promises to conduct the investigation a stage further in another volume. If his reasoning does not always carry conviction, he at any rate takes a firm grasp of the essential problems, writes in a clear and forcible style, and offers many interesting specimens of exegesis as well as acute criticisms of the views of other writers.

The writings of the Pre-exilic prophets contain frequent references to the traditions and histories of Israel. There are many points of contact between these prophets and the Jehovistic, Elohist and Deuteronomic writings. The narratives alluded to range from the origin of the human race down to the time of the Kings and the overthrow of the Israelitish monarchy. It is evident that the utterances of the prophets have an important bearing upon the age, the historicity and the interpretation of these narratives. Dr. Procksch makes the investigation of the prophetic statements in question the theme of his *Erstlingsschrift*. It is a thoroughly competent piece of work so far as it goes, but the discussion and the results are of textual and literary rather than of historical and theological value.

JAMES STRACHAN.

Notices.

THE June issue of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* is to a large extent a John Wesley number, containing interesting papers on the great Evangelist's home, dilemmas and humours, the reading of his preachers, his work in Ireland, etc.

In the *Expository Times* for the same month we have, among other valuable articles, one by Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis, dealing with the question whether Thomas, the doubting disciple, is to be identified with Jude, the youngest brother of our Lord, and whether he and James or he and Joses were twins; and another, full of interesting details, on "Traces of Tree-worship in the Old Testament," by the Rev. R. Bruce Taylor. In the July issue we may refer specially to a paper by Dr. A. N. Jannaris on the question "Who Wrote the Fourth Gospel?" Its main object is to show that the writer "speaks of himself in the first person; now as *οὗτος* or *I*, and now as *ἡμεῖς* or *we*," and that the mystery of the personality is solved by the synoptists in their notice of the *three* who witnessed the Transfiguration. Professor J. A. Paterson gives a good sketch of *Hermann Schultz*.

The May issue of *The Ethical Record* is an *educational* number. It includes instructive discussions by Messrs. Thurston, Dewhurst, Osborne, Muzzey, and others on such subjects as "Social Education through School Organisation," "Results of the Chicago Convention for Religious and Moral Education," the "Need of Vital Experience in Education," the "Ethical Message of Walt Whitman," etc.

We direct the attention of readers to an important article by Pierre Batiffol on the Eucharist in the New Testament in the *Bulletin de Littérature ecclésiastique* for May. The testi-

mony of Paul and Luke is specially dealt with in this number. The learned author is to follow this up by discussions of St. Matthew's testimony, recent theories on our Lord's conception of the Supper and the Eucharist, and the witness of St. John. In the June number, M. Louis Saltet writes on "Apollinarianism," and M. de la Fullière on "Newman and his Theory of Religious Knowledge".

In the *Methodist Review* for May-June, Mr. T. McK. Stuart writes on "Evolution and the Miraculous," contending that the only rational explanation of the universe is that there is "divine interposition all along through the cosmic processes"; Dr. J. W. Van Cleve says some good things on "the Preacher's Appeal to the Emotions"; and there are other articles, *e.g.*, one by Mr. Arthur Bumstead on "The Ethical Aspect of Paul's Conversion," that will be read with profit.

In the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* for May-June, M. Alfred Loisy continues his study of the Sermon on the Mount, his particular subject being the view of the Gospel and the Law given in our Lord's words there.

The April issue of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* contains among other good things suggestive papers on the question whether the world is *spiritual*, by President John Bascom; the "Origin of New Species and of Man," by Professor Macloskie of Princeton; the "First Sin, its Consequences, and the Remedy," by Dr. Cornelius Walker; the "Latest Translation of the Bible," by Henry M. Whitney, etc. In an article bearing the title "Hints Relative to the Date of the Fourth Gospel," Professor Charles W. Rishell presents certain considerations drawn from the progress of Christological development in the writings of Justin Martyr, Origen and Athanasius which bear on the date of John's Gospel.

In the April issue of the *American Journal of Theology*, Mr. K. Lake reviews Weiss' *Text of the Gospels*, criticising it especially in these two respects, *viz.*, that it is "subjective, and does not follow any definite system of valuing and grouping authorities," and that it "regards Greek manuscripts as of paramount importance and surpassing in value

any Version or any patristic evidence". Mr. Lake indicates at the same time his own view of what we get as the result of any attempt to trace the Gospels back to the earliest times. The result is that what we find is not one type of text nor even two types, but "several which seem to have prevailed in various localities". In short, his opinion is that there are only two ways in which we can treat the Gospels: we may restore the texts of various Churches, or we may "find out the various documents which lie behind our present Gospels". Professor C. G. Shaw of New York University writes on the old question of "Religion and Morality"; Professor G. C. Gow of Vassar College on "Public Worship from the point of view of the Christian Musician"; and the Rev. Henry A. Redpath of Oxford on "The Geography of the Septuagint". This last is an elaborate study and one of great value. Mr. Redpath finds that the writers of the period in question knew little beside the islands and Asiatic shores of the Eastern Mediterranean; that out of a total of seventy-four names of places or countries, or of adjectives connected with these, which are common to the LXX and the New Testament, fifty-three occur in the Book of Acts; and that the extreme limits of the names occurring in the whole of the LXX are Spain in the West, Persepolis or Parthia in the East, Ethiopia in the South, and Macedonia in the North.

Part I. of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* for the current year contains several articles of value. Professor Bacon of Yale writes on the "Ultimate Problems of Biblical Science". These he takes to be *first* the determination, mainly through the study of the Old Testament, of the *ideal* expressed by the terms Redemption, the Kingdom of God, etc., and *second* the determination, mainly through the New Testament, of that in which Jesus conceived His sufficiency to lie, the way in which participation in the *summum bonum* was regarded as attainable by all His followers, and the reason why the "conviction of success" was triumphant in Himself and in His followers. Dr. John P. Peters contributes some interesting notes of a vacation tour in Palestine which brought him by Byblos, Baalbek, Sidon, Gerash, Taanuk, Nejeb, Gezer, etc.

Professor Prince of Columbia University, New York, has something to say of two Assyro-Babylonian parallels to Daniel v. 5, etc. And, not to mention all, we have an article by Professor S. I. Curtiss on "Firstlings and other Sacrifices," in which he gives some interesting particulars about sacrifices offered between the feet.

The July number of the *Hibbert Journal* opens with a paper by Professor Peabody of Harvard on "The Character of Jesus Christ," which expounds in particular the "central quality of moral and intellectual power" in Christ and His "spiritual solitude". Principal Miller of the Madras Christian College contributes a masterly rejoinder to Dr. Oldfield on the question "Are Indian Missions a Failure?" The measure of justice which the most experienced missionaries will themselves at once admit in some of Dr. Oldfield's criticisms, and the difficulty of answering such questions as that regarding the legitimacy of Christian missionaries sharing in the amusements of their countrymen, are fully acknowledged. But the "basal principle" of most of Dr. Oldfield's strictures is shown to be wrong. The paper by Mr. Wilfrid Ward on "The Philosophy of Authority in Religion" is, as one might expect, acute and suggestive. In his article on "Pressing Needs of the Old Testament Study" Canon Cheyne puts strongly the necessity first for greater attention to Assyriological and Egyptological material bearing an Israelitish history (in which all scholars will at once agree with him); and secondly, of a keener and more methodical textual criticism, by which he means the methods of Hugo Winckler, not those even of Wellhausen, Cornill or Paul Haupt. Dr. James Moffatt writes on "Zoroastrianism and Primitive Christianity," tracing and estimating the influence of the former in Matthew's story of the wise men, the narratives of the Temptation, our Lord's words regarding the little ones and their angels, the angels of the Seven Churches, etc. There are interesting articles also of another kind, *e.g.*, one by Philip Sidney, on "The Liberal Catholic Movement in England," which brings out strongly the entanglement created by the decision of the Vatican Council of 1869-1870; and one

by Professor Poynting on "Physical Law and Life," in which the writer expresses his opinion that we are "more certain of our power of choice and of responsibility than of any other fact, physical or psychical, unless it be indeed that we are still more certain of the power of choice and of the responsibility of some one else who does us what we regard as an intentional injury," and that consequently we must "repudiate the physical account of Nature when it claims to be complete".

The 114th issue of the *Indian Evangelical Review* has much good matter. Among other articles we have an interesting sketch of the "Sect of Maharajas or Vallabhacharjyas," by Dr. K. S. Macdonald of Calcutta; a discussion on "Unity in the Christian Church," in which Mr. B. C. Chatterjea deals specially with that in the Episcopalian system which is a bar to union; a thoughtful paper on "The Higher Criticism," in which the Rev. D. Reid deals with the popular prejudices against it; and excellent articles on "Mohammedan Monotheism," by Dr. G. Zwemer, the "Witness of Christian Experience," by the Rev. E. S. Oakley, etc.

The fourth part of the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for the year contains among other contributions a lengthened critical examination by Dr. Johannes Wendland of recent theories of the relations in which religion and philosophy stand to each other; and a suggestive discussion by Dr. Hellmuth Zimmermann of the Gospel of Luke in its bearings on the Johannine problem. Mr. Govardhauram M. Tripathi contributes an interesting paper on the "Hindu Ideal of Poverty" to the June number of *East and West*. This paper, which is to be followed by another or others, deals with what poverty has been to the Hindu in the past. It calls for the practice of an enlightened sympathy along with righteousness, and for a careful diagnosis, based on exact data, of a morbid condition of things, especially among the peasantry of India. There are other readable and instructive articles on "Young India in London," "Forty Years Ago," etc.

We have also to notice the following, viz., *Urchristentum in*

Korinth,¹ by Dr. G. Hollmann, a brief study which brings out in a lively way the elements at work in the primitive Christian community in Corinth; the condition of flux in which most things were; the astonishing mixture of Pagan Greek thought and licence; and the still more astonishing confidence of Paul that the living God was working by His grace in the Church and that the life and growth of the Christian community were assured thereby; *Ist lebhaftes religiöses Empfinden ein Zeichen geistiger Krankheit oder Gesundheit?*²—an address by Anstaltspfarrer Johannes Naumann, the practical point of which is that we should not be over-anxious about unhealthy developments of the life of faith on the emotional side, mindful of the Apostolic word, “Quench not the Spirit”; *Der besondere Wert des Alten Testaments für den Arbeiter im Reiche Gottes der Gegenwart*,³ a discourse by Dr. G. Diettrich, illustrating what the Old Testament is as a book of hope, righteousness and religious intuition; *Athanasius und der Bibekanon*,⁴ an important brochure by Professor Theodor Zahn, summarising Athanasius’ views of the Apostolic origin of the Canon of the New Testament, the number and order of the Pauline Epistles, the external position of the Apocryphal writings, his polemic against the books bearing the names of Enoch, Moses and Isaiah, the authority which his opinions carried in the Western Church and in the Eastern, etc.; *Bible Talks with the Little Ones*,⁵ by Clara R. Nash, a small book admirably planned and written in remarkably choice and simple terms which will make it a valued help to the religious instruction of the very young; *The Captain on the Bridge*,⁶ by Newton

¹ Leipzig, Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. 32. Price 6d. net.

² Tübingen u. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. 24. Price 6d. net.

³ Giessen: Ricker; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 15. Price 6d.

⁴ Erlangen und Leipzig: Deichert. Large 8vo, pp. 34. Price M. 1.

⁵ London: Sunday School Union, 1903. 8vo, pp. 125.

⁶ London: Sunday School Union, 1903. Small cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 123.

Jones, a series of useful pictorial addresses in outline for old and young, illustrative of Gospel truth, showing much ingenuity in the treatment of subjects and likely to be of use to teachers and parents; *Through Eye to Heart*,¹ by A. W. Webster and the Rev. Wm. Dryburgh, M.A., B.D., a good book dealing with the principles on which lessons should be constructed, and giving useful example of point and visible illustration in religious addresses; *Das Bild des Christentums bei den grossen deutschen Idealisten*,² a contribution to the history of Christianity by Dr. Lülmann of Stettin, in the form of a summary and criticism of the main points in the teaching of Leibnitz, Lessing, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel and Schleiermacher—a remarkably clear digest of the constructions put upon Christianity by these great philosophers and theologians, with much useful expository and critical matter—a handy book for students; *Der Einfluss der Bibelkritik auf das Christliche Glaubensleben*,³ by Professor Erik Stave of Upsala, a discreet statement of what historico-critical inquiry is, and how far from the case it is that our faith in the Bible as a revelation of God has anything to fear at the hands of such criticism if it is true to its proper idea; *Die Strassburger liturgischen Ordnungen im Zeitalter der Reformation*,⁴ by Friedrich Hubert, a volume in which the acute and laborious author has brought together a mass of historical matter of great interest to the student of the history of the Church in the age of the Reformation, investigating the forms of service and the liturgical appointments in public worship, at marriages, baptisms, funerals, the celebration of the Eucharist, the visitation of the sick, etc., tracing the history of the chief service-books, comparing the various

¹ London: Sunday School Union. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 132. Price 1s. 6d. net.

² Berlin: Schwetschke; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. x. + 229. Price 5s. net.

³ Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. 52. Price 1s.

⁴ Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1900. 8vo, pp. lxxxiv. + 154. Price M.8.

texts, etc.; *Phillips Brooks Year Book*,¹ by H. L. S. and L. H. S., a selection of brief extracts from the various writings of Bishop Brooks, one for each day of the year, giving many of his choicest and most pointed paragraphs, though they are mixed up too much with poetical and other quotations from other books—a volume most tasteful also in its form; *The Interpretation of the Apocalypse*,² by Francis Huston Wallace, a brief criticism of the Futurist, Praeterist, and Ideal Methods of Interpretation, and a defence of the *Ideal-historical*, by which is meant the method that recognises a large ideal element, regards many details as poetical drapery, and where it sees specific references to historical characters and events interprets them as “pertaining to the historical situation as it existed in the time of John, or to that immediate future in which John expects the coming of the Lord and the triumph of the Kingdom”; *The Apostles’ Teaching: Part I., The Pauline Theology*,³ by W. P. Paterson, D.D., an excellent companion-volume to Dr. J. Robertson’s *Guild Textbook on our Lord’s Teaching*, dealing in a clear and scholarly way with the theology of St. Paul himself and then separately with that of Hebrews, open to question here and there in its interpretations, but giving a correct and vivid representation of the main points in the great Apostle’s doctrine of Man, the Law, Grace, the Person and the Work of Christ, the Spirit, the Church, Election and the Last Things—altogether an acute and able summary which should make a valuable textbook for Bible Classes; *The Passing of Arthur*,⁴ by Henry Hayman, D.D., late Fellow of St. John’s College, Oxford, member of the Philological Society of Cambridge, a translation of Tennyson into Greek Heroic verse (with a stanza in Catullian metre from Dryden’s “Alexander’s Feast”)—a task which only a master in Greek scholarship would think of facing, but one

¹ London: Macmillan & Co., 1903. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 366. Price 3s. 6d. net.

² Toronto: Briggs, 1903. Pp. 39.

³ London: A. & C. Black; Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1903. Pp. 141. Price 6d. net.

⁴ Eton: Spottiswoode & Co., 1903. Pp. 67. Price 1s. net.

which is accomplished here with remarkable success, in lines which in most instances run smoothly and pleasantly and are free from obscure or involved phrasing; *Religiöse Wirklichkeit*,¹ by L. Keszler, a treatise which discusses in a sober and¹ reverent spirit and with much ability the question of what religious reality is, how it differs from superstition, in what relation the Bible stands to it, what its principle is, and how the ideas of it differ in the two great schools of theology, the Liberal and the Orthodox, the conclusion finally stated being this, that religious reality is the certitude of the Resurrection, and that this certitude proceeds not from the empty grave but from the Cross of Christ; *Der Christ und die Welt*,² by Lic. Theol. Wilhelm Wagner, an examination of Clement's conception of the relation of the Christian man to the world, giving his teaching on that subject in full detail and with abundant references to the relevant passages in his writings, and bringing out in particular the fact that on the one hand he held by principles which meant a free attitude to the world, while on the other hand he recommended an ascetic withdrawal from the world, and laid down in minute and careful detail many particular restrictions and acts of self-abnegation; *Die Entstehung des Problems Staat und Kirche*,³ by Lic. Dr. W. Köhler, an examination of our Lord's words on giving to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's, and of Paul's teaching on the question of the honour to be given to kings and authorities—a restatement of the old problem of the just relations of State and Church, and an indication of a solution more in the line of Rothe's views (with explanations, however) than any other; *La Doctrine de l'Expiation et son Evolution historique*,⁴

¹ Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. 83. Price 2s.

² Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. 96. Price 2s. 6d. net.

³ Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. 37. Price 1s. net.

⁴ Paris: Fischbacher; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 115.

a short pleasantly written treatise by Professor Auguste Sabatier, tracing the history of the doctrine of expiation, not in detail as has been done by Baur and Ritschl, but in its broad outlines and with a special view to its origins, the conclusion reached being to the effect that the moral power theory, not that of satisfaction or expiation, is the truest, most luminous, most adequate explanation of the meaning of Christ's sufferings and death; *Rudolf Eucken's Theologie mit ihren philosophischen Grundlagen dargestellt*,¹ by Dr. Hans Pöhlmann, a clear and succinct account of the religious philosophy of a thinker who is not widely known as yet in our country, but who has a considerable influence in his own, giving not only his general principles and his ideas of the universal religion, but also a careful exposition of the relation of his system of thought to Christian dogmatics and the history of the Church; *Grundriss der reinen Logik*,² by Gustav Oehmichen, an acute discussion of the idea of Logic, its different parts, its relations to Psychology, Methodology and Epistemology, its laws, its proofs, etc.; *Critica Biblica, Part III., First and Second Samuel*,³ a continuation of Professor Cheyne's critical notes on the text of the Old Testament writings, similar in all respects to the two parts noticed in our May issue, the inferences and hypothetical conjectures being dominated for the most part by the supposition that the North Arabian borderland was the region which "exercised the most direct and continuous influence on that section of the Hebrew race from which the Old Testament records appear to proceed," and that the magic word *Jerahmeel* is the key that opens most doors leading to the secrets of Hebrew history; *The Psalms in Three Collections*,⁴ translated with notes by E. G. King, D.D.—the second instalment of Dr. King's work, giving his exposition of

¹ Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 93. Price 1s. 6d.

² Berlin: Reuther und Reichard. 8vo, pp. 55. Price 1s. net.

³ London: Adam & Charles Black, 1903. 8vo, pp. 199-312. Price 3s. net.

⁴ Part 2: Second Collection. Cambridge: Deighton Bell & Co., 1902, 4to, pp. xvi. + 173-375. Price 5s.

Psalms xlii.-lxxxix., together with a brief but informing introduction dealing with the Korah and Asaph Psalms, in which the former are assigned to about B.C. 515-458 and the latter to a period before the publication of the Priest-code, probably between the dedication of the Second Temple (B.C. 516) and the age of Nehemiah—a careful and useful contribution to the understanding of the Psalter, keeping the results of criticism steadily in view, and furnishing a body of exegetical notes showing occasionally an inclination to allegorising, but generally characterised by good sense, embodying good matter drawn from many sources, and calculated to be of much use to clergymen; *Principal Cairns*,¹ by John Cairns, a valuable addition to the tasteful series of biographies known as the “Famous Scots,” a book that will take its position along with the best of its companion volumes, and that will fill a very useful place beside Professor MacEwen’s larger work—written in excellent style, handling its matter with skill, and giving an attractive and appreciative account of the honourable career of a man who was as simple in his life and transparent in his character as he was massive in mental capacity, of large and varied acquirements, and richly gifted with the philosophical faculty.

¹ Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1903. Pp. 157. Price 1s. 6d. net.

Record of Select Literature.

I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

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- STRACK, H. L. Die Sprüche Jesus des Sohnes Sirachs. Der jüngst gefundene hebr. Text m. Anmerkgn. u. Wörterbuch hrsg. (Schriften des Institutum Judaicum in Berlin. Nr. 31.) Leipzig: A. Deichert Nachf. 8vo, pp. vi. + 74. M.1.50.
- MESSERSCHMIDT, L. The Hittites. (The Ancient East. No. 6.) London: Nutt.
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- HOLTZMANN, J. Die Peschitta zum Buche der Weisheit. Eine kritisch-exeget. Studie. Freiburg i. B.: Herder. 8vo, pp. xii. + 152. M.4.
- HEYN, J. Zum Streit um Babel u. Bibel. 2. Vorträge. Greifswald: L. Bamberg. 8vo, pp. 55. M.1.
- MEYER, S. Contra Delitzsch! Die Babel-Hypothesen widerlegt. 1. Heft. Mit e. Briefe des Hrn. Prof. Friederich Delitzsch an den Verfs. Frankfurt a. M.: J. Kauffmann. 8vo, pp. 59. M.1.
- HILPRECHT, H. V. Die Ausgrabungen der Universität v. Pennsylvania im Bél-Tempel zu Nippur. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchh. 8vo, pp. 76. M.2.

- WINCKLER, H. Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament. 2. Neubearb. Aufl. (Hilfsbücher zur Kunde des alten Orients. 1.) Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchh. 8vo, pp. iv. + 130. M.3.
- KÖBERLE, J. Babylonische Kultur u. biblische Religion. Ein erweiterter Vortrag. Mit besond. Berücksicht. des 2. Vortrags v. Prof. Dr. Fr. Delitzsch üb. Babel u. Bibel. München: C. H. Beck. 8vo, pp. iii. + 54. M.1.20.
- DIETRICH, G. Die neuesten Angriffe auf die religiösen u. sittlichen Vorstellungen des Alten Testaments. Ein Vortrag aus dem Kampfe um Babel u. Bibel. Giessen: J. Ricker. 8vo, pp. 24. M.0.50.
- LEVY, L. Reconstruction des Commentars Ibn Esras zu den ersten Propheten. Berlin: M. Poppelauer. 8vo, pp. xix. + 44. M.2.
- MÖLLER, W. Die Entwicklung der alttestamentlichen Gottesidee in vorexilischer Zeit. Historisch-krit. Bedenken gegen moderne Auffassgn. (Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie. Hrsg. V. A. Schlatter u. H. Cremer. vii. Jahrg., 3. Heft.) Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. 8vo, pp. 183. M.2.80.
- BAUMANN, E. Der Aufbau der Amosreden. Giessen: J. Ricker. 8vo, pp. ix. + 69. M.2.40.
- LAGRANGE, M. J. La méthode historique, surtout à propos de l'Ancien Testament. Paris: Lecoffre. 18mo, pp. viii. + 221.
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- THIEME, K. Der Offenbarungsglaube im Streit üb. Babel u. Bibel. Ein Wort zur Orientierung. Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke. 8vo, pp. 67. M.1.20.
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- HICKS, Edward Lee. Addresses on the Temptation. London: Macmillan. Cr. 8vo, pp. 122. 3s. net.
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- POULIN, L., et LOUTIL, E. Les Évangiles et la critique. Authenticité, intégrité, les trois synoptiques le IV^e Évangile, veracité. Paris: Maison de la bonne presse. 12mo, pp. xlviii. + 278. M.2.
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- THOMAS, James. The First Christian Generation. Its Records and Tradition. London: Sonnenschein. Cr. 8vo, pp. 414. 6s.
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Messrs. C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn of Berlin, to whom we owe the great edition of Calvin superintended by Baum, Cunitz and Reuss, the *Volksausgabe* of Luther's works, the edition of Zwingli's works prepared by Drs. Emil Egli and Georg Finsler, the *Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte* and much else, have projected a new historical series which deserves a cordial welcome. It bears the title *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*. It has the support of the *Verein für Reformationsgeschichte*, and is to be conducted so far in connexion with that useful body. Its special object, however, is to collect and publish hitherto unprinted material bearing on the history of the Reformation, and it will have a large field of work open to it in that direction. It will also include in its issues important printed texts which at present are difficult of access on the part of the historical student. Further, it will give a considerable place to original critical inquiries, the reporting of new discoveries, notices of important articles in the magazines, communications and observations on points of interest, etc. It is to be a collection, therefore, of *Texte und Untersuchungen*. The editor is Professor W. Friedensburg of Stettin. We wish the undertaking much success.

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Notes on the "Roman Hall Mark".

THE writer of the article on "The Title *Catholic* and the Roman Church" seems to be hunting a paradox in the statement (CRITICAL REVIEW, July, 1903, pp. 293-4) that "when the members of the Holy Church are first commonly called 'Catholic Christians' by Theodosius in 380, the word is pronounced with the Roman Hall Mark and its historical significance is already attached to it". The edict referred to followed closely upon the baptism of the emperor named, according to Gibbon and Tillemont. The baptism took place at Thessalonica and was administered by its archbishop. The following proceedings of the emperor, in calling on the then patriarch of Constantinople to accept the creed of Nicæa or to resign, and, on his consequent resignation, procuring the elevation of Gregory Nazianzen to that See, all point in the same direction, *viz.*, that of the Oriental branch of the Church, as distinct from any Western or Roman sources or interference.

But sixty years earlier we have decisive evidence that the term "Catholic Church," with or without the addition "of the Christians," was a commonplace phrase, a thoroughly hackneyed term, in the state edicts of Constantine the Great. Eusebius has preserved three or four of these, some addressed to an imperial officer, others to bishops (*Ecccl. Hist.*, x., 5). The restitution to Christians of property confiscated or seized in the previous persecution forms the subject of some of these, others relate to the trouble raised against Cæcilianus, Bishop of Carthage. The phrases are "things which belong to the Catholic Church of the Christians"; "I ascribe such honour to the Catholic Church by law established (*ἐνθέσμῳ*)"; "the people of the most holy and Catholic Church"; "in the Catholic Church which Cæcilianus governs". There is not

the least ground for ascribing to the phrase as used by Theodosius any deviation from the meaning which it bears in these edicts of Constantine, in which any "Roman Hall Mark" is of course out of the question.

I purpose next tracing the use of the term "Catholic" from its earliest mention, I believe by Ignatius, to the times when persecution ceased. That father writes, on his road to martyrdom, to the Smyrnæans, Polycarp's Church (ch. viii.), "Wherever the bishop appears, there let the multitude be; as wherever Christ Jesus is, there is the Catholic Church". It is worth notice that he introduces the phrase by way of illustration. If the phrase had not been perfectly familiar to those addressed, his illustration would only have obscured his meaning. The narrative of the martyrdom of Polycarp, some fifty years later than Ignatius, states (ch. viii.) that he "prayed for the whole Catholic Church over all the world," speaks of him as "bishop of the Catholic Church which is in Smyrna" (ch. xvi.), and of "the Lord" as "Shepherd of the Catholic Church which is over all the earth" (ch. xix.). I pass on to Clement of Alexandria, who (*Strom.*, vii., 7, 107) has a specially emphatic passage, "As regards then both substance and purpose, as regards both origin and pre-eminence, we say that the original and Catholic Church is one only (*μόνην εἶναι*) in respect of unity of one faith". We come next to the encyclical letter of the Council of Antioch, condemning Paul of Samosata. It is addressed with the most formal solemnity, "To Dionysius (Rome) and to Maximus (Alexandria), and to the bishops, priests and deacons throughout the world, who share public office with us, and to all the Catholic Church under the heaven". In the course of the letter occurs the phrase, "one might have corrected him (Paul), at any rate if he had had the Catholic disposition (*φρόνημα*)". I will adduce from Cyprian's remains only the "Sentences of the eighty-seven Bishops" at the Council of Carthage. Among them the "Catholic Church," as alone conveying salutary baptism, occurs seven or eight times, and in one we have the epithet "Catholic" applied to the Church's baptism.

I have not at the moment of writing access to the works of the great Athanasius, but I seem to remember the use of the epithet, as applied either to the faith or to the Church, as a frequently recurring feature. But a decisive example is found in the concluding sentence of the Nicene Council, A.D. 325, which runs thus, "Those who assert that there was a time when He (God the Son) was not . . . those the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes". By every test which can be applied to human language the phrase is found throughout this *catena* in the same sense. Constantine and Theodosius found it on the lips of the churchmen of their own period and used it as they found it.

The writers adduced above represent Syria, the Roman Asia, Alexandria and Africa, and the chain stretches back to within probably ten years of St. John's death, and to the circle of churches under his personal guidance, before any Hall Mark of Rome was known or Rome had any Hall Mark to give. But even at the time of Theodosius there was no intellectual vigour, no personal or official ascendancy in the contemporary Bishop of Rome, Damasus. The centre of Western Church influence was not at Rome, but at Milan, where Ambrose was running a great career chequered with many reverses of fortune. Rome, indeed, had been discredited just before by the wavering of its previous bishop, Liberius (A.D. 352-366), and by the sanguinary riot in her streets over the election of his successor. Had any "Hall Mark" been received at that time from the West, it could hardly have proceeded from Rome.

Neither do we find in the middle of the fifth century (whatever later developments may have brought about) any such divergence between the terms "Catholic" and "Orthodox" as M. A. R. Tüker seeks to establish. The Emperor Marcian, writing with a view to reunion under the term "Theotokos," urges the recalcitrant monks whom he addresses to "join themselves to the Catholic Church of the orthodox which was one". The following words of the Theodosian edict, defining the "religion" as that "delivered by St. Peter to the Romans," and recognised as "followed

by the chief Bishop (*pontificem*) Damasus, and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria of Apostolic sanctity," is probably a local touch of colouring from Thessalonica itself, as regards the first clause of it. The previous Emperor Gratian, then a youth of nineteen years, in allotting a wider sphere of jurisdiction to the Roman See—an act which the temporal power was of course incompetent to effect—had drawn the line at Eastern Illyricum, in which Thessalonica lay. "Pontifex" Damasus thereupon constituted Ascholius and another, bishops of that region, his representatives for certain ecclesiastical purposes. From one of these the emperor, baptized as above at Thessalonica, presumably derived this part of the wording of his edict. The residue of it, referring to "Pontifex" Damasus and the Bishop of Alexandria, follows the form which, as above, had been established in the œcumenic letter of the Antiochene Council, naming Dionysius of Rome and Maximus of Alexandria, as holding the then representative Sees of the West and the East respectively. The same sequence is observable in the signatories of the Nicene canons. Hosius, as discharging certain presidential functions, there signs first, then follow the signatures of the representatives of the absent Roman Bishop Sylvester, and next the Bishop of Alexandria. The precedence of Constantinople as "New Rome" was a later product of the plan by which the ecclesiastical organization followed the imperial lead.

The edict of Theodosius of course is an act of the temporal power only, and as conferring any distinctive character on the teaching of the Roman See is necessarily valueless.

HENRY HAYMAN.

Spinoza's Political and Ethical Philosophy.

By Robert A. Duff, M.A., Lecturer on Moral and Political Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. Glasgow : James Maclehose & Sons, publishers to the University. 8vo, pp. xii. + 516. Price 10s. net.

MR. DUFF has been fascinated by Spinoza, and his work in exposition and defence of that great thinker has been a labour of love. He has done full justice—some may say he has done more than justice—to Spinoza, but no reader of this book can fail to be impressed with the ability, zeal, literary skill, argumentative power, and general philosophical power of Mr. Duff. There is no book dealing with the political and ethical philosophy of Spinoza that can be compared with this one. The attitude of Mr. Duff is evident from the concluding paragraph of the preface, which we quote. "I hope that this book may be of some service in drawing to Spinoza's thought a greater measure of attention not only from students of philosophy, but also from those who care for those social, moral and religious interests to the study of which Spinoza gave his life with an entire consecration and a singleness of aim which have hardly had a parallel. I shall have but ill repaid the dues of my nurture if I did not succeed in setting before the reader in some measure the ripe wisdom, the large calm outlook upon life, the resolute faith in goodness, the clear Jewish vision into the recesses of the human heart, and the all-pervasive religious passion, which has been to myself the constraining and the sustaining force in this long labour of love."

An attitude of mind so felt and so expressed is to be treated with all respect, and will dispose readers to read with atten-

tion the case of Mr. Duff in behalf of Spinoza. No one can read the works of Spinoza without feeling some share of the enthusiasm and the devotion of Mr. Duff, and almost every one will listen with respect to an exposition of the philosophy which may serve to justify such an attitude. So we turn to the perusal of this book, and we read with admiration, if not with agreement. As we read we are haunted with the doubt that, as far at least as the metaphysics of Spinoza is concerned, Mr. Duff is scarcely interpreting Spinoza; he is engaged in reading into Spinoza a meaning which is not the meaning of Spinoza. He is almost conscious of a bias in this direction, for he writes: "This exposition of Spinoza may seem to borrow from later idealistic philosophy, and to put to his credit principles which were developed only at a much later date. Of this I would only say that I have conscientiously tried to avoid doing this, and have as far as space permitted furnished the reader with the passages on which my interpretation of his thought is based. If he, like Plato, saw far in advance of his time, and attained a view of truth which need not 'pale its uneffectual fire' before any later idealism, no *à priori* argument can prove that he could not in his day have done this. No law regulating the appearance of great thinkers has yet been discovered. An Aristotle may be greater than a Berkeley or a Hume; a Shakespeare may outshine all who have come after him; and a Spinoza may be the worst of anachronisms. But these are phases of human progress which we cannot alter. The dates of a man's birth and death have little to do with his greatness as a thinker, or with his grasp of truth. The world has not produced a second Aristotle though time has not been wanting to it, nor has the march of civilisation made Plato's thought any the less vitalising and eternal in its significance." All of which is quite true, even commonplace, and did not require to be said with so much emphasis. Yet it has not shown that Spinoza is a thinker of the rank which belongs to Plato and to Aristotle. Nor has Mr. Duff shown that he is. We are in agreement with Mr. Duff in assigning to Spinoza a high rank among the psychological, the ethical,

and the political thinkers of mankind, but the difficulty is to ascertain how, on the principles of his philosophy, more particularly on his metaphysical principles, he has made room for any of these at all. Mr. Duff has not dealt with the problem of how an ethic is possible on the principles set forth by Spinoza in the first part of the *Ethics*, and in other parts of his works. Mr. Duff apparently has felt some difficulty here and avoids it by an appeal to the logical power of Spinoza. After a quotation from the *Tract Pol.*, he thus writes: "These passages seem to bear out that interpretation of Spinoza's teaching which most critics have deduced as the inevitable consequence of his leading principles. For what other meaning can they bear, except that, in a world where all that is actual is really necessary, all things are equally real as expressions of God, and virtue and vice are alike natural? Does it follow that man is determined as an animal or a stone is, and that the bad man expresses God no less than the good? This interpretation, however, is open to the serious difficulty that Spinoza himself does not admit it as the logical issue of his principles. On the contrary, he develops from his leading ideas quite other, and opposite, consequences. . . . We have also to bear in mind that Spinoza not only works out a theory of ethics and of politics on the basis of these principles, but regards them as indispensable to any such theory. It may of course be contended that he does not develop his principles logically, but either accommodates them to the moral life, or forces the facts of the moral life to conform to his first principles. Neither of these hypotheses can, however, be lightly accepted in the present case. The one would be too much at variance with the logical vigour and severity of his thought; the other would clash with the endeavour to understand the nature and conditions of human welfare or happiness, which was the original and end of all his speculation and criticism. The adoption of either alternative would raise more difficulties in the interpretation of Spinoza's thought than it would solve. Whether his principles admit of being so stated as to render both unnecessary, depends on the measure in which he recog-

nises difference as well as unity, and to the consideration of this we shall devote the next chapter" (pp. 45, 46).

Mr. Duff makes a heroic effort to prove that Spinoza recognises difference as well as unity. Happily the success and value of his book as an exposition of the ethical and political philosophy of Spinoza does not depend on the success of his attempt to vindicate the first principles of the metaphysics of Spinoza. He again appeals to the consistency of Spinoza, and in fact there are too many appeals of this kind scattered through his pages. It is the very matter in question. Many can learn much from Spinoza in the field of psychology, ethics and politics, but they may reasonably show, if they can, that these things have no necessary connexion with his absolute monism, that in fact that the valuable things are brought into the system in rather a surreptitious manner. Mr. Duff writes with sympathy regarding Spinoza's hatred of anthropomorphism. "Why will men identify God with a magnified man? Why can they not worship Him as a being with human qualities indefinitely enlarged? Why should He be like a man at all? If He called man into being, did He not call also the serpent, the mountain, the lightning into existence? He is their God, or the principle of their existence, as much as He is man's. . . . The attempt to prove that God is a magnified man Spinoza resists in the interest of a truer view. God is all that man is. He has intellect and will, only they are so different from man's that there is no more real resemblance between them than there is between 'the dogstar and the dog that barks'." Mr. Duff might surely have paused here to throw some light on the troublesome question of how Spinoza came to know the difference, and how he still proceeded to speak of the will and intellect of God, when these had no real resemblance to the only will and intellect known to him. One could understand that Spinoza might have refused to speak of the intellect and will of God at all on the ground that there was no real resemblance between these and those of man. How does Spinoza know the difference? We should smile at the sight of a treatise on the canine nature of the dogstar. In the

circumstances is a discussion of the intellect and will of God any more reasonable? Does Spinoza, does Mr. Duff get rid of anthropomorphism? Is not the very definition of Attribute anthropomorphic? "By attribute, I mean that which intellect perceives as constituting the essence of substance." Is the intellect here that of the dogstar or of the dog which barks? In truth Mr. Duff has not really looked at the question of anthropomorphism, or he would have seen that Spinoza has constructed the pattern of the universe in a thoroughly anthropomorphic fashion. What is his substance, with its two attributes of thought and extension, and its modes, but a magnified man, only with the highest and most characteristic attributes of man left out. Just as, also, the idealism which Mr. Duff seems to hold as his own philosophy, is the construction of reality after the type of subject and object, in which finally the world is the other of God. To get rid of anthropomorphism is impossible so long as we are men, to throw overboard as anthropomorphic the ethical and spiritual, and treat them as illusions as Spinoza did, is arbitrary.

It is unfortunate that almost all the points of view from which Mr. Duff endeavours to prove that Spinoza recognises unity in difference, should have been discarded by Spinoza. Mr. Duff lays the greatest possible stress on the idea of a Whole. He expresses this in various ways, comes back to it again and again, and in fact on the possibility of this category as that in which the general idea of unity expresses itself in difference is the main justification of the metaphysic of Spinoza at the hands of Mr. Duff. While Mr. Duff lays great stress on the relation of whole and parts as an explanation of the rationality of the system of Spinoza, Spinoza expressly tells us that the Whole is nothing more than an *ens Rationis*, that it is quite as abstract as that of the "universal". In truth at one time or other, or in one relation or another, all the arguments used by Mr. Duff have been characterised by Spinoza as *Entia Rationis*. Every category of thought, every attempt to place reality under such categories as cause and effect, reason and consequence, whole and part is expressly repudiated by Spinoza. The ultimate

Reality is "absolutely indeterminate". *Omnis determinatio est negatio*, any determination is negative. Yet Spinoza has no hesitation in defining substance as *causa sui*. Mr. Duff explains, "What he seeks to express is the notion of a *causa sui*, free, not in the sense of having an undetermined will, but in the sense of having nothing external to it which might constrain its nature, the immanent cause therefore of all that is, and from which and through which all that is real comes into and continues in being". It is nicely put, and yet it throws little light on the situation. Absolutely indeterminate, alongside of *causa sui*, a cause of all that is real coming into being. Yes, but have not Spinoza and his expositor introduced determinations into the indeterminate? The resolve to allow no movement either of affirmation or negation within substance, and yet to regard it as the source of all determinations, is one of the difficulties attaching to the first part of the ethics, and which Mr. Duff has not relieved. Nor are we helped when we regard the scheme of substance, attribute, mode, through which Spinoza tries to get his system into motion. With regard to substance, at one time it is absolutely indeterminate, and determination, he insists, would infringe its absoluteness. But from the indeterminate there is no possibility of movement. If substance is to be real it must have determinations. But Spinoza passes from indeterminateness, and treats substance as the *ens realissimum*, the sum of all possible reality, in which all possibilities are real, and which contains all possible perfections. It is open to him and his expositor to choose between these conceptions, they cannot have both at the same time. Again, in the quotation from Mr. Duff, and we have other passages to the same effect, he uses language which implies the reality of time and change, and everybody knows that, for Spinoza, time is only an *ens imaginationis*. Real knowledge is only *sub quadam specie eternitatis*, and time and change are only appearance. Truly the theory needs even more in the way of explanation than it has yet received. Nor does the notion of attributes help us, for there is no mediation between the substance and the attributes. It is simply stated by Spinoza

that "it is essential to substance that each of the attributes should be conceived *per se* : for all the attributes which it has have always been together in it, nor could any one have been produced from another ; but each expresses the reality or being of substance " (*Ethics*, i., 10, Sch.). Substance has infinite variety, but it is not explained, nor is it intelligible how these are varieties of the one substance. The attributes discussed later on are thought and extension. Everything of the nature of thought is to be explained from the attribute of thought, and so, of extension. As to the connexion between the two attributes not much is said, but Spinoza dogmatically states that the order and connexion of ideas is the same as the order and connexion of thing, and thus settles in an offhand way one of the most perplexed questions in the history of philosophy, as keenly debated to-day as it was in the time of Locke.

It seems to the present writer that there is no way of transition from the principles of the first part to the parts which are so valuable, the last four of the *Ethics*, and to the works which embody the thoughts of Spinoza on society and on politics. Leaving out of sight his metaphysics, and also Mr. Duff's attempt to show the rationality of Spinoza's scheme of unity and difference, we wish to express our admiration of the work done by Mr. Duff in the rest of his treatise. It is able in the highest degree, and every one can read it with interest and profit. We have read much on Spinoza, but as regards the practical side of the philosophy of Spinoza, we have seen nothing so illuminative as this. Mr. Duff is enthusiastic, and he makes a high claim for Spinoza, a much higher claim than we think can reasonably be maintained. The limits of our space have allowed us only to mention one or two of the difficulties in the way of believing that Spinoza had a consistent system. Much more might have been said on the inadequacy of his system as an interpretation of experience, and that is the final test of any philosophy. But any system which brings in the aid of illusion to help it out of difficulties, and which makes so large a use of this help as Spinoza did, is condemned by that fact as inadequate. How much of

experience is to be set aside as illusive cannot be described here. The bare enumeration would be appalling. While we have the highest admiration of the thoroughness and ability of Mr. Duff's work, we consider the claim made by him on Spinoza's behalf to be inadmissible.

JAMES IVERACH.

Der Kampf um Bibel und Babel.

*Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Vortrag, von D. Sam. Oettli, ord.
Professor der Theologie in Greifswald. Leipzig: A.
Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1902.*

Das Gesetz Hammurabi's und die Thora Israels.

Von D. Sam. Oettli, etc., 1903.

PROFESSOR OETTLI of Greifswald throws himself with enthusiasm into the controversy about Bible and Babel. He combats the views of Friederich Delitzsch and other "inspired Assyriologists" with considerable animation. We should in truth prefer a calmer discussion, even if we be in essential agreement with the writer. Many have felt perhaps that "we pass from the confused fancies of a fever-patient into the clear atmosphere of mental sanity when we come from the Babylonian epos to the first chapter of the Bible". But there are too many marks of exclamation in this little book. We desiderate more quiet arguments, based on objective historical data. We prefer to take our facts neat, undiluted with subjective feeling. We are not afraid of the truth. The attempt to prove that Jahveh is a Babylonian god may be proving abortive; the derivation of the divine name El from the preposition el—"a bare philosophical abstraction"—may be absurd; the Hebrew penitential psalms and the Hebrew Sabbath may far excel those of Babylonia; but one has the uncomfortable feeling, as we read, that we are in the hands of a barrister holding a brief, rather than listening to the calm summing-up of a judge who evenly holds the scales of justice.

The same writer's comparison of the Law of Hammurabi with the Torah of Israel is a much more careful and satisfying piece of work. The discovery of this ancient Babylonian

codex, dating from about B.C. 2200, has thrown a flood of fresh light upon Shemitic history. Point after point we must bring the older enactments into relation with the laws of Moses. This is what Oettli helps us to do. Under the heads of Marriage, Parents and Children, Freedom and Bondage, Inheritance, Injury and Protection of Honour and Life, Loans, Lands, Deposits, Debts and Pledges, Liabilities, Civil Duties, Legal Procedure, we have a most interesting discussion, on parallel lines, of the Babylonian and the Jewish legislation. In Hammurabi's Law many points of contact are found with the Book of the Covenant, somewhat fewer with Deuteronomy, scarcely any with the Priestly Code. This arises from the fact that the Babylonian Code is exclusively a civil law-book. "But we must not object to the slight emphasis placed upon the religious standpoint, for doubtless in the Babylonian kingdom, no less than in Israel, there were in separate circulation, alongside of the civil law, elaborate ritualistic and sacerdotal statutes." The general conclusion which Oettli reaches is this: "Without question the C. H. (Codex Hammurabi) reflects a much more fully developed civil life than the Book of the Covenant; but it is equally unquestionable that in this and the later collections of the Torah there struggles upward a really more humane spirit, which had its source in the incomparably purer, and morally more fruitful, religious faith of Israel".

JAMES STRACHAN.

The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis.
Edited and translated by E. W. BROOKS, M.A. Vol.
ii. (Translation), part i. London: Williams & Norgate,
1903. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 229.

This volume is published for the *Text and Translation Society*, and makes part of an interesting and valuable contribution to that series. It is presented in the best form by the publishers, and it will be a welcome addition to the libraries of those interested in the study of Church history. We have already noticed the volume containing the Syriac text. We are glad to get now so much of the translation. The rendering is done with care and taste. Many of the letters will be read with no small interest. They give us some vivid and enlightening glimpses into the condition of things in the ancient Churches of the East. It is matter of regret that none of them treat of dogmatic questions. But we gather much information from them about ecclesiastical matters—the ordination of bishops and clergymen, the disorderliness that prevailed in certain monasteries, accusations of misuse of property brought against the Church of the Tarsians, the duties and the failures of priests, the reclamation of erring brethren, and much else. A brief account is given of Severus himself, based upon the biography of Zacharias, the Scholastic of Gaza—his birth at Sozopolis in Pisidia, his studies in Greek, Latin and rhetoric at Alexandria, and in law and theology in Berytus, the publication of his first work—an encomium on the Apostle Paul, his baptism in Tripolis about A.D. 488, his residence in the monastery of Peter the Iberian between Gaza and Majuma, his sojourn in the wilderness of Eleutheropolis, his ordination as a presbyter, his efforts to abolish the *Henotikon* compromise, his

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later life in hiding in Egypt, his condemnation by a Synod held in May, 536, and his death in Egypt. A short statement is also given about his works, which were numerous, and of which not a few exist still in Syriac versions, most of the Greek originals having perished. His letters are divided into three classes—those before episcopacy, those during episcopacy and those after expulsion; there were probably at least 3759 of them, of which the version of Athanasius contains only 123. At least other two Syriac versions were once in existence. They survive now only in isolated letters and fragments. Mr. Brooks has done the work of editor and translator very successfully.

Authority in the Church. By THOMAS B. STRONG, D.D.,
Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. London: Longmans,
Green & Co., 1903. Small cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 173.
Price 2s. 6d. net.

This volume belongs to the series of *Handbooks for the Clergy* edited by the Rev. Arthur W. Robinson. Its object is to investigate the questions which arise in connexion with the claim of the Church to exercise authority. It discusses what is meant by authority, what are the grounds of its exercise, what are its limits, how it is exercised in other regions than the ecclesiastical, and other similar questions. The opening chapter deals with "Authority in General and in the State," in which the main thing is the statement of the fact that authority is a necessary result of the social nature of man. Then comes a chapter on "Authority and Reason," in which the conflict between the two is treated as a conflict not between principles but between temperaments. Two chapters are given next to an exposition of what the Church is first in the Gospels and Acts and then in the Epistles; the point of which is that the Church took at once the form of a "disciplined organisation, with a policy determined by authorities". These authorities acted, however, within limits assigned to them, and while the Apostles were appointed directly by

God, the elders were appointed through the medium of the Church. The rest of the book is occupied with the relations of authority to outward order, the creed, and custom. The various topics thus taken in hand are discussed for the most part in a sensible, restrained and well-considered way. There is nothing that is very new, and nothing that is either brilliant or startling. But all is well put. The Sacraments are regarded as the "most vital point in the outward ministrations of the Church," but it is frankly admitted that "Scripture contains comparatively little precise doctrine" concerning them. It is somewhat staggering to find in the case of a writer like Dr. Strong so little insight into the magnitude of the religious upheaval in the sixteenth century that he can speak of the "circumscribed arena in which the battles of the Reformation were fought" and indicate his regret that we have "never fully emerged" from it. He seems to be as little capable of understanding that frightsome phenomenon "Undenominationalism" as the rawest curate. But there is of course much that is of a different order from that in the book, and in the statement of its main conclusions, though not in all their applications, many will be at one with the author. These are, that there is a "body of doctrine to which the Church ought to require assent"; that the Church of the New Testament is an "organised body capable of corporate action by means of representatives duly elected and accredited"; that "sin, open or concealed, will certainly exclude from the privileges of Church membership"; and that there will be a "large area over which there will indeed be rules, but rules which the local authorities will determine in view of local conditions and convenience". Some things are omitted or but slightly touched, to which we should have expected considerable attention to have been given. The most important of these is the relation of authority to conscience and the case when a conflict arises between these two. But some good remarks are made on the *representative* character of the office-bearers of the Church, and on the nature of Church authority as essentially a social function belonging to the whole body. Dr. Strong also fully

recognises the perils and the wrongs which arise when the idea of an ordained person as a representative is allowed to stiffen into that "of an almost distinct class of Churchman".

The Christian Tradition. By the Rev. LEIGHTON PULLAN, Fellow of St. John Baptist's College, Oxford, Lecturer in Theology at St. John's, Oriel, and Queen's Colleges. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 317. Price 5s.

The purpose of this volume, which forms part of the *Oxford Library of Practical Theology*, is to "illustrate the continuity and the value of Christian tradition in conduct, belief and worship". It begins by giving an account of the rise of the New Testament books, and the formation of the great creeds. These are among the best parts of the work. It then plunges into the tradition of Apostolical Succession, Episcopacy, the Church festivals, etc. These are the most dogmatic and self-confident parts of the book. They are also the least satisfactory, although they are by no means lacking in old lore which has a certain interest. There are also discussions of the Western Liturgies, Penitence in the Early Church, Monasticism and other subjects, in which a good deal of curious information is mixed up with matters of very small moment. The volume is a strange study: it is so archæological in much of its matter and so lacking in the historical spirit. It is difficult to imagine where Mr. Pullan burrows when he goes to work; so many of his statements are so extraordinary. He is troubled sorely by the reception given to his favourite dogma of Apostolical Succession. And what is his explanation of it? "The exaltation of the lay members of the Church and the ignoring of the clerical members on the part of Luther and Zwingli," he tells us, "are mainly the result of the fact that Luther and Zwingli knew that the most influential laymen were on their side, and that the most influential clerics were against them." This, he gravely assures us, "explains in a nutshell the beginning of the modern Protestant rejection of the doctrine of Apostolical

Succession". His characterisation of the Zurich reformer is this: "He was a priest of unchaste life, who objected to those scandals of which he was not himself guilty". This is quite a fair specimen of Mr. Pullan's easy way of disposing of great figures in history when they do not chance to fit in with a very pinched Anglicanism. The Protestant theory of the ministry was *invented*, as he puts it in the index, by Luther; and among the great enormities charged against the Saxon Reformer are these—that when "two Prussian bishops joined him he made no attempt to secure Episcopal ordination for his followers," and that "at least once" he "went through the form of 'consecrating' a 'bishop' himself". How Luther's reputation is to survive this tremendous exposure it is difficult to see. Mr. Pullan is quite certain too that the early Celtic Church in Scotland was Episcopal and not Presbyterian, although he admits that they had no dioceses at first, and that the "bishops" were all "attached to a particular tribe, or to a particular monastery and its abbot". Our author is great, too, at chronicling important discoveries connected with Church history. One of these which he conceives to have been made within the last few years is "the fact that the peculiar features of Protestantism rest on traditions which are as unhistorical as those which underlie some modern features of Roman Catholicism". But we might fill a page or two yet with curiosities such as these.

Books of Devotion. By the Rev. CHARLES BODINGTON, Fellow of King's College, London, Canon Residentiary and Precentor of Lichfield Cathedral. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. + 319. Price 5s.

This book is another addition to the *Oxford Library of Practical Theology*. It deals with the great subject of devotion, which the writer declares to be the great want of the Church of England in her work of evangelisation. It gathers its material from all manner of sources, and it covers a very extensive field. It devotes some space, to

begin with, to the topics of Primitive Devotion, the First Books of Devotion (in the Old Testament), the Devotions of our Lord, and Devotion in the Early Church, with a sketch of the history of the Breviary. But its main interest is in the account which it gives of the great devotional treatises. It begins with the "purgative way," illustrated by Augustine's Confessions, and passes on at once to the great mediæval books—the *Itinerary of the Soul to God* (the "Illuminative Way"), the *Imitation of Christ* (the "Unitive Way"). A chapter is then given to "Devotions to the Saints"—the *Ave Maria*, the *Confiteor*, the *Rosary* being considered. Then come the books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—the *Myroure of our Lady*, the *Lay Folk's Mass Book*, the *Prymer*, the *Book of the Hours*, the *Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola*, etc. The classical books of devotion of later date are dealt with at length, and in most cases in a very appreciative way. Among the most interesting accounts we may refer to those of Andrewes's *Devotions*, George Herbert's *Temple*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Holy War*, Ambrose's *Looking unto Jesus*, Rutherford's *Letters*, Ken's *Manual*, Baxter's *Saints' Rest*. William Law, Bishop Wilson, Robert Nelson, John Wesley and others also find an appropriate place. The volume opens up a rich pasture for the nurture of the devotional spirit.

Six Lectures on Pastoral Theology. By the Ven. JAMES M. WILSON, D.D., Vicar of Rochdale, and Archdeacon of Manchester. London: Macmillan & Co., 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. + 262. Price 3s. 6d. net.

These lectures were delivered by Archdeacon Wilson in the discharge of his duty as Lecturer on Pastoral Theology in the University of Cambridge in the current year. They were addressed to "young University laymen who were contemplating Holy Orders". They are well adapted to their audience, being clear and direct in style, and occupied with questions of practical interest. They deal with principles and "attitudes of mind," not with details, and endeavour to

give guidance on many things regarding which young clergymen may find themselves in some uncertainty. The most instructive chapters are those which deal with the attitude of the pastor to philosophy and science, to the Bible itself, and to the Church. There is a valuable appendix which directs our attention to such subjects as the effects of scientific training—its unsettling temporary effects, its present permanent effects, and its probable permanent effects on theological methods. On this last-mentioned subject Dr. Wilson has a special claim to be heard in view of his own scientific habits and acquirements. It is of interest, therefore, to notice what he considers the probable consequences of the scientific spirit on theology. Among them he mentions the application of the scientific method, leading us to find some firm ground in experience and in the nature of things for our religious beliefs; the promotion of the search for *continuity*; the recognition of the progressive character of theology, and a differentiation of certitude, that is to say, a conscious and avowed distinction between the degrees of assent we shall give to the various dogmas of theology. This is all well put and opportunely said. As to how the pastor is to use the Bible itself, the Archdeacon's position will be seen by what he says, *e.g.*, of the Decalogue. He puts the question—On what basis does the authority of the Decalogue now depend? He replies—Not now as once it was, on the objective and literal truth of the narrative in Exodus or in Deuteronomy, but on the “collective ethical judgments and experience of men”. And the transference of this authority, which has been effected by criticism, from one basis to another, he adds, “has not weakened that authority; it has only disclosed its security and solidity”. The theological student and the young pastor will find much to stimulate their thought in this volume and much to clear their way in the discharge of their vocation.

Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers. Second Series. Edited with the Latin Originals, Index of Biblical Passages, and Index of Principal Words, by ALBERT S. COOK, Ph.D., L.H.D., Professor of English Language and Literature in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; London: Edward Arnold, 1903. 8vo, pp. x. + 396. Price 25s. net.

This forms one of the Yale Bicentennial Publications. The bicentenary of the university was celebrated on a splendid scale a year or two ago, and the ceremonial of the occasion is now being followed up by the issue of a series of volumes prepared by professors and others as "a partial indication of the character of the studies in which the University teachers are engaged". This is a happy idea, and it is being carried out most successfully. The volume now before us is the second instalment of Professor Cook's important undertaking. The former volume, which was noticed with much favour in this Journal, gave the Biblical passages found in the *Laws* of King Alfred and his Versions of *The Pastoral Care*, as also those in Bede's *History*, Orosius, and Ælfric's *Homilies*. This volume gives the quotations from the "chief remaining prose texts, so far as they have been printed". It contains further passages culled from Alfred and Ælfric—from the former's versions of Augustine's *Soliloquies* and Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, and from the latter's *Colloquy*, versions of St. Basil's *Hexameron* and *Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem*, his *Lives of the Saints*, etc. It also gives those found in Bishop Waerferth's version of Gregory's *Dialogues*, the Blickling *Homilies*, Wulfstan's *Homilies*, the *Harrowing of Hell*, the Benedictine *Rule and Office*, the Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, various Old English Homilies and Lives of Saints, etc. There are also some valuable appendices, which give parallel passages from the Old English Gospels, the Cambridge Fragment of Genesis, and a Glossary of the Durham Ritual. The first of these appendices is of special interest and importance. The indices are all that could be wished. The whole volume is a

most creditable piece of work, and one that should be most acceptable both to students of the Bible and to those interested in the literary history of our English tongue.

The Holy Bible. The Revised Version, with Revised Marginal References. Printed for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. London: Henry Frowde and C. J. Clay & Sons, 1903.

The issue of this edition of the Revised Bible which is before us is in the bourgeois 8vo form. It is a beautiful and handy book, in all respects worthy of the University Presses. It is to be had in various forms and at very moderate prices, the issues in ordinary paper running from 6s. to 9s.; those printed on Oxford India paper being to be had in various leather bindings from 15s. In the preparation of the marginal references, Dr. Scrivener and Dr. Moulton rendered the first and most important service. But in 1895 the University Presses took the matter up with zeal, and appointed a committee consisting of Dr. Price, Dr. Palmer, Dr. Aldis Wright, and Dr. Kirkpatrick, to superintend the preparation of an edition of the complete Revised Version with marginal references. The general editorship was given to Dr. Stokoe, who had the assistance also of Dr. Barnes and Messrs. Greenup, Massie and Nutt for the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, and of Messrs. Greenup and J. H. Moulton for the New Testament. The work has been done with much care. The methods of indication used are simple and effective. The references of the A.V. are retained as far as possible, but they have been carefully sifted and added to by the Revisers. The present issue is superior to the former in several respects. The numbers of the verses are no longer placed on the inner margin of the page. The Revisers' marginal references also are now transferred to the foot of the page, and the same method is applied to the notes. The only exceptions to this are when simple references given by the Revisers are incorporated in the new body of references, and when a marginal note refers

to some different division or order in the original. This edition of the Revised Bible can be heartily recommended to all lovers of Scripture. It can be relied on for accuracy in its references, on which vast labour has been spent. It is also most attractive in form and pleasant to read, and easy to handle.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

The Beginnings of Christianity.

By Paul Wernle, Professor Extraordinary of Modern Church History at the University of Basel. Translated by the Rev. G. A. Bienemann, M.A. Edited, with an Introduction, by the Rev. W. D. Morrison, LL.D. Vol. I.: The Rise of the Religion. London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 389. Price 10s. 6d.

THIS volume is an English translation of a course of lectures delivered in the University of Basel in the summer of 1900. Professor Wernle is a distinguished Continental theologian, and this work is, say the translators, "the most matured and exhaustive product of his scholarship". His own explanation of his standpoint and aim is full and unmistakable. "My aim is a practical one, and there is no reason to conceal it. It is to give all possible help to the simple comprehension of Jesus. . . . To do this, two conditions are pre-eminently necessary, the existence of which, alas, cannot be assumed as a matter of course amongst Christian theologians. They are, firstly, true reverence for that which alone deserves reverence; and, secondly, fidelity to the Christian conscience." The book is therefore addressed "to all who are prepared to accept the bolder results of New Testament criticism, and the central idea running through the whole is a simple one. It is, first of all, to ascertain what the Gospel is as seen in the teaching and character of the Redeemer; and, secondly, to measure all the later expositions of the Gospel, contained in the teachings of the New Testament writers, by the Gospel itself." Professor Wernle is by no means the first modern theologian who has set this aim before him; but his work is conspicuously successful in some respects in which that of others has failed. He does full justice to the Master, but not, as is so often the

case, at the expense of the Apostles. This is no hackneyed attempt to set off Jesus against Paul, but an exceedingly fresh and illuminating attempt to show that Master and Apostle reach the same goal by different ways. For perhaps the greatest thing in Wernle's work is his appreciation of Paul's character and theology. As his translators say, "his treatment of St. Paul's theology is particularly striking and suggestive". "The comparison which Professor Wernle institutes between the Gospel as understood by St. Paul and the Gospel as taught by Jesus is fresh and illuminating." Starting with a sketch of the Beginnings of Christianity, Wernle shows that the popular beliefs of the ancient world—especially the belief in "nature as a realm of miracles"—are the soil from which Christianity arose. He then reaches the discussion of the Call of Jesus. Christianity, in his view, is Jesus; for it is men that make history, and if our century has had reason enough to learn that, then surely it is high time that the senseless chatter should cease about the religion of Christ, which each Christian ought to acquire for himself (p. 37). At once Wernle sets us at rest as to Christ's testimony to Himself. Founding on sayings extracted from the synoptists only, he says: "It is clear that a self-consciousness that is more than merely human speaks from the words, and this is the mystery of the origin of Christianity" (p. 39). "In Jesus there co-exists a self-consciousness that is more than human with the deepest humility before God." Leaving aside its Messianic form, "everywhere there is the same impression of the super-human". And the self-revelation of Jesus coincides with His mode of life. "Both in His words and in His life He represents the exceptional" (p. 42). In relation to His disciples' claim that He was the Messiah, Professor Wernle says that the belief of the Disciples in His Messiahship must be older than Jesus's death, and if so "it is incredible that Jesus did not share it" (p. 44). But in His teaching it became so transformed that Jesus came to give Himself out as the Messiah whom Israel rejected and Gentiles accepted. This, through St. Paul, was the point of transition between

Jesus and the world. The Promise of Jesus to men was the Kingdom of Heaven in an eschatological sense, and His corresponding claim was that He had come to rouse men's conscience in presence of eternity. This is a reading of the Master's programme which makes modern ideals of culture and socialistic readings of the Gospels look foolish. "Jesus did nothing for society as a whole. He did not want to reform it. The end of the world was so near at hand." His aim was to save the individual out of the coming wreck, and teach him to live a life of righteousness in presence of himself, his neighbour, and God. Towards the end, and because danger and suffering awaited the Disciples, He made the demand for confession of Himself as God's representative, and of the cross as the law of discipleship. He laid the foundation of a religion that should last for ever, because He was the prophet of the judgment to come. The redemptive work of Jesus is next dealt with, and is shown to have consisted in the creation of a fellowship in which His disciples received the new life that was in Him. This included deliverance from sin, and redemption from care and terror, especially the fear of death, in the new idea which He taught them to grasp, "that the cross comes from God's love—this idea is the fruit of Jesus's death" (p. 111). This fellowship survived the calamity of the crucifixion because of the appearance of the Lord to the disciples after death, in which they firmly believed; and "a Christian has no difficulty in accepting as the ground of his belief in the resurrection, the real projection of Jesus into this world of sense by means of a vision" (p. 115). Professor Wernle is somewhat vague as to the fact of the resurrection of Jesus, but he goes at least as far as Keim went in holding that Jesus assured His disciples that He still lived; and this was the corollary of their own belief that Jesus possessed a power of redemption which could not be destroyed by death. "He was too great that He should die." The appearances confirmed an earlier impression which Christ's death had not been able to efface. "Faith in the resurrection is the fruit of salvation through Jesus" (p. 116).

Thus did the Master prepare the ground for a new religious community which He did not Himself organise, but which St. Paul, the Apostle who had never seen Jesus, yet understood Him best, was to create. For, while the rudiments both of a Church and a theology were set up by His immediate followers, it was given to St. Paul to bridge the gulf between a Jewish Christianity that remained true to the Law and a Gentile Christianity that was free from the Law. Next to the interpretation of Jesus in these lectures comes the striking interpretation of Paul, who "took Jesus away from the sacred nation and brought Him to mankind". It takes up almost half the volume, and when he has finished it Professor Wernle says: "As one surveys the whole of what Paul achieved, one stands in silent amazement at his greatness as a thinker". We must quote in its entirety the comparison between St. Paul and Jesus.

St. Paul's likeness to Jesus strikes one at once, and at the same time the dissimilarity between the two is no less obvious. In the case of both there is a self-consciousness which goes far beyond all that one usually meets with; there is the claim to have been chosen by God from out of the mass of mankind for an especial purpose; in both, again, there is nothing like fanaticism, but clear recognition of their limitations, and there is a deep humility before God. And yet the word "Mediator" cannot be applied in the same sense to both. Whereas Jesus maintains that He knows God in an entirely new way—as the Son—Paul boasts of this knowledge of the glory of God which is reflected in the face of Jesus. He feels that he is not a creator; he merely transmits historical facts. God—Christ—Paul, such is the order (p. 163).

To this man, then—an apostle by revelation—is committed the tremendous task of announcing Jesus as the Saviour to the heathen. How this was done is told, as it has seldom been before, in the long and brilliant chapter "Jesus brought to the Gentiles". Professor Wernle's reading of the relation of Paul to Christ is that their message and aim were essentially the same, and were distinctly eschatological, to deliver men from the wrath to come, but while Jesus does this by bringing the individual soul into relation with a pardoning Father, Paul does so by showing

that this Father has come to them with the gift of a crucified and risen Christ. The rich contents of the life of Christ and His message are sacrificed in Paul's Gospel to the historical facts of the passion and resurrection of the Saviour; but that loss is counterbalanced by a simplified message which Gentiles could take in, and to which they could say "Amen," as a way of salvation in view of the judgment day.

Did Paul keep faithful to Jesus? When he is at the height of his ideal, Wernle's verdict is that he is not very far from Jesus; and to the question, "What is a Christian?" he gives the same answer as Jesus. Paul is to be regarded in a double light—as the missionary and the apologist. In the former capacity he preached, and developed a theology of the cross which is to be traced to his personal experience, and which amounts to the same thing as the grace which Christ proclaimed. As to the apologist, his system is far removed from the teaching of Jesus, and specially in the pessimistic view it takes of human nature as a mass of perdition. The Paul of the realised experience of the cross as a message of God's love and the Paul of the apologetic are two men. Yet while Paul narrows the road that leads to it, and makes it a somewhat circuitous path, he and Jesus lead alike to the love of God as the Gospel. Professor Wernle's analysis of the "Pauline Soteriology" is a great piece of work. It is fresh and suggestive, as showing that the Apostle reached the thought of Jesus, though in a round-about way. He handles the epistles with a freedom which would have startled the old theologians, yet it is a perfectly reverent treatment, and though he regards some of St. Paul's doctrines as "disastrous creations," yet there is always a "kernel," for the sake of which we receive the "husk". The roots of St. Paul's theology are to be found "in the experience of the vision of Christ, and his apologetic as missionary" (p. 337). The result is that in Paul Christianity is thought out anew, with the consequence that the Jesus of St. Paul is no longer merely the Jesus of the Church of Jerusalem. In spite of this, however, it is just the Jesus of history that St. Paul grasped with a deep and clear insight, and for whom

his Christology paved the way into the world. And, though Paul the ecclesiastic sought to confine Jesus within a narrow form in his doctrine of the Church, and of eternal blessedness through belief in the ecclesiastical creed, yet Professor Wernle's final verdict is that "Christianity only became a great spiritual power in the world through the theology of St. Paul. St. Paul grasped the world-historic greatness of Jesus. Paul placed the two great ideas of the Fatherhood of God and the freedom of the Spirit in the centre as the Christian ideal in religion, and has thereby laid down the safest canon of criticism for every form of religion" (p. 340).

Enough has been said to show that Professor Wernle's work is of singular interest and importance. It marks the fact that we have got past the point of merely crying, "Back to Christ". Christ can only be understood by Christianity; and the force of the movement it generated can best be studied in the impression it made on the mind and the further development it received at the hands of the Apostle to the Gentiles. The manner in which Christianity began to be has been told in this volume, as its translators well say, "with unusual life, freedom, sympathy and power".

D. PURVES.

**Der jüngst wieder aufgefundenene Hebräische Text des
Buches Ecclesiasticus untersucht, herausgegeben,
übersetzt und mit kritischen Noten versehen.**

*Von Dr. Theol. Norbert Peters. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder,
1902. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 92 + 447. Price M.10.*

DR. PETERS' volume is a valuable and very useful contribution to the study of the book of Ecclesiasticus. It contains (1) a Hebrew text of those parts of the book contained in the Hebrew MSS. which have been discovered and edited within the past seven years; (2) a German translation placed on the same pages with the text, and below it; (3) a full series of critical notes (pp. 1-317); and (4) a critical introduction (pp. 3-92).

From this summary of the contents it will be seen that the work is not an exegetical commentary on Ecclesiasticus, though it is part of a foundation for such a work in the future; and that it does not contain even a text of the whole book. For the hitherto discovered Hebrew MSS. include only about four-fifths of the whole (iii. 6b-xvi. 26, xviii. 31-33, xix. 1, 2, xx. 5-7, 13, xxv. 8, 13, 17, 24, xxvi. 1, 2, xxx. 11-xxxiii. 3, xxxv. 11-xxxviii. 27, xxxix. 15-li. 30). The text, printed and translated by Dr. Peters, is not the text of these Hebrew MSS., but a critical text based on the comparison of these with one another and with the ancient versions.

Dr. Peters gives no countenance to the theory that the Hebrew of the MSS. is a re-translation from the Versions. He does not indeed devote space to controverting this theory directly, for it is a theory which he regards as already belonging entirely to the history of Exegesis (p. 29); but he relies (and to a large extent with justice) on his detailed comparison of the Hebrew texts with one another and with

the Versions as the best vindication of the "originality" of the Hebrew. He does not even admit the theory of re-translation as explanatory of the phænomena presented by individual passages, for his investigations leave him unable to detect any single instance that demands such a hypothesis (p. 20). Thus he differs not only from Professor D. S. Margoliouth (whom he twice erroneously describes as a brother of the Rev. G. Margoliouth of the British Museum), but also from scholars like König who, while recognising the Hebrew of the MSS. for the most part as genuine, yet detect signs of re-translations in certain passages such as iv. 30, 31, v. 9b.

But while Dr. Peters holds strongly by the "originality" of the Hebrew, he realises fully that the Hebrew of the MSS. is by no means free from serious transcriptional errors. It would be strange, indeed, if it were. For if the Hebrew text of the Old Testament has suffered in parts very seriously, as a comparison with the Versions (especially the Greek) proves it to have done, how much more must we expect corruptions in MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries of a book which had not shared for the previous seven or eight centuries the scrupulous care bestowed by the Massoretes on the canonical writings.

This longer exposure of the text of Ecclesiasticus to the ordinary perils of transcription renders the task of working back to the original more complex in the case of this book than in the case of the canonical books. The text of the Hebrew MSS. of the Old Testament, all of which as is well known represent a single recension, though the earliest belong to the tenth century A.D., must, so far as the consonants are concerned, be practically the same as it was say in A.D. 200. But the existing Hebrew MSS. of Ecclesiasticus represent by no means so early a stage in the history of the text; in those passages in which they can be compared, they differ markedly from one another. The first step then is to get back to the Hebrew text from which the Hebrew MSS. descend, the next to the text which is the common source of this, the Greek Version and the Syriac Version.

In the final process Dr. Peters gives, other things being equal, the preference to the Greek Version as representing the oldest stage of the text.

In the numerous cases in which the readings of the Hebrew MSS. are rejected from the editor's text in favour of a reading of the Versions, the rejected readings are given in the notes. Thus in one place or another, the student will find in this volume the complete evidence of the hitherto discovered Hebrew MSS. to the history of the text of *Ecclesiasticus*. One omission only detracts from this completeness. Certain verses in MS. A (ix. 3, F x. 2, xi. 2) are vocalised, and vowels occasionally occur in MS. B: these might with advantage have been given in the notes. The editor's text is in the main unvocalised; the vowels, occasionally given for the sake of clearness, are, as he explains, his own. He very rightly retains the vowel letters which occur in the MSS. of *Ecclesiasticus* much more frequently than in MSS. of the Old Testament.

Dr. Peters (p. 17) emphasises what others have previously pointed out—the importance of a study of MS. B with its glosses and corrections in connexion with the textual criticism of the Old Testament, and in his introduction he has classified many phænomena, such as the confusion of similar letters (p. 31), which are interesting and important in the same connexion.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

The Religious Sense in its Scientific Aspect.

By Greville Macdonald, M.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. Pp. xvi. + 243. Price 3s. 6d.

David Hume and His Influence on Philosophy and Theology.

By Professor Orr, M.A., D.D. The World's Epoch-Makers Series. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. Price 3s.

The First Christian Generation: its Records and Traditions.

By James Thomas. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1903. Pp. viii. + 414. Price 6s.

The Educational Writings of Richard Mulcaster.

Abridged and arranged, with a critical estimate, by James Oliphant, M.A., F.R.S.E. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1903. Pp. xix. + 245. Price 3s. 6d. net.

An Introductory Text-Book of Logic.

By Sydney Herbert Mellone, M.A., D.Sc. London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1902. Pp. xiv. + 362. Price 5s.

THE three chapters that make up Dr. Macdonald's very attractive book—which by the way is a marvel of cheapness and of lightness and has six illustrative plates—were first given as lectures before students of the several departments at King's College, London, in June, 1902.

There is that in us men which somehow prompts us to work and even to suffer for things that have no bearing on the mere pleasures or necessities of life. We search for truth, devote ourselves to beauty, make sacrifice of all for an ideal. This feeling of transcendental obligation is, says

Dr. Macdonald, the religious sense. It is the acknowledgment of the Law's demand for service beyond the immediate needs of individual or community. But now, this sense, whatever it be, must be "as much part of our inheritance as any other of our vital attributes". For unless we admit special creation—a thing biology will by no means allow us to do—we must remember that nothing, not even the highest in us, exists save in virtue of our inheritance. We have nothing that we have not received; so that if we have a religious sense, then, like any other sense or faculty, it must have been evolved from very small and modest beginnings. Only in man, it may be, does it become active and self-conscious; but like memory and reason and love it exists in a passive form in the lower animals and has been dormant in creation from the beginning.

Thus, far down in the scale of life, each little speck or item remains true to its idea. Two of them may be quite the same in structure yet behave in ways very different, each, for instance, producing its own sort of shell. So in the sponge we find a little colony of creatures all intent on an ideal in the fulfilment of which they personally have no concern—the building of a city the plan and purpose of which they can never know. In this unconscious recognition of obligation to the unknown we have some elemental suggestion of the religious sense. Plants and animals, no less than men, are children and servants of the ideal.

Nor is it only that they serve the Law, they even make sacrifice for it. Thus in the common daisy while the florets that go to form the golden disc fulfil all the functions of a flower, the outer florets, which are the white rays, renouncing in part their privileges, are content to be dependent on insects for fertilisation, by which sacrifice they maintain those relations between flower-kingdom and insect-kingdom which are so rich in profit for both, throw over their companions a tent-like canopy that guards them against wind and rain, and above all, add to the whole what else had not been there—that beauty which is the light of the Law, the outward and visible sign of the truth

of their inspiration. And this bond between life and the unknown is religion; though only in man does the sense become active and its possessor conscious of his obligation and so free.

To such an argument of course many objections will at once spring up in almost every mind. Is the religious sense in man a real thing? Is it right or wise to give the high title of "religious" to the unconscious instinct of plants and animals? And so on. But all such questions Dr. Macdonald has thought of, and been at pains to answer. In so doing, he has obscured somewhat his main line of exposition, yet at the same time has greatly enriched his book. Specially good are his marking off of the religious sense from the social, his pages on the function of the poet, his discussion of beauty. Indeed the book is full of good things. Accident is described as "that most stupid of man's creations in slothfulness". Of love and honour and the sense of beauty it is said: "These undecipherable, unseen, intangible ideas are bigger factors in our lives, we truly know, than dividends; bigger elements in our nature than even intellectual riches". Or again: "Man has become, in measure great or small, a conscious partaker in the mighty work of the eternal, though its purposes are unknown to him; and, in this high responsibility and conscious sharing in the building of the eternal city, he attains freedom, even though the glories of the city are hidden from him, because, like the sponge-sarcodes, he is still chained to his labour".

Both in manner and in matter Dr. Macdonald suggests Henry Drummond. The style is less perfect, but the thought is more profound. For there is here a poetic insight and mystic transcendentalism which suggest other affinities. Is not the author of this book a son of Dr. George Macdonald?

In a book so good as this it is a pity there should be any flaw; we would therefore suggest that the first sentence on p. 83 requires to be re-written.

There are so many books large and small on Hume that another seemed scarcely to be needed. The man, however,

who startled Kant and Reid from their dogmatic slumbers, and still stands out as the most thoroughgoing of empiricists, could not but find a place among *The World's Epoch-Makers*; and the editor of this series, Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, is to be congratulated on finding in Professor Orr one who through "well-nigh a lifetime's familiarity" with Hume's works and by his wide knowledge both of philosophy and theology was most peculiarly fitted to deal with the famous sceptic.

Three chapters, very carefully done, are given to Hume's life and writings (pp. 1-84); the four central chapters (pp. 85-165) on his philosophy are masterly at once in exposition and in criticism. The great fault in Hume's thinking, Dr. Orr finds, was what he calls its "essential assumptiveness". Thus on Hume's calling in of custom as a principle or cause in his theory of causation Dr. Orr remarks: "In order to make out that causation has no real existence Hume is compelled to assume a principle of causation operating in the very way he proposes to get rid of. . . . He disproves causation by the help of a principle of causation; shows the idea to be a fiction by means of a hypothesis which assumes its reality." The chapter on Hume's theory of morals and the following one on his theology (pp. 166-216) are adequate, though not strikingly fresh. A good few pages are rightly given to the most famous of Hume's sceptical writings—the *Essay on Miracles*. The real cogency of his argument lies not in its logical subtleties but in its insistence on "the strong antecedent improbability of deviations from the known course of nature as compared with the admitted fallibility of human testimony". Is not the human witness much more likely to have been at fault than the course of nature to have broken from its uniformity? Dr. Orr replies that all depends on circumstances; given, for example, a person such as Jesus Christ claims to be, the miracles attributed to Him become in the highest degree *natural*—events to be expected from such an one.

Was David Hume sincere? It has been a fashion of late to say that he has been greatly misjudged and much has been made of the remark he is said to have made to Boyle:

"Though I throw out my speculations to entertain the learned and metaphysical world, yet in other things I do not think so differently from the rest of the world as you imagine". Hume went to church, had many ministers among his friends, objected to being called an "infidel writer," and speaks of "our most holy religion"; yet all the while he was putting forward principles that struck at the roots not only of Christian doctrine but even of the rationality of the world, and never had a good word to say of religion or its defenders. It is a curious and a fascinating problem in character; and Dr. Orr can hardly be said to have solved it. But at any rate he is on the right lines in declining to whitewash. Hume had no religious feeling, but he had from first to last an insatiable craving for popularity and fame; and so just as for fame's sake he cut out offensive passages from his books, so it may be for the sake of peace and good fellowship he fell in outwardly with the ways and views of those about him. As Dr. John Caird put it, he carried his courtesy to the verge of insincerity; and yet after all he may have done it unconsciously.

In a brief preface Mr. Thomas claims to write from an independent point of view, avoiding doctrine which he says each section of Christian stakes out for itself, and ignoring miracles and inspiration, inasmuch as neither of these words has as yet been accurately defined. What this means we soon discover. It just means that whenever the New Testament asserts a miracle there must have been a foolish interpolation, and whenever it asserts anything that fails to come up to Mr. Thomas's standard of probability, the very last thing that could be said of it is that it is inspired. He takes us through the Book of Acts and finds fault and fraud everywhere. He calls it "this most erratic book"; he speaks of its "deliberate vagueness" and "studied ambiguity" in regard to dates; the demand made by Paul and Silas that the officials should come in person to release them he sets down as "too ridiculous to discuss". Other samples are: "we now for a short time recur to sobriety of style";

"the compiler at certain parts of his story gained the advantage of having under his hand a contemporary writing and annexed it, though altering, suppressing, and adding unscrupulously, as it suited his purpose"; "this is only another instance of the attempt of a late compiler to give local colour through the help of Josephus"; "the whole story is a fabrication"; and so on. From cover to cover we are made to move in an atmosphere of suspicion and fabrication and deceit.

We thought that we had left this sort of thing far and long behind us. Mr. Thomas has stopped short with Baur; he even reminds us of some who went before him. He cannot believe it possible that the New Testament writers were honest men, trying to state things as near as they could to the truth. He forgets altogether that fact is often stranger than fiction—stranger even than the higher critic's very modest ideas of probability. Worst of all, he does not appear even to have heard of the works of Professor Ramsay; and until he has laid his account with these, a writer on the first Christian generation has really no claim to be heard.

Richard Mulcaster (1532-1611), who was headmaster first of the Merchant Taylors' School (where he had Edmund Spenser among his pupils), and later of St. Paul's School, published two educational works—in 1581 *The Positions*, and in 1582 *The First Part of the Elementarie*—which somehow or other have never come to their own. Unlike the other four great English writers on education—Ascham, Milton, Locke, Spencer—Mulcaster gained no fame in any other sphere of thought, and he lacked the gift of literary style. Yet of the five he is the only one who was not merely a thinker, but also a practical expert; and his writings, though uncouth in form, are so rich in that wisdom which only teaching itself and first-hand knowledge of its conditions can give, as to have a signal value for all time. Mulcaster writes like an ancient, yet in his outlook and counsels is most surprisingly modern.

Hence the present volume. We cannot help wishing at times as we read that we had before us the very words of the man himself; we miss the antique flavour, and so far also those little turns, or even faults, of expression, which, oftener than big things, take us into the secret places of a great mind. Yet, on the whole, we must admit that Mr. Oliphant was right. He might perhaps have given us a page or two of the original, just to let us see what it was like. But his motive was not literary but practical; and in turning Mulcaster into modern English, he has managed to preserve in a wonderful degree the vigour and piquancy of the original.

In writing an *apologia* for one whom others know little of, as in drawing up an advertisement, one is apt to slip into special pleading and exaggeration; and once or twice—as for instance in his attempt to show that Mulcaster was not vain of his English prose—Mr. Oliphant falls into the snare. But otherwise it may be safely said, that no one who reads the preceding pages will seriously dissent from his critical estimate (pp. 209-245). Richard Mulcaster stood in the forefront of his age. He protested against the use of Latin in favour of the vernacular. His appeal was not to authority but to reason. He cried out against the despotism of mere words: “We attribute too much to tongues, in paying more heed to them than we do to matter”. He rose above the common estimate of Latin and Greek and bewailed “the loss of time over tongues, while you are pilgrims to learning”. The end of education, he declared, was not the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, but the unfolding of the whole nature—the guiding and stimulating of the child’s natural activity; and so in elementary education, which was his chief interest, he includes not only the three R’s, but drawing and music. He condemned private tutors and boarding-schools, and insisted that parents should co-operate with teachers instead of merely passing on to them the whole responsibility. Teachers, he said, should be more thought of, should be trained by the Universities, and ought to confer with one another about their work. Above all, he

was the first to affirm seriously that education was the birth-right of every child—girl as well as boy—born into the community. We are three centuries in front of Richard Mulcaster, yet in some things are still behind him.

Was there room for yet another text-book of logic? Before-hand we should scarcely have said there was; but after reading Dr. Mellone's volume, we have to admit that it seems to unite the virtues of its predecessors, and so to excel any single one of them. It is more profound than Minto; it is more interesting than Welton. It gives a full and accurate exposition of the traditional logic, the style being lucid and the examples plentiful; but, instead of leaving it, as it has too often been left, unattached, and, as it were, high and dry, puts it in vital touch on the one hand (*cf.* Minto) with the Aristotelian fountainhead, and on the other (*cf.* Welton) with modern philosophy. Indeed, what this text-book puts beyond doubt is that whoever presumes to write on logic ought first of all to be a philosopher. Dr. Mellone has already proved himself such in his *Studies in Philosophical Criticism and Construction*; and carries us over the slippery places in logic with consummate wisdom. Thoroughly sound, for instance, is his criticism of Hamilton on the quantification of the predicate, and of Mill on causation. He draws a most needful distinction between two meanings of the uniformity of Nature—(1) The uniformity of causation. (2) The maintenance of the present order of things in the universe—through neglect of which Mill and Jevons have gone astray. One quotation may be given: "Cause and effect are divided simply by a mathematical line—a line destitute of breadth—which is thrown by our thought across the current of events; on one side we have the cause, on the other the effect. There is no pause in reality; the whole process is continuous; the immediate cause comes into action only at the very moment when the effect begins to be produced. The point to be borne in mind is the continuity of cause and effect" (p. 257). It is however chiefly in the

small print and in the last chapter that we are taken into the deeps; the volume is what it professes to be—an elementary text-book.

Minto's little book on Logic is very pleasant to work with; but why should Dr. Mellone quote the same passage from it twice over—p. 113 and p. 337?

JOHN LENDRUM.

**Išo'dād's Stellung in der Auslegungsgeschichte des
Alten Testamentes.**

*Von Lic. Dr. G. Diettrich. Giessen: V. Ricker'sche
Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1902. Price M.7.50.*

**Handkommentar zum A. T. herausgegeben von D. W.
Nowack.**

*Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1902. Die Bücher
Samuelis von W. Nowack. Price M.5.80. Die Bücher
der Chronik von R. Kittel. Price M.4.*

**Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum A. T. herausgegeben von
D. Karl Marti.**

*Die Bücher Samuel erklärt von D. Karl Budde. Tübingen und
Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902. Price M.7.*

DR. DIETRICH'S book is an excellent piece of work. Isho'dad (Jesudad) of Merv was Nestorian bishop of Hedatha on the Tigris, *circ.* A.D. 850. According to Abhdisho (Ebedjesu), Metropolitan of Nisibis, *circ.* A.D. 1290, the writer of the most important native catalogue of Nestorian literature, Isho'dad wrote commentaries on the New Testament and on the Old Testament books called Beth-mautëbhê, *i.e.*, on the historical books (Joshua—2 Kings) and the sapiential books (including Ben Sira and Wisdom). Dr. Diettrich's researches in the British Museum have however brought to light commentaries by the same author on the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Psalms, *i.e.*, on the whole (Nestorian) Old Testament. Of these Dr. Diettrich has published copious extracts accompanied by a German translation, embracing the comment on Hosea, Joel, Jonah, Zechariah ix.-xiv. and on certain selected Psalms. Notes are added pointing out coincidences between Theodore of Mopsuestia and Isho'dad, and between Isho'dad and Barhebraeus. No doubt Isho'dad

borrowed from Theodore, and Barhebraeus in his turn from Isho'dad. Other notes deal with textual variation and other matters.

Isho'dad is in his exegesis a follower of Theodore and of the Antiochene School; he frequently prefers the historical interpretation when other commentators interpret the text mystically. Thus he protests against applying Psalm xxii. as a whole to our Lord. "How," he asks, "do the contents suit Him *who did no iniquity, neither was sin found in His lips?* And if they say that our Lord beareth the *aspect* (Syriac form of *πρόσωπον*) of (human) nature in using these words (*I am a worm, etc.*), then, when he saith, *my fathers hoped in thee*, they must tell us who are the fathers of the (this) human nature." And again on verse 17, Isho'dad says, "The expression *They pierced My hands* does not mean that He was pierced by them, but it speaks (simply) of the severity of the sufferings, *i.e.*, it means that if they had overcome Him, they would have done this to Him". Similarly, in commenting on Zechariah xii. 10 the commentator does not accept any reference in the passage to our Lord. The mourning is either "for it," *i.e.*, the people's sin, or "for him," *i.e.*, Judas Maccabaeus whom the "Romans" (*sic*) pierced and slew in war.

Space forbids us to quote further from this interesting book. It must suffice to say that it is thoroughly well edited, and that Dr. Diettrich has earned the deep gratitude of all Syriac scholars and students of the history of interpretation for giving us so valuable and interesting a work.

Of the two commentaries on Samuel the titles of which are given above it is not necessary to speak at length. Both are by well-known scholars who have a well-deserved reputation in this country as well as in Germany. But there is not much that is new which can be said just now about the books of Samuel. "Driver" is not antiquated, and H. P. Smith supplies us with nearly all that need be known with regard to the new textual criticism. Still two full commentaries (340 pages and 250 pages respectively) by Drs.

Budde and Nowack must contain a great deal of valuable matter. Both scholars devote a good deal of space to a polemic against Dr. Löhr's conservative principles of textual criticism, but it cannot be said that their own principles yield satisfactory emendations of such passages as the Lament over Saul.

Dr. Kittel's *Chronicles* contains a concise but careful and useful commentary, in which all the newer literature of the subject is used. It is in many ways a model of what an annotated edition should be, for it suggests and leaves room for thought.

W. EMERY BARNES.

Aristotle's Psychology.

A Treatise on the Principle of Life ("De Anima" and "Parva Naturalia"), Translated with Introduction and Notes by W. A. Hammond, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Cornell University. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1902. 8vo, pp. xxiii. + 229. Price 5s. net.

THE interest of the above-named treatise and its translation arises from its being the first attempt on a scientific basis to erect a psychology, the science which exercised some of the profoundest thinkers of most of the ages which have intervened since; and which up to date contains many of the same ἀπορίαι encountered by Aristotle, as well as of divergent attempts to solve them.

Aristotle correlated ψυχὴ with ζωὴ, and regarded the latter as a function of the former, or mind as a manifestation of life. His inquiry into the soul's nature is founded on his favourite metaphysical basis of all investigation, that there is in all things a "matter" and a "form" (ὑλὴ and εἶδος), that by the union of these two definiteness is reached, and the οὐσία or essence is complete. By this union the "matter," before potential only, passes into actuality. And to this finished or completed state of what before existed potentially he gives the name of ἐντελέχεια (p. 43, note).

One would expect from this a statement giving the matter of ψυχὴ, then one giving its form, and then showing how, potential before, it becomes actual, and from its matter and its form, and from the union of both, deducing its energies. We find no such course pursued. The philosopher falls back upon σῶμα body, as that in reference to which the term οὐσία, "substance," is most familiarly employed (Book II., chap. i., pp. 412 a, 3), and proceeds to argue from the notion of "life" as a bodily function.

The earlier part of this chapter is one of great difficulty,

and whether the translator has seen into the difficulty involved in his original in an early line of it seems doubtful. The original purports to attempt to determine the nature of the soul (τί ἐστι ψυχὴ), and its most general definition (λόγον). Then follows, λέγομεν δὴ γένος ἓν τι τῶν ὄντων τὴν οὐσίαν, rendered, "One class of realities we call substance," and the immediate sequel proceeds to distinguish three uses of the term οὐσία; (1) the primary matter (ἕλη) of whatever exists, (2) its distinctive form (μορφὴν καὶ εἶδος), and (3) the result of these two combined (τὸ ἐκ τούτων). That the translator gives a perfectly admissible sense of the Greek text, as it stands, is undeniable. The difficulty is, how to reconcile this with what is said of οὐσία in *Metaph.* vi., 1, 5, τὸ πρῶτως ὄν καὶ οὐ τί ὄν ἀλλ' ὄν ἀπλῶς, being in effect (1) only of the three above-distinguished uses of οὐσία. We must bear in mind also that οὐσία is the highest of the categories, the ultimate result to which abstraction can carry the mind. It does not seem possible that Aristotle could in the passage before us have meant to call this οὐσία "one class of realities". I propose to read μέρος for γένος (a corruption by no means unknown in our Greek MSS.), μέρος meaning a "part" in logical division. Then the distinction in the uses of οὐσία following is clear, for both (1) and (2) would constitute such logical parts.

Then Aristotle at once goes off as aforesaid (412 a, 3), "The notion of substance appears to be most generally employed in the sense of body and particularly of physical body," etc., and hence, after defining "life," arrives at his conclusion: "The soul . . . is the form (εἶδος) of a natural body endowed with the capacity of life;" or (as *ibid.*, 6) "is the first entelechy of a natural body endowed with the capacity of life. Such a body one would describe as *organic*." He probably here means "having organs suited to maintain life"; but he may also mean, "*being an organ to the soul*".¹ By "first entelechy" simplest actuality, *i.e.*, as distinct from the mere

¹ Cf. *Eth. Nicom.* viii., 10, 6, where the soul is to the body as the lord to the slave, or the musician to his instrument; and again *de Anim.*, II., iv., 415 b, 7, "The soul uses all natural bodies as its instruments".

"capacity" (*δύναμις*) following, is probably intended. He regards the whole as antecedent to and necessitating the parts, and the end as involving the means. Thus the soul is the principle of life and much more, *viz.*, the complete realisation or "entelechy" as above, and "the primary source of local movement," as well as of the internal movement of growth and decay; for both of these imply nutrition, and this involves a soul (Bk. II., chap. iv., p. 59). Thus the Aristotelian psychology is ultimately a branch of physiology. The sentence just before that of the "entelechy" (above cited) contains the phrase *ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ* rendered "in a given case". This would seem as though the translator preferred to read *ἐπὶ του* (= *τινος*) *αὐτοῦ*. The *τοῦ* is probably, however, correct, and the meaning "in the same subject".

After several chapters devoted to the senses, sense-perception and imagination, the dominant characteristic in the discussion which follows (Bk. III., chap. iv.) is the distinction of the function of reason in reference to other faculties, as being (1) creative, and (2) passive; and here by the way should be noticed in a quotation from our metaphysical countryman, Scotus, given in note 3 on page lxxxiv. of the Introduction, a bad misprint of "possibilis" for "passibilis," this latter being = (2) above. Of the former (1) the following account is well summarised, *ib.*, p. lxxxv.: "It is unmixed, transcendent, passionless, of divine nature, it suffers no change, is not born, it has no bodily organ, enters the body from without, and is immortal". Its relation with the body is thus rather precarious and mediate. Its function is to fecundate the sense-perceptions, which are passive until its action upon them takes place; but these perceptions depend ultimately upon the bodily organs, and are therefore the medium of connexion between that transcendent creative reason and the body. In the first two lines of page 113 (429 a, 3) we read, "It is the nature of thought to preclude and restrain the element that is foreign and adjacently seen". The Greek here is *παρεμφαινόμενον γὰρ κωλύει τὸ ἀλλότριον καὶ ἀντιφράττει*. The translator refers the first word to the object, *τὸ ἀλλότριον*—a grammatically accurate construction, no doubt, but probably not exhibiting Aristotle's meaning here. Although the last-

named subject is *νοῦς*, and the participle if referred to it should be masculine, yet it is probable that *τὸ νοεῖν*, which occurs two sentences back, was in the philosopher's mind when he wrote, and that by a construction *πρὸς σύνεσιν* the effect is as if he had written *παρεμφαινόμενος*. The word then illustrates that "precarious and mediate relation" of *νοῦς* above referred to. "By obtruding its presence there *νοῦς* excludes the element alien to itself and bars its access," would then be the rendering—the "alien element" being whatever is related to matter; since *νοῦς* has to do with pure form and is itself *ἀμιγής*, "undiluted (with matter)". This at once brings out the force of *γὰρ* (following *παρεκφ.*), which the translation misses, as explaining *why* *νοῦς* must be *ἀμιγής*; and accounts for the participle's emphatic position at the head of its clause, as referring to the virtual subject, *νοῦς*.

An almost hopeless *crux* to a translator is the use of (429 b, 9) *τὸ σιμὸν*, rendered literally, yet with an unhappy touch of the grotesque, "a snub-nose". This arises from its affinity with *σάρξ*, "flesh," in the same sentence. It is contrasted with *τὸ εὐθὺ*, "the straight line," in the sentence next but one; which shows that what is meant is a "line curving upwards"—one might say "the line *retroussée*," therefore, in default of a similar English equivoque, in both places.

In Book II., i. (412 a, 8), "We have now given a general definition of the soul. We have defined it as an entity (*οὐσία*) which realises an idea," this last phrase renders *ἡ κατὰ τὸν λόγον*. But something less recondite, say, "as defined above," seems rather to be what is meant; the reference being to the "entelechy" passage already quoted. In Book II., chap. iv. (416 a, 13), we read, "In all bodies developed in nature there is a limit and *significance* to size and growth". Here "significance" represents *λόγος*. Should it not rather be "a proportion"—a sense which *λόγος* often bears? A limit to size and a proportion to growth, is clear. What is meant by "significance" to either, and that in "a body," is far from clear.

Aristotle's discussion of memory and recollection wanders off into a maze of which it is perhaps impossible to seize and retain the clue. Dr. Hammond has done the best, or as

good as any, that could be done for it ; but bewilderment rather than lucidity is still the dominant note, and it remains questionable whether any one has, in some passages, grasped the meaning since they were first written. As regards vision, it is remarkable that Aristotle limits its objective field to colour only, leaving shape, form, or contour wholly blank.

The few passages on which a difference of opinion is above expressed hardly form any perceptible deduction from the conscientious excellence of the general workmanship. The Introduction is an expert's chart of Aristotelian psychology, with many side-glances up the avenues which ramify into his general scheme of philosophy. It leans largely on Zeller, but possesses an independent standpoint.

To take nature, including man, as his basis and examine with all the precision then attainable all natural phenomena which bore upon his subject, was Aristotle's method ; and yet we see the whole *examen* subjected to the profound ontological laws derived from metaphysical study, and fitted as it were into their frame-work. Instruments of research, now at the disposal of every toying *savant*, were not his to wield ; and the rigorous inquiry of which he was a votary was estopped after a few steps taken. For lack of this apparatus many of these old-world discussions are now mere skiomachy. The shadows of crude old theories advanced by Empedocles, Xenocrates, Democritus, Anaxagoras or Plato, in the early dawn of speculation, such as the monad, the self-moving number, the soul's atomic constitution, its harmony of contraries, the empsychosis of the four elements,—all these are met by objections no less shadowy, until page after page fades off into the limbo of the unmeaning, full of profound intellectual effort, but “signifying nothing”.

One might, however, trace the germs of many of the subjects discussed and experimented upon by Francis Bacon to an early form in the Aristotelian chapters on sense-perception, or to the seed-plot of the *Parva Naturalia* ; which if Macaulay had known or heeded, many sonorous paragraphs in his famous essay on the Baconian philosophy would not have been written.

HENRY HAYMAN.

Sacred Sites of the Gospels. With Illustrations, Maps and Plans.

By W. SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Lady Margaret
Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church,
Oxford, Honorary Fellow of Exeter College. With
the assistance of Paul Waterhouse, M.A., F.R.I.B.A.
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903. 8vo, pp. xii. + 126.
Price 13s. 6d. net.

This is a book of much interest, delightful to read and richly illustrated. It has arisen out of a course of lectures delivered by Dr. Sanday after his return from a short visit to the Holy Land. It deals with certain geographical and topographical questions which all writers on the life of our Lord have to consider, and on which Dr. Sanday felt he could write more fully in a separate publication than in the *Life of Christ* which he has in hand. It has the great advantage not only of lightening the projected *Life* to some extent of details, but also of giving us to understand the first vivid impressions produced upon the author's mind with respect to the Holy Land generally. It is valuable, too, for the opinions which his journey led him to form on some disputed matters of sites. It is written in an easy style, which takes the reader very much into the writer's confidence, and it need scarcely be added that it is written also with that careful balance of judgment and that generous estimate of others, whether in agreement or in disagreement with him, for which Dr. Sanday is so honourably known.

The opening chapter deals with the "External Aspect of Palestine in the Time of Christ". Here Dr. Sanday reminds us of the limitations with which the idea embodied in the phrase "the unchanging East" has to be taken when it is applied to Palestine, and of "the succession of more or less alien elements" that intruded into the country. Not to speak of more modern elements, Jewish, Roman Catholic,

Russian, British, American, etc., which have to be taken into account, he points out to how great an extent the stamp of the Roman, the Byzantine, the Saracen, the Crusader, the Turk was left upon the land, and how necessary it is therefore, if we are to form any just conception of the Palestine of our Lord's time, to subtract the Saracenic element, and the changes due to the Crusaders, and on the other hand to think ourselves back more thoroughly both into what the Græco-Roman civilisation was, and what the Jew himself was in those days both in numbers and in character. This is all well worth saying and it is well put.

It is interesting to notice the conclusions to which a scholar so cautious and an observer so careful has been led with regard to certain disputed sites, both within Jerusalem and without it. With respect to the former, Dr. Sanday's judgment is, on the whole, in favour of the traditional sites of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, and more decidedly in favour of the traditional site of the "upper room". The statement on this last is of special interest. The case of Bethesda is admitted to be still far from settled. With regard to sites outside Jerusalem, Dr. Sanday has a good deal to say of various places, especially Bethsaida, Gerasa, Emmaus and Capernaum. As to the first of these places Dr. Sanday inclines to go with those who do not consider it necessary to assume the existence of two towns of the name of Bethsaida, and is prepared to "think that the inference rests on a stricter interpretation of Mark vi. 45 than the words will warrant". All the solution, however, that he ventures to suggest for the difficulty is, that there may have been "an old part and a new part of Bethsaida Julias, and that the references in the Gospels are rather to the old than to the new, as our Lord rarely entered these fashionable Greek cities". As to the Gerasa of the Gospels Dr. Sanday justly points out the weakness of Dr. Guthe and Dr. Furrer in their treatment of the various readings, and gives a good summary of the evidence, both textual and topographical, in support of Dr. Thomson's identification of Gerasa with the ruins of *Khersa* or *Kersa*. As to the

question why the Decapolitan city Gerasa is now represented by *Jerash*, while Gerasa or Gergesa on the Sea of Galilee is represented by *Kersa* or *Khersa*, the reply suggested by Dr. Sanday is that "whereas Gerasa of Decapolis was a city of Greek foundation, so that the Greek name would be primary and directly represented by *Jerash*, *Kersa* or *Kursi* may stand for a more ancient name of which Gerasa or Gergesa are attempted Greek equivalents". He is also disposed to accept Caspari's identification of Emmaus with the village of Kalôniyeh on the road from Jerusalem to Jaffa as the most probable proposal, although the difficulty created by Luke's statement of the distance remains unexplained except on the supposition that the evangelist was not strictly accurate. There is, however, no better example of Dr. Sanday's method than his discussion of the site of Capernaum and his careful estimate of the case between *Khan Minyeh* and *Tell Hum*. Nothing could be fairer, and it is important to see that on the whole he regards those in the right who have in recent years gone back to the view that the former is the ancient Capernaum. The question, of course, then faces us as to what *Tell Hum* can be. Dr. Sanday thinks there may be something in Father Biever's suggestion to Professor von Soden, that the ruins at *Tell Hum* may mark a "Jewish branch settlement from Tiberias founded after the time of our Lord and associated with the Rabbi Tanhum".

A Literary History of Scotland. By J. H. MILLAR, B.A., LL.B., Balliol College, Oxford, Lecturer in International Private Law in the University of Edinburgh. London: Fisher Unwin, 1903. 8vo, pp. xv. + 703. Price 16s.

A history of Scottish literature has been a great want, and the Scottish people will be grateful to Mr. Fisher Unwin for undertaking to supply the long-felt need. The gratitude would have been all the greater had the work been better done. The book now before us, though it will

be of use in many ways, falls far short of what we ought to have, and far short of what it might have been had the author been less anxious to be clever. It does a good deal for the present need, and should prepare the way for something more satisfactory. It has much that is interesting to tell. It gives us a fair chronicle of events. It brings together a large mass of information. It gives a survey that is of some value of the course which the literary spirit has taken in Scotland. It furnishes analyses of a considerable number of the more important writings which many will be glad to have, and it pronounces critical judgments not a few which, while they never penetrate very deep, will be generally accepted. But it has some very serious faults, which take much from its value. For one thing it is vitiated by the ambition to say smart things, biting things, things that are calculated to startle or to irritate. Mr. Millar would have done better if he had been less anxious to be an imitator of the slashing style of criticism, and more content to write modestly. He has much to say in praise of the *Scots Observer* (afterwards the *National Observer*) and its methods. The rough-and-ready style of that short-lived oracle, its merry, reckless iconoclasm, its delight in overturning reputations, in sneering at what was dear to multitudes of Scots, in making game of eminent or popular names—all this appears to be the kind of thing that Mr. Millar would like to get at if he had the gift. And no doubt that is all very entertaining to a certain class for the time being. But it does not leave much solid result behind. We have far too much of this smart and snappish style and these jaunty ways of criticism in the second half of the volume, and more especially in the pages given to the Victorian era. And it carries with it a certain free-and-easy, not to say slangy manner of writing which jars on one in that part of the book. Mr. Millar seems to think it adds effectiveness to his detracting criticisms, and above all to his flouts, if he can throw in such words as "wobbling," "faking," "cock-sureness," and the like.

The book also fails in its sense of the proportions of things

and in the many irrelevancies in which it indulges. It expends some eleven pages on a disquisition upon the problem of ballad literature, discussing at undue length Professor Gammere's theory of the "communal" theory of the ballad—all interesting enough in its way but not belonging peculiarly to Scottish literature and scarcely entitled to have so large a place in a history which dismisses many names in Scottish letters in a few sentences. Some writers again get far too much space in comparison with others. John Gibson Lockhart, *e.g.*, in addition to all that is said of him in the story of Sir Walter Scott's life, gets no less than fifteen pages to himself, and William Edmonstoune Aytoun gets ten, while a half or a third of that space is deemed sufficient for John Barbour, George Macdonald, and a good many more. And as to irrelevancies, they abound, and the most of them, we regret to say, are prompted by prejudice. Mr. Millar cannot write of Samuel Rutherford without dragging in a sneer at "the pious Dr. Love" and another at the distinguished missionary Dr. Alexander Duff. He cannot give a page or two to the great stonemason, Hugh Miller, without having a fling at Lord Panmure as "a very Prince of Israel, though . . . rarely suspected of being a precisian in private life". He cannot refer to Edward Irving (whose case he does not in the least understand) without taking the opportunity of describing him as "another 'scalp' secured by the Evangelicals". But wherever he has to come in contact with the Scottish Reformers, the Covenanters or the Evangelicals, he loses himself completely, and simply slips into Billingsgate. There are a few exceptions, as in the case of John Knox's *History of the Reformation* and Chalmers's character and eloquence; but even these are few and grudging. Of Erskine of Dun, for example, the most that he has got to say is that the only sign that he knows of that illumination with which Knox credited him is that "in his youth he killed a priest". His judgment of George Buchanan is that in the case of his royal pupil he "succeeded in turning out a youth only less inhuman, arrogant and pedantic than himself". Samuel Rutherford is a purveyor of "luscious and heady liquor"—

a writer from whose *Letters* it would be "difficult to extract a passage of any length" . . . which was not "disfigured by something ludicrous or vulgar even to the point of gross irreverence". When he has occasion to speak of Scott's *Old Mortality* he refers us to "the recorded utterances of savoury Mr. Alexander Peden or any other precious saint of the Covenant". He acknowledges that Hugh Miller is noteworthy as a writer of "remarkably good English". But otherwise he looks down upon him from his own lofty superiority "as a sufficiently ridiculous personage"—a man who "can affect lowliness of mind for rhetorical purposes. But the pride of respectability is omnipresent in his writings and his spiritual arrogance is unbounded." This of the Cromarty mason of whom Scotsmen of all parties do well to be proud! But in point of fact as regards not a few of the men, especially those of recent times, of whom Mr. Millar so jauntily disposes, we fear the only conclusion one can come to is that he knows little or nothing either of their writings or themselves. In some cases his account of them is little less than scandalous. Take the case, for example, of the late Professor A. B. Bruce, a man far better known on both sides of the Atlantic than Mr. Millar seems to understand. After a sneering reference to the patois of the Neo-Hegelians, which he says has been appropriated by a "school of writers, chiefly belonging to the Free Church, who combine a maximum of unction with a minimum of what, in the age of Chalmers and Candlish, would have been accounted essential belief," he gives a few lines to Dr. Bruce. He characterises him as "the most sceptical of the band," describes his teaching as "not readily distinguishable from Socinianism," and says of his "scheme of Christianity" that in it "the Incarnation (as traditionally understood), the Resurrection and the Ascension appear to have little or no place". Mr. Millar seems to have formed his idea of Dr. Bruce from some newspaper cuttings or from a glance into an article in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. It is impossible to suppose that he could have written in the above fashion had he put himself to the trouble of looking into Dr. Bruce's *Training of the*

Twelve, his *Cunningham Lectures*, his *Apologetics*, or others of his best-known books.

In his Preface Mr. Millar expresses the hope "that no constitutional prejudice or bias has led him to the unconscious and unintentional misrepresentation of the views of men with whose temperament and habits of thought he may chance to find himself in imperfect sympathy". This hope, we regret to say, is very imperfectly fulfilled. Mr. Millar's prejudices are strong; he has little of the capacity of entering into the mind of those with whom he is not in sympathy. His praise is scant and his appreciation grudging. This unlovely note takes much from the value of the book. But its capital fault is its lack of anything like the literary insight which makes the estimates formed by men like George Brimley, Mr. Hutton, Canon Ainger, Mr. Myers, Professor Masson or Professor Raleigh, to name but a few, so enlightening. The gift of illumination has not been bestowed on Mr. Millar. In few cases does anything he says help us to a better appreciation of the literary genius of those whom he criticises. He is best when he has to deal with writers separated by centuries from his own time. Most of those of his own day, or of comparatively recent times, are very inadequately understood by him and fare badly at his hands. His judgments are often as superficial as they are unjust, and he has the unhappy tendency to take back with the left hand what he has given with the right.

Of the men of his own time there are some, it is true, of whom he can speak generously and appreciatively—Professor Masson, Dr. Walter Smith and Dr. George Macdonald (with considerable abatements) among others. But he is severe on the Scotch School which has enjoyed so great popularity for a time. He has a high opinion on the whole of Robert Louis Stevenson, and justly sets him far above all his contemporaries and juniors. But he is a sharp critic of Barrie, whom he places next to Stevenson. He accuses him of "playing to the galleries," and describes his *Margaret Ogilvy* as an exercise compared with which the "labours of the resurrectionist are praiseworthy". He charges Crockett with "the crudeness

of his writing," the "perpetual substitution of gross and meaningless buffoonery for humour," and the "presence of a rich vein of essential coarseness". *The Lilac Sunbonnet* he describes as "a perfect triumph of succulent vulgarity". Nor does Ian Maclaren fare better. *Vulgarity* is also the essential note of his works—a vulgarity "less robust and blatant than that of Mr. Crockett's; but it is none the less offensive that it is more subtle and insidious". His verdict is that "in Mr. Crockett we have the boisterous horseplay of the bothie; in Mr. Maclaren we have the slobbering sentiment of the Sabbath School with a dash of 'gentility'".

We have most satisfaction in the earlier portions of Mr. Millar's history. He gives good accounts, *e.g.*, of William Dunbar, Gavin Douglas, Sir David Lindsay, Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, the Wedderburns, the Forbeses and others. In the later period he does most justice to Burns and Scott. He can be enthusiastic over both, more particularly over the former. He has some good and helpful, though not very novel, criticisms of the latter. Of men like Christopher North and James Hogg he also writes well.

A Manual of Theology. By THOMAS B. STRONG, D.D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1903. 8vo, pp. viii. + 419. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Dr. Strong's book has found many readers, especially in his own Church. It has unmistakable merits which well entitle it to the distinction of a second edition. It presents a scheme of theology which is far indeed from complete, but which puts the Incarnation in the foreground and sets the main Christian doctrines in the light of that event. In this broad and general sense it gives a Christo-centric Theology, though that is not worked out with the completeness or the systematic order found in the great German books which follow that principle of unification.

It starts with a discussion of the Method of Theology, the distinction between Natural Theology and Christian

Theology, and the difficulties of theology in its relations to scientific thought. Then it deals, very much in the usual way, with the *metaphysical* and the *moral* interests in religion, stating and examining the various proofs for the existence and the character of God. In the third chapter it reaches its main theme—the Incarnation—noticing how Christ is presented in the Gospels as human, and yet more than human; how this view of His Person rests upon His miracles, His teaching, His actual claims, and on testimony. This is followed by an interesting discussion of the question whether such a thing as the Incarnation is possible in fact, in which it is shown that, while materialism excludes the affirmative answer, it does not exclude the conception of Nature as a moral order, and that the Incarnation, therefore, may be regarded as the consummation of the natural order. The Catholic interpretation of the Incarnation is next expounded, the great Christological heresies being briefly but acutely investigated, and the importance of *Personality* being very forcibly put. The statement of the Trinitarian conception of God is another very good section of the book, especially the statement of the philosophical bearing of that conception and the way in which it alone satisfies the idea of God as moral and personal. The next two chapters are given to Creation, the Fall, and the Atonement. With regard to the Death of Christ, Dr. Strong holds it to be an atoning Sacrifice in the sense that it “removed the positive barriers which sin had erected between man and God,” while it was also the “crowning act of a life of obedience and fellowship with God, in the power of which we must act”. The closing chapter deals with the Church and the Sacraments. These Dr. Strong interprets in the Anglican way as an “extension of the Incarnation”. There are some things open to criticism in this part of the book, and the great questions of eschatology are very meagrely handled. The most important indeed are little more than touched. This is a serious want. But the book is a vigorous and independent exhibition of a large part of the great compass of Christian doctrine, and its tone and spirit are admirable throughout.

Are the Critics Right? Historical and Critical Considerations against the Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis. By WILHELM MÖLLER, with an Introduction by Professor C. VON ORELLI, D.D. Translated from the German by C. H. IRWIN, M.A. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxii. + 220. Price 2s. 6d.

Möller's book has been already translated into Danish and Norwegian. It now appears in English, and the rendering is satisfactorily done. The book, too, is quite worthy of the honour of a translation. It is a well-argued and temperate statement of the case against the critical construction of the Pentateuch, and it has the special interest of being the work of a convert from the Wellhausen School. It does not pretend to anything like completeness, but limits itself to certain outstanding features of the modern hypothesis, and it follows the historical and critical methods. It recognises fully the peculiar attraction of the Graf-Wellhausen theory, consisting "first in the apparent agreement between law and history, and then in the apparently smooth development of the various collections of laws". But it raises a good many questions, especially with regard to the late dating of Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code. It makes some good points (which, however, are by no means overlooked by all the critics), *e.g.*, "the untenableness of the view that because a law was unknown at a particular time therefore it did not exist; the tendency of certain arguments to prove too much, as in the case of some adduced in support of the posterity of the Priestly Code to Ezekiel; the assumption that the neglect or contravention of certain enactments means that they did not exist, etc. On such subjects as the relations of the Prophets and the vision of Ezekiel to the Priestly Code, the difficulty of explaining some particular enactments of the Priestly Code (*e.g.*, the divergences in form and in decoration in the case of Temple and Tabernacle, the prescriptions regarding transportation in Numb. iv., etc.) on the theory in question, etc., the book says something that deserves notice. And on the whole it is a

reasonable plea for hearing again what is to be said on the other side. But it abandons the pathway of moderation when at the close it commits itself to the absolute statement that the conclusions of criticism make the idea of a revelation impossible. Herr Möller should not forget how it used to be argued that if the theory of evolution were adopted belief in Creation would be impossible.

Critical Questions. Being a Course of Sermons delivered in St. Mark's Church, Marylebone Road. With a Preface by Rev. JAMES ADDERLEY. London : S. C. Brown, Langham & Company, Ltd., 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 204. Price 5s.

These discourses are eminently well worth publication in book form. They are fitted to do an opportune service. The lecturers, Drs. A. F. Kirkpatrick, H. B. Swete, R. J. Knowling, A. Robertson, W. Sanday, A. C. Headlam, are men with claims to be heard, and they do excellent work here. Their discourses are careful and weighty statements on subjects which are exercising many minds with peculiar force and urgency at present. The Old Testament, the trustworthiness of the gospel narrative, the authority and authorship of Acts, the Resurrection of our Lord, the Virgin-Birth, the witness of St. Paul—these are all themes of the highest importance, and of special interest at present, and they will be found handled here with candour, ability and all due regard to readers who desire to understand, but have not the equipment of professional scholarship. Dr. Swete states very well how much would still remain even if we were driven from our first line of defence by having to give up the full trustworthiness of the gospel records; but he shows also very clearly how trustworthy they are in the picture they give of their central Figure, and in the circumstances of their narrative, and how far this serves as a test of their credibility in other matters, such as their miraculous events. Dr. Knowling draws with a practised hand the outlines of the mass of evidence which speaks to the claims

of the Book of Acts on our acceptance. Dr. Robertson gives an admirable statement of the evidence on which our belief on Christ's Resurrection rests, and Dr. Sanday's presentation of the historical side of the question of the Virgin-Birth and its theological significance will bring help to many at present.

The Biblical History of the Hebrews. By F. J. FOAKES-JACKSON, B.D., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Hon. Canon of Peterborough. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons; London: Edward Arnold, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxx. + 414. Price 6s.

To the various Old Testament histories which have been recently published Mr. Foakes-Jackson adds another which will have its own place. It is intended in the first instance for theological students, and it is well suited to the requirements of such. But it will also be appreciated by a wider audience. It aims at telling the story of the Hebrew nation in such a way as to "bring into relief the progressive character of God's revelation to His chosen people," and to show how "the interest of Israel's history grows with our increasing knowledge as the end of the Old Dispensation is approached". It maintains a sober and judicious attitude towards the questions of criticism, and it is written in a suitable style, discussing in the Introduction the necessity for a new presentation of Hebrew history, and giving a concise *résumé* of the principles and main results of Modern Criticism as applied to the Hebrew writings. It deals in a series of chapters of moderate length with the great outlines of the history from the oldest Hebrew traditions to the conquest of the Holy Land and the successive reigns on to the re-settlement in Judæa after the captivity. Special difficulties are handled in a series of appendices, and there is a considerable body of very useful notes. The book gives on the whole a very good sketch of the great events, and it will be of much service to those for whom it has been specially prepared. It is the result of much careful consultation of acknowledged authorities, both native and foreign.

Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch. Herausgegeben von Dr. H. GUTHE, Professor in Leipzig. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 768. Price 10s. 6d. net.

In the preparation of this Bible dictionary Professor Guthe has had the help of Professors Beer and H. J. Holtzmann, of Strassburg, Professor E. Kautzsch, of Halle, Professor C. Siegfried, of Jena, Professor Wiedemann, of Bonn, Professor Zimmern, of Leipzig, and the late Professor Socin, also of Leipzig. These names are a guarantee of good work, and the general idea of the book has been very successfully carried out. The capital requirement of *brevity* has been carefully studied throughout. The articles, even the largest of them, are admirably concise and pointed. Everything superfluous has been rigorously kept out, but a vast mass of information is given. The dictionary gives just what the vast majority of readers wish to get, and to get by rapid consultation. Questions of Biblical theology were not contemplated as coming within the scope of the undertaking, but a few terms of that kind, such as *Gott, Herr, Engel, Satan, Hölle, Paradies, Opfer*, are retained. The book is easy to handle; it is well printed and it has a considerable plenishing of maps and illustrations. It is meant for the use of German readers, and it is natural that most of the authorities referred to in the text of the various articles should be German. But there is a greater neglect of literature that is not native than should be. The work would have been all the better of a more frequent recognition of the scholarship of England and other non-German countries.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

THE most interesting paper, and it is one of real interest and value, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July is Professor D. S. Schaff's on "The Treatment of the Jews in the Middle Ages". The opening paper on *Theodicy* by Professor Jacob Cooper is also one well worth reading. It discusses once more the question whether the existence of evil can be reconciled with a Perfect Creator and Governor of the Universe. There are also papers on the teaching of religion by Dr. A. A. Berle, the "Primacy of the Person in Education," by Dr. H. M. Cheever, etc., and two good Notes on the Lansing Skeleton, and the revision of Geological Time.

In the current issue of *Mind*, Dr. W. Macdougall continues his discussion of the "Physiological Factors of the Attention-Process"; Professor J. H. Muirhead has an interesting paper on the "Problem of Conduct"; and among other able contributions we may mention Bernard Bosanquet's second paper on "Hedonism among Idealists," and the very elaborate discussion of the "Order of the Hegelian Categories in the Hegelian Argument," by M. W. Calkins, closing with the statement that "the idealistic critic may re-shape, but he never may reject Hegel's proof that ultimate reality is an Absolute Self".

The July number of the *International Journal of Ethics* opens with two seasonable papers on Emerson, one by John Dewey on "The Philosopher of Democracy," and another by W. M. Salter on Emerson's "Views of Society and Reform". Professor Sorley, of Cambridge, writes on "Betting and Gambling". He speaks of the Wager of Life, the Wager of Strife, and the Wager of Play. On the ethical aspect of the last, which covers *betting* or *gambling* in the commonest sense of the terms, he points out that it cannot be understood but by considering the effects on *character* and *society*,

and he deals briefly but ably with the invasion of regular business made by betting and the "fundamentally immoral" attitude of one who in aiming at his own success is "always aiming at his companion's failure". In a short paper on "The Ethics of St. Paul," the Rev. R. Bren notes five points in which he thinks the Apostle approaches modern ways of thinking. There are other valuable papers, *e.g.*, by F. R. Schiller, of Oxford, on "The Ethical Basis of Metaphysics"; G. H. Howison, of the University of California, on "Personal Idealism and its Ethical Bearings"; Frederick Hammond, of San Francisco, on "The Search for Unity of Belief".

In the fourth issue of the *Revue de Théologie et des Questions religieuses* for the year Professor H. Bois, of Montauban, concludes his valuable series of papers on the religious and moral sentiments; there are also other good papers by M. Petavel-Olliff on "The Logic of Expiation and M. Auguste Sabatier's Point of View"; Dr. E. Ménégoz on "The Eschatology of Jesus," etc.

In the July-August issue of the *Methodist Review*, Dr. C. M. Coburn writes with good sense on "The Bible Story of the Fall". Dr. John Hampstone, of Brooklyn, contributes a good paper on "The Christ of St. Mark's Gospel". There are also other papers, *e.g.*, two on Wesley, which are worth reading.

The third issue of *The Princeton Theological Review* opens with an appreciative paper by Professor Alex. T. Ormond of the late Dr. James McCosh, President of Princeton University, and one who did much both for philosophy and for education. Prof. W. M. McPheeters writes on "The Question of the Authorship of the Books of Scripture; a Criticism of Current Views," from the conservative standpoint, examining especially the positions adopted by Dr. Payne Smith, the Rev. J. J. Lias, Professor Kirkpatrick, and Dr. C. A. Briggs, and concluding that none of these writers considers the important question of *authorship* on its own merits. Then follow good papers of a different kind on "Missionary Policy in the Levant," by Dr. James F. Riggs,

and "Evolution and Theology To-day," by Dr. W. Hallock Johnson. The latter is a long and searching discussion, the issue of which is that "the outcome of forty years of scientific investigation and apologetic discussion is . . . the growing conviction both among scientists and theologians, that evolution as a scientific theory and theology have very little to do with each other, and that evolution neither increases materially the theologian's difficulties, nor helps him to solve them". Professor Zenos, McCormick Seminary, Chicago, writes on "Revelation or Discovery," stating the difference between these two standpoints as relating to the Bible. Professor G. G. Cameron contributes a careful paper on "The Laws Peculiar to Deuteronomy," reviewing these laws and examining their relation to the historical situation in Jerusalem during the last quarter of the seventh century B.C. The conclusion reached is that the laws neither bear the distinct reference to the circumstances of the time, nor show the reformatory character which we should expect, if Deuteronomy was prepared as the programme of the reforming party in the days of Josiah. In a short paper bearing the title of "Sanctifying the Pelagians," Professor B. B. Warfield in incisive terms exposes the extraordinary nature of much that has been recently written on Pelagius and Pelagians by writers like Dr. S. D. McConnell, Dr. Hodgkin, and more particularly examines the account of Julian of Eclanum by Petrus de Natalibus. He sets the texts of Gennadius and Peter side by side, and shows how a principle of alteration has been at work which seems to have been that of striking out of Gennadius all reference to Julian's implication in heresy, Augustine being to Peter the heresiarch and Julian the saint.

To the July number of the *Journal of Theological Studies* Professor Sanday contributes a very appreciative sketch of his friend—a man greatly valued and affectionately honoured by all who knew him—the late Professor Robert Campbell Moberly. The tribute to Dr. Moberly's character and capacity is all that those who had most regard for him could desire. The review of his writings is brief, but it

states concisely and carefully the work done by Dr. Moberly, along with Bishop Gore and others of the same school, in exhibiting the central significance of the Incarnation, in opposition to all forms of individualism, and in dealing with the questions belonging to the meeting-point between philosophy and theology. Dr. Sanday's estimate of Dr. Moberly's "Atonement and Personality" is very high. He looks upon it as "nothing less than a system . . . a reasoned view, in which part hangs together with part, of the whole Being and Nature of God," and claims for it a position like that given to Ritschl's *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*. Notwithstanding its frequent obscurities the book is undoubtedly one that makes its mark. Dr. Sanday's judgment of it will seem to most readers to be pitched too high. But it comes well from one who through long and intimate acquaintance with him has a claim to see further into Dr. Moberly's mind and to understand his thoughts better probably than any other. Professor A. A. Bevan has an acute, critical discussion of the prophecy of the King of Tyre in Ezekiel xxviii. 1-19. He looks at Proksch's recent treatise, and points out that even if the theory advocated there, *viz.*, that the descriptions in Ezekiel and Genesis are both "reflexes of some ancient myth which was, presumably the common property of the Israelites and the neighbouring peoples," the real question, *viz.*, why the King of Tyre in particular is compared to a demigod expelled from Paradise, is left unanswered. He thinks we have reason to believe that the sanctuary at Jerusalem was a Tyrian importation; that the story of the Garden of Eden came from the same quarter, as an interpretation of the symbolic figures adorning the sanctuary; and that, if the Solomonian Temple was held to be a representation of the Garden of Eden, the Tyrian Temple, its prototype, would also be thus regarded. In this, Professor Bevan thinks, we have the central idea of Ezekiel's dirge over the Tyrian King, and the explanation of a number of details otherwise unintelligible. Mr. A. Souter writes well on "Palæography and its Issues," his paper being an inaugural lecture delivered in the University of Aberdeen. The Rev. K. Lake

continues his very interesting account of the "Greek Monasteries in South Italy," and the Rev. R. Holmes writes briefly on "The Purpose of the Transfiguration," criticising Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy's paper on the same subject, and holding that at least one of the objects of that great event was to "teach the disciples both the reality and the true nature of the blessings they were to enter into through the power of the Lord". Among the smaller Notes and Studies there are several that deserve attention, *e.g.*, Mr. Blakiston's on "The Lucan Account of the Institution of the Lord's Supper"; Mr. Burkitt's on "Codex Claromontanus (*h*)"; Mr. Bishop's on the "Early Texts of the Roman Canon," etc.

The August number of *East and West* is full of interesting matter. It opens with a paper by M. Gayet on "Egyptian Hellenism and the Excavations at Antinoë," which is followed by the second of Mr. G. Adams's "Musings on Indian Matters," the special subject being the "Village Commune and the Law". Among other excellent and instructive papers we notice one by Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose on "Conceptions of Beauty, Greek and Indian," and one by President C. Cuthbert Hall on "Some Personal Ideals of American University Life". Dr. Hall's Article consists of a lecture which he delivered under the auspices of the Literary Club, Mandura. He speaks in appreciative terms of the working of the University system in India and then sets before his Indian hearers certain outstanding characteristics of the American system, namely, the absence from the American social order of hereditary class or caste privileges, the idealisation of woman, and the sense of individuality. On each of these he has much to say that must have been of great interest to an audience in Mandura—more particularly, perhaps, his statement of the simplicity of the structure of American society as compared with the complexity of the social order which has characterised India from immemorial times.

The *Homiletic Review* for July appears in a somewhat new form, with a larger page and a new cover. It opens with

two papers on the "Modern Critical View of the Book of Daniel," by Professor C. M. Cobern of Chicago and Sir Robert Anderson, K.C.B., the one writing from the critic's point of view in a fair and reasonable way, the other from the judge's, much in the style of his "Daniel in the Critic's Den". Professor König writes briefly but instructively on the "Literatures of the Hebrews and Babylonians," and Professor G. H. Schodde on "Current Religious and Theological Thought—the Bible Problem". There is great wealth of Sermonic, Homiletical, and Expository matter of various kinds in this issue. There are also some good Editorial Notes on the Kischineff massacre and other subjects, and Dr. D. S. Gregory himself contributes to the Miscellaneous Section an opportune and well-written paper on the "Apotheosis of Emerson". He notices the exaggerated estimates of men like Senator Hoar, who claims for Emerson the combined gifts of Demosthenes and Plato, and pronounces him to have had the "farthest and clearest spiritual discernment of any man who has lived in modern times"; President Schurman of Cornell University, who asserts that Emerson "exercises more influence to-day than any other prophet, sacred or profane, does at the present time"; and Dr. A. J. Lyman, who describes him as a "ray of intellectual fire straight from the source of things". He contrasts with these the saner and more penetrating judgments of men like Dr. George A. Gordon of Boston, who shows how very much less in point of fact was Emerson's religious influence over his contemporaries than was that, *e.g.*, of Theodore Parker, Dr. E. A. Park, Horace Bushnell, Charles Hodge and others, and how far it yet is from being what it is sometimes represented to be by the ardent disciples of the Emersonian cult. The paper then exhibits, in the line of Dr. Gordon's article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for May, the contradictory elements in Emerson which have led to estimates so remarkably different, and suggests what may be the key to these contradictions.

The July issue of the *American Journal of Theology* has no less than 122 pages of reviews of recent theological literature.

These reviews are done with great care, and are of real value to the reader. There are also three articles, the first of these, which is by Professor C. A. Briggs, bears the title "Catholic—the Name and the Thing". Its object is to show that, as used in ancient times, the term *Catholic* "stood for three essential things: (1) the vital unity of the Church in Christ; (2) the geographical unity of the Church extending throughout the world; (3) the historical unity of the Church in apostolic tradition". In discussing the *thing* itself Dr. Briggs accepts Harnack's statement that "the proposition *ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum*, and the other, that catholic virtually means Roman Catholic, are gross fictions when devised in honour of the temporary occupant of the Roman see, and detached from the significance of the Eternal City in secular history; but applied to the Church of the imperial capital they contain in truth the denial of which is equivalent to renouncing the attempt to explain the process by which the Church was unified and catholicised". To grant that the Roman Catholic Church of our day is the heiress of the Roman Catholic Church of the second century and entitled to use the title *Catholic* as well as the title *Roman*, does not imply, as Dr. Briggs observes, "that all that is Roman, or has been Roman since the third century, may be included under the term *Catholic*, nor does it determine whether other Christian Churches may in our day rightly claim to be catholic". He speaks also of the way in which the Church of England has struggled for catholicity "as if she realised that her very existence depended upon it," asserting it by maintaining apostolical succession through the threefold ministry. But he puts the question, "Is she in this respect so very much superior to other sister-churches of the Reformation?" That, he thinks, may be doubted. "For many of them likewise claim apostolical succession for their ministry—they also have the three orders—bishops, elders and deacons; only their orders are orders of the congregation and not of the diocese; and they claim that though this succession for many centuries ran through a line of presbyters and not diocesan bishops,

these presbyters were the only catholic bishops, the bishops of the first and second centuries being parochial and not diocesan." He adds that so far as a reconciliation with Rome is concerned, since the decision of Leo XIII., "the Church of England has no advantage whatever over the Reformed Churches in this matter of apostolical succession". The paper is one of great interest. Professor Arthur H. Wilde, of the North-Western University, contributes a short article on "Decadence of Learning in Gaul in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries". Professor W. B. Smith, of Tulane University, writes on "The Pauline Manuscripts F and G—a Text-critical Study". The paper goes into very minute detail and contains a good deal of guess-work, clever after a sort, but not very convincing. It is mainly a criticism, much too elaborate, of Zimmer's arguments in support of Hort's view that F is probably a bad copy of G (the opinion also of Ruggenbach and Zahn), as against Scivener's contention (favoured also by Tregelles, Tischendorf, Corsen, and Nestle) that neither codex can be a copy of the other. Professor Smith's object is to bring out the independence and thoughtfulness of F. But the paper is not completed; we are doomed to a continuation of it in the next number.

The July issue of the *Church Quarterly Review* is one of the best we have had. It opens with an article on "Religion in London," based on Mr. Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People in London*, the Religious Census of 1886 and that of 1903, and certain *Directories, Reports*, etc. The writer takes on the whole a more cheerful view than Mr. Booth. He grants all that is said so powerfully of the prevalent religious indifference, but sees underneath it "something moving, something growing," an effort that is telling, a change which is being forced by religion "in the character of the general attitude," and which will become more marked if more workers are secured. He calls attention to the negative results attained by certain agencies, the failure of the Salvation Army and of much unsectarian effort (the work of the London City Mission being an

honourable exception, and an exception due, let it be observed, to its system of *visitation* among the men), as the most astonishing facts brought out by Mr. Booth's figures. He then passes on to consider the position of the Church of England in particular, which is sad enough as depicted by Mr. Booth, and the suggestion for re-union or confederation among the Churches. To this proposal as made by Mr. Booth, the writer, we regret to see, gives no welcome, but thinks the Church of England should not abandon what he is pleased to call, in spite of all the lamentable facts he has to deal with, "the strength of her position". There are articles on "Gairdner's English Church History," "The Age of the Fathers," "The History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus," "Dr. A. B. Davidson's Sermons" (a brief but wholly appreciative estimate), and others. But we can refer only to two. One is on "Prayers for the Dead"—a careful paper dealing with the teaching and practice of the early Church on this question, and with the attitude of the Anglican Church to it. The testimony of Scripture is summarily dealt with in a single page, the support to be got from that source for the practice being confessedly of the most meagre and uncertain kind. Much space is given to the epitaph of Abercius, the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian, the *Canons of Hippolytus*, the *Testament of our Lord*, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, etc., with the view of showing "how constant and simple and natural the prayers for the departed are" in the early Church. Some reference is made to the mediæval period, and the various documents, books, orders, etc., relating to the English Church are next noticed. The various facts which go to show that prayer for the dead is not sanctioned by the Church of England, especially the charges made in her public offices, are considered. But the conclusion is reached that, notwithstanding these, prayer for the dead is allowable on the part of members of the Church of England. It is held in short that, in harmony with the policy of compromise and comprehension followed from the beginning by that Church, Low Churchmen can use the Offices without praying for the

departed, while others are no less within their rights in having recourse to such prayers. The other paper is one on Leo XIII., an admirably written sketch of the late Pope's career and character, refreshing the memory with regard to some stirring passages in the history of the Italian people.

We have also to notice a translation into German of Longinus' *On the Sublime*,¹ by Dr. Friederich Hashagen—faithful and readable, supplied also with a suitable introduction; *The Catechetical Oration of Gregory of Nyssa*, edited by James Herbert Srawley, M.A., Theological Lecturer at Selwyn College, a volume of the very useful *Cambridge Patristic Texts*,² edited by Professor A. J. Mason—a handy and scholarly edition, furnished with valuable notes, and with an introduction of some fifty pages, which gives all that one can desire regarding the history of the text, the character, date, genuineness, and literary history of the Oration itself, and certain outstanding points in Gregory's teaching—altogether a very satisfactory piece of work; *The Prophets and Prophecy to the Close of the Eighth Century B.C.*,³ by the Rev. Alexander Wilson, M.A.—a small book, simple and agreeable in style, and based on careful, scholarly study, giving a good general view of Old Testament prophecy, and of the prophetic work of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah—a volume to be commended to young people and teachers of Bible Classes; *Die Echtheit des Zweiten Thessalonicherbriefes untersucht*,⁴ von Dr. W. Wrede, Professor der ev. Theologie in Breslau—a critical study (to be compared with Holtzmann's article on the same subject in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, II., 1901) which examines at some length, and with much acuteness, the literary relations

¹ Longinus' *Ueber das Erhabene*. Göttingen : Bertelsmann ; London : Williams & Norgate, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 118. Price 1s. 6d. net.

² Cambridge : University Press, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. l. + 181. Price 5s. net.

³ Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood & Sons, 1903. Pp. xiv. + 188. Price 1s. net.

⁴ *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, etc., herausgeg. von v. Gebhardt und Harnack. N.F. ix. 2. Leipzig : Hinrichs ; London : Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. 116. Price M.4.

of the epistle, the writer's purpose and situation, the chronology of the letter, and grapples, but not in a very convincing manner, with the difficulties connected in particular with the mention of the Temple in ch. ii. 4 (for which the author is inclined to find analogies in Rev. xi. 1, 2, 8, 13)—the conclusion reached being that the epistle does not proceed from Paul and cannot have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem, but must belong to the end of the first century or the beginning of the second; *The Unwritten Sayings of Christ*,¹ by C. G. Griffinhoofe, M.A., St. John's College, Cambridge, rector of Strethall—a collection of words attributed to Christ in various Christian writings, and not found in the Gospels, a careful and very useful compilation giving the "sayings" not in the originals but in English, and furnishing at the same time short accounts of the sources—the *Logia*, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the Ebionite Gospel, the Gospel according to the Egyptians, the so-called Second Epistle to the Corinthians, etc; *Commentaar of de Handelingen der Apostelen*,² by Dr. J. M. S. Baljon, of Utrecht—a good example of Dutch exegesis, not overladen with details, omitting even all the discussions usually given in Prolegomena or Introduction, and confining itself to the interpretation of the text, which is handled in a discriminating way, and with a happy combination of the scholarly with the popular and practical; *A History of the Church of Christ*,³ vol. ii., by Herbert Kelly, Director of the Society of the Sacred Mission—embracing the period between A.D. 324 and 430, presenting a fair, concise, but remarkably complete view, not only of the external events, but of the doctrinal issues and controversies, especially those connected with the Arian Movement, the Nicene Council, the Council of Sardica, etc., and giving vivid and

¹ Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons; London: Edward Arnold, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 128. Price 3s. net.

² Utrecht: Boekhoven; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. 309.

³ London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 341. Price 3s. 6d. net.

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¹ Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. 39. Price 1s. net.

² Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London: Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. 137. Price 2s. 6d. net.

³ Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 186. Price 1s. 6d. net.

⁴ Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 84. Price 1s. 9d. net.

⁵ Copenhagen: Gad; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 173.

⁶ Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. 76. Price 1s. net.

the German Church, "the pietistic-orthodox group," as the writer calls them, as incapable of supplying the help which is needed by millions of lapsed baptised Christians, to which are appended many utterances by others both for and against Herr Weinel's view of the case; *Theologische Wissenschaft und kirchliche Bedürfnisse*,¹ by Professor Arnold Meyer of Bonn—an extended edition of an address delivered in Duisburg to a mixed audience, dealing in a forcible and popular way with the prerogative of freedom in religious inquiry, what it means and what its presuppositions are, what scientific criticism must take from the Church and what it will give in return to the Church, the respect to be given to all honest convictions, and similar questions; *Ist die Wahrheit des Christentums zu beweisen*?²—a brochure by Professor Eberhard Vischer of Basle, exhibiting Christianity as something which is independent of the uncertain reasonings of Apologetics, which requires nevertheless the proof of its truth and has that proof within itself, criticising in the light of this inward evidence the positions of Strauss, Lagarde, Tolstoi, and others, and interpreting Christianity somewhat as Justin Martyr and Zwingli did, so as to hold none far from Christ who love truth and goodness; *Das Leben als Einzelleben und Gesamtleben*,³ by Professor Paul Schwartzkopff—a somewhat stiff book to read, discussing from the side of the Kantian principles the views of life held by the old and new types of the Kantian philosophy, by Positivism, and by the Individualism of Nietzsche, dealing with the ideas of Causality, the Ego, the Immanent and the Transcendent, and attempting to work out a new construction and extension of Kant's conception of the world; *My Jewels, and other Sermons*,⁴ by Rev. Richard Roberts, a collection of thirteen discourses, on "Building in Silence," "Decaying

¹Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. 92. Price 2s. net.

²Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. 54. Price 1s. 6d.

³Halle und Bremen: E. Ed. Müller, 1903. 8vo, pp. 130. Price 2s.

⁴London: C. H. Kelly, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 267.

Love," "The Holy Spirit's Love," "The Spirit-Lamp," and similar themes, not always faultless in exegesis, but carefully written, thoughtful, and edifying; *The Bishop's English*,¹ by George Washington Moon—a series of sharp criticisms, sometimes hitting real defects, but too often exaggerated, overdrawn and even pedantic, on Bishop Thornton's laudation of the Revised Version of the Scriptures and on the English of the Revisers, the author being so confident and so sweeping in his views of things as to declare the Revised Version to contain "errors against religion and morals so unpardonable as totally to unfit it for circulation"; *The Use of Holy Scripture in the Public Worship of the Church*,² by the Rev. A. C. Hall, D.D., Bishop of Vermont—a course of lectures delivered on the Bishop Paddock foundation, dealing in a fair and well-instructed way, and with constant reference to the original authorities, with the history of the use of Scripture in the services of the sanctuary as inherited by the Christian Church from the Jewish and as practised from time to time in the Christian Church, going with some detail into certain special questions, such as the use of Scripture in the Eucharist, the use of the Psalter, the gradual development of the daily service, etc.—a book containing much information which will be valued by those interested in such subjects; *Augustins Enchiridion*³—a handy edition, prepared with much care and furnished with a digest of various readings, by Lic. Theol. O. Scheel, forming part of the *Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellschriften*, edited by Professor G. Krüger; *The Student's Herbart*,⁴ by F. H. Hayward, D.Litt., M.A., B.Sc.—a concise and handy sketch of the Herbartian movement and its developments by Stoy, Dörpfeld, and

¹ London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1903. Pp. x. + 164.

² London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 203. Price 4s. 6d.

³ Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. x. + 98. Price 2s. net.

⁴ Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1902. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 103. Price 1s. 6d.

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¹ Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 257. Price M.8.

² Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. 30. Price 9d. net.

³ Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. 147. Price M.4.80.

⁴ London: C. H. Kelly. In two volumes, vol. i., 1903. Pp. xii. + 463.

⁵ Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 8vo, pp. 126. Price M.3.

publication issued by the Deutsche Orient-Gessellschaft under the competent editorship of the above-named distinguished Greek scholar of the University of Berlin, the interest of which lies in the fact that the writing here reproduced, the "Persians" of Timotheus of Miletus, celebrating probably the sea-fight of Salamis, is printed from the oldest extant Greek manuscript, a papyrus belonging to the fourth century B.C., discovered at Abusir in Egypt on 1st Feb., 1902—an edition in which text, notes, and introduction are given in a style worthy of the best traditions of classical scholarship; *Der Timotheos-Papyrus*¹—a photographic reproduction of the valuable papyrus referred to above, a sumptuous publication, with an instructive preface by the learned editor Dr. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, in every respect an excellent piece of work, completing our knowledge of the interesting discovery, and our understanding of the "Persians"—a publication by which the Deutsche Orient-Gessellschaft has put Greek scholars under large obligations; *Évangile de Jean; Actes des Apôtres*,² by Alfred Schroeder, pastor in Lausanne—a second edition, revised and enlarged of a commentary which has taken a good place in the list of recent French exegetical works and which deserves recommendation for the point and lucidity of its expositions, forming part of the very useful series bearing the title of *Le Nouveau Testament de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ*, edited by Dr. L. Bonnet; *Ralph Sinclair's Atonement*,³ by Antony Sargent, one of the Sunday School Union's excellent publications—a well-told tale, giving interesting glimpses of Montreal, Manitoba, Klondyke and the Far West; *The Lord's Supper, what it is and what it is not*,⁴ by Werner H. K. Soames, M.A. Cantab., London College of Divinity, and Vicar of St. George's, Greenwich—a study of the Scripture passages relating to the Holy Communion, the object of which is to show, among other things, that no one besides Christ Himself had ever at any

¹ Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 8vo. Price M.12.; in linen, M.15.

² Lausanne: Georges Bridel et Cie. 8vo, pp. 559. Price Fr.10.

³ London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 255. Price 2s.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock, 1903. 8vo, pp. 99. Price 1s. net.

time any part in the offering up of the great sacrifice for sins, and that the clergy are not official *priests* of the New Testament—a strong, circumstantial presentation of the case against sacerdotalism, weakened at times by the vehemence of its terms and the extremely positive tone of its statements; *Ostern und Pfingsten*,¹ by E. von Dobschütz—a brief examination of the New Testament passages bearing on the Resurrection of the Lord and the Pentecostal gift, containing some very acute remarks, and meeting some popular arguments of the more negative school, such as the inference drawn against the credibility of the gospel accounts from the silence of Paul on the subject of the empty grave, giving up the attempt to construct a chronological narrative of the appearance of the Risen Lord, but holding firmly that both in Galilee and in Jerusalem the disciples had the experience of the Lord making Himself known to them as the Risen Living One; *Saggio di uno Studio sui Sentimenti morali*,² an acute and very readable sketch by Dr. Guglielmo Salvadori, of Florence, favourably known by previous publications on *Herbert Spencer*, *Economical Science and the Theory of Evolution*, *Evolutionary Ethics*, etc., discussing the classification of the moral sentiments, their origin, the criterion of their moral value, etc., and concluding with concise and carefully considered statements of the empirical, metaphysical and rational explanations; *The Squire's Heir*,³ a story by the author of *Gabriel Garth*, *Chartist*, etc., worked out in an ingenious way with considerable power, in a style that keeps one's interest alive, and with a purpose which makes it excellent reading for young persons, an attractive book in respect of external form as well as contents; the seventh volume of the Sixth Series of the *Expositor*,⁴ edited by Dr. W. Robertson Nicoll, contain-

¹ Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 53. Price 9d. net.

² Firenze: Francesco Lumachi, 1903. 8vo, pp. 138.

³ By Evelyn Everett-Green. London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 395. Price 5s.

⁴ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

ing its accustomed variety of articles, all of use to the scholar and to the preacher, and not a few of them, such as Professor George Adam Smith's "Studies in the History and Topography of Jerusalem," Dr. H. R. Mackintosh's paper on the "Objective Aspect of the Lord's Supper," Professor J. H. Moulton's "Notes from the Papyri," and Professor Zahn's "Missionary Methods in the Times of the Apostles," of very special interest; *A Plea for a Worshipful Church*,¹ a small volume, most tasteful in form, in which Dr. John Hunter puts in forcible and well-chosen terms the case for making more of the "element and atmosphere of worship" in our Churches, for dealing with worship as the chief end of the Church, and for a larger and more appreciative use of the best devotional aids—statements which will repay consideration; *The Virgin Birth of our Lord*,² by B. W. Randolph, D.D., Principal of the Ely Theological College, originally a paper read before the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity at Cambridge, which summarises first the Christian tradition, as contained in Ignatius, Aristides, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement, Origen, with the view of establishing the fact that there has never been any belief in the Incarnation "without its carrying with it the belief in the Virgin-Birth," and then examines carefully the credibility and the force of the testimonies in Matthew and Luke, the question raised by the silence of the other New Testament writers, and the inference to be drawn from Paul's doctrine of Christ as the second Adam—a concise treatment of the subject, the result of conscientious study, and deserving careful perusal; *Anglo-Jewish Calendar for Every Day of the Gospels*,³ by Matthew Power, S.J., B.A., an introduction to the chief dates in the Life of Christ, based on the Jewish Calendar, astronomical research, and Christian tradition, attempting to equate the *Anni Domini* with the *Anni ab urbe condita* of the Roman Calendar and the *Anni Mundi* of the Jewish Calendar, an ingenious and laborious study, with much in it that is for the

¹ London: Dent & Co.

² London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 59.

³ London: Sands & Co., 1902. 8vo, pp. 93. Price 2s. 6d.

expert, and drawing important conclusions with regard to the chronology of the gospels, the quarto-deciman controversy, etc.; *The Natural History of Animals*,¹ by J. R. Ainsworth Davis, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, Professor in the University of Wales, and Professor of Zoology and Geology in University College, Aberystwyth—an attractive and valuable sketch of the animal life of the world, in its various aspects and relations, to be completed in eight half-volumes and now in its fourth half-volume, done by one who knows his subject well and can expound it clearly and tellingly, admirably printed and provided with numerous well-chosen illustrations—a work full of interest and information, and to be cordially commended to the public; *Problems of Religion and Science*,² a cheap edition of Archdeacon Wilson's excellent and most helpful "Letter to a Bristol Artisan," his lectures on "The Theory of Inspiration," "Evolution," "Miracles," "Water," together with his "Address on Theology and Modern Thought," and his "Christianity as the Crown and Goal of all the Ancient Religions".

¹ Half Vol. iv. London: The Gresham Publishing Company, 1903. Large 8vo, pp. xii. + 470. Price 7s. net.

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The Essence of Christianity.

A Study in the History of Definition. By Professor W. Adams Brown, D.D., Roosevelt Professor of Systematic Theology in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. Pp. xi. + 332. Price 6s. net.

It is given to few men to breathe such life and fascination into theological writing as Professor Adams Brown has done in the book before us. He unites, in a singularly attractive degree, the gifts of the scholar, the historian and the philosopher. He writes in a lucid, crisp and dignified style. He is full of the enthusiasm of his great subject. He has produced an essentially modern book, but it is built upon a deep and reverential knowledge of the past. We venture to predict for it an immense success. It has all the freshness of the best American work, and ought to attract the educated layman quite as much as the serious student of theology, while no one can peruse it carefully without resolving to keep it at hand for constant reference afterwards. There is guidance here for the novice, for we are taken over the whole ground, and shown the spots where it is worth while to linger, but there is light and suggestion for the veteran too, and those who know the subject best will appreciate most keenly the brilliant qualities of this masterly exposition. If the jaded minister wishes to enjoy a new sensation in divinity, and to find himself unable to do anything but read on, chapter after chapter, with the fresh winds of real thought and life blowing about his mind the while, let him procure this book without delay.

"It is not my intention," says Professor Brown in his preface, "to add another to the many attempts to define Christianity, but rather to analyse the problem involved in such a definition, and to give an account of the more

important attempts which have been made to solve it." We must not say that Christianity is too familiar to need definition, or too complex to admit of it. The very fact that this religion confronts us with a claim to be the absolute religion, yet, notwithstanding this, has behind it a long and varied history, makes the task as interesting as it is difficult. No definition can be accepted but one which is exhaustive, accurate, universal. It must not leave outside "the feelings of hope and of fear, of awe and of mystery, of love and of loyalty," which have clung about the faith in every age. It must keep full in view the fact that the only Christianity of which science can take cognisance is a historical religion. It must be formed "without prejudice," as lawyers say, to the claim of the Christian faith to be absolute.

This leads Professor Brown into an examination of the meanings which have been put upon the word "Absolute" in the past. In itself it stands for the ultimate reality, but men have formed different conceptions as to what this is. Professor Brown groups those under the rather unsatisfactory titles, "the ontological, the mathematical, and the psychological". After a most rewarding comparison and estimate, he decides for the last of the three, and states it thus: "The psychological conception of the Absolute . . . is the view which finds God in His world rather than outside of it, and seeks to gain an insight into the nature of the ultimate reality through the discovery of the permanent elements in the experience of man". In the light of modern discussions, most people will feel that "psychological" here is a misnomer, and we venture to suggest that "Empirical Idealism" is a better name for the admirable theory just described.

The question is next raised, How has Christianity been defined by the great thinkers of the past? There have been two periods of inquiry as to the essence of the faith is the reply: the first that of the birth of Christianity, the second that of the Reformation. In the first period we have as types the answer of Paul, the answer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the answer of the Epistle to Barnabas. Paul contrasted Christianity as the religion of grace with all others as religions

of law. The writer to the Hebrews, more positively, compares it as the substance with the institutions of Israel as the shadows. Both thinkers, that is, regard it as a distinctly new religion, with its roots struck deep in history. On the other hand, the Epistle to Barnabas believes Christianity to be the republishing of a religion as old as creation, and is thus led to deny the element of growth in the self-disclosure of God. This was a fatal lapse from the New Testament. "The view of Christianity which meets us in the writings of the Catholic Fathers tends more and more to follow the lines of the letter to Barnabas." Already it is clear how freshly and instructively Professor Brown has grouped the familiar phenomena of which he treats.

We cannot linger over the picture of ancient Christianity drawn for us in these pages, nor indeed does the chief interest of the book lie here. Again and again we are told that the Fathers had no feeling for history, or for the part played by personality in the development of the past. Of course there is much truth in this, but the truth may be exaggerated, and this we think is done when it is said that "for Latin no less than for Greek the sense of Christianity as a distinct historical religion is gone". Such a judgment is too sweeping. The human mind cannot so utterly divest itself of its own nature. The fact that so many commentaries were written on the Gospels is a solid fact not to be explained away. And it is significant that more than once Professor Brown has to allow that the practice of ancient and mediæval theologians was in this respect better than their theory.

Coming to the Reformation we are struck, as before, "by the persistence of two contrasted tendencies. On the one hand there is the disposition to emphasise the supernatural character of Christianity, and to magnify the contrast between it and other religions; on the other, the tendency to lay stress upon the points of resemblance between Christianity and the ethnic faiths, and to ground the supremacy of the former in the fact that it realises a universal ideal." Zwingli is taken as the representative reformer, and the answer he gives to the question, What is new in Christianity? is drawn from

his *De Vera et Falsa Religione*. Calvin, in Professor Brown's judgment, "shows a much clearer sense of the originality of Christianity as a historical religion than either Luther or Melancthon," and the same is true of the Reformed as compared with the Lutheran theology as a whole. Both parties, however, were faced by many difficulties which have been solved for us by the later notion of development. But we think that Professor Brown is unjust to the Westminster Confession when he cites its words, "There are not, therefore, two covenants of grace, differing in substance, but one and the same under various dispensations," and argues that they betray an utter lack of the historical sense. Surely they may be better construed as an expression, perhaps imperfect, but at all events quite lucid, of the thought that God did not begin to be gracious when Christ came. The Psalms, too, are there to prove that the Westminster divines were right.

We come now to the part of the book in which it is peculiarly strong, the age of modern theology. This period is what it is, we are told, owing to two causes: (1) the rise of the critical philosophy; (2) the awakening of the historical spirit. Professor Brown gives a statement of the Kantian principles and their influence on theological system-building which could hardly be better done. Alike in knowledge and in spirit it is a model of lucid philosophical exegesis. We are shown in a few swiftly moving pages how the deeper conception of history came with Herder and Lessing; and the chapter concludes with a very able and informing retrospect of the eighteenth century, in which its religious ideas and ideals are typically illustrated from Voltaire, Kant, Locke and Lessing.

Good as these pages are, however, the three succeeding chapters on Schleiermacher, Hegel, and Ritschl, occupying nearly one half of the book, will be generally felt to contain the finest work of all. We should say that the most competent and inspiring account of Schleiermacher to be found in English is here. The intellectual sympathy with which Professor Brown throws himself into the minds and methods of thinkers so widely contrasted in genius is a pattern of just

and patient interpretation. The excellence of the bibliography is specially to be noted. Only, might not Professor Brown have translated his quotations, and so made his book more useful for the reader who is ignorant of German? In a second edition this might profitably be done, and we trust the point will be considered.

In these chapters the method which is followed is to determine, first, the author's view of religion, and next, his definition of Christianity. Thus we have a fresh and convincing account of Schleiermacher's *Reden* (where something more might have been said as to the drift of the changes introduced in the second and third editions), then of his *Glaubenslehre*. We are tempted to quote from this felicitous chapter, which sets out so clearly and so enthusiastically the epoch-making nature of Schleiermacher's work. The pages in which Professor Brown indicates "the elements in his thought which have passed over as a permanent contribution to the future" deserve to be read again and again. Here, and in the treatment of Ritschl, where we have taken pains to follow Professor Brown's account of his author step by step, we have been filled with admiration for his scrupulous accuracy and genial insight. The only point at which we feel inclined to demur is at page 184, where in summing up Schleiermacher's views of Christianity he seems to do a little less than justice to that great thinker's doctrine of the Person of Christ.

The exposition of Hegel we have felt to be, in some ways, the work of an outsider, full of sympathy and tact, but able to accommodate himself to the language and categories of an alien system only with more or less difficulty and hesitation. We should say that Professor Brown (pp. 203-4) makes Hegel out to be a good deal more orthodox than he really was, or at least than he appears to be in the authentic pages of Mr. McTaggart. More lines of connexion, too, might have been drawn between Schleiermacher and Hegel. They looked on themselves as deadly foes, of course, but in reality they both inherited the view of the world developed with such power and charm by Goethe, and this view they

strove to articulate still more adequately over the whole range of experience. They both made a lavish use of pure speculation. They both shared the impulses of Romanticism, and hated with a perfect hatred the rationalistic traditions of the previous century.

As an account of his system and a guide to its study the chapter on Ritschl could hardly be improved upon; and here we have, besides, a special section upon the school to which Ritschl has given his name, which will enable even the novice to take his bearings amid the countless works in recent German theology. Ritschl's debt to Schleiermacher is perhaps ranked higher than he himself would have allowed, but on this point we should side with Professor Brown. And yet after all the most valuable thing in Ritschl is his original method, his principle, an infinitely deeper and richer thing than his system. He sets out, not from the consciousness of the Christian, which at best is but a dim reflection of the truth, but from the authentic Gospel, as it entered into history in the person of Jesus Christ. To Ritschl Christ is the sole *ratio cognoscendi* of God. We should have been glad had Professor Brown made some attempt to show, what is undoubted, that Ritschl himself drew from his principles much less rich and satisfying results than they have yielded in the hands of some of his disciples. This is incontestably clear, for example, in regard to his doctrine of the Person of our Lord.

In reading the last chapter, in which Professor Brown sums up his conclusions and estimates the significance of the whole, we have been continually reminded of Socrates' complaint in the *Phædrus* that the worst of a book is the impossibility of asking it questions. It would have been interesting to inquire further as to the meaning of the italicised definition of Christianity given on page 309, in which we may presume the fruit of the discussion is gathered up. As it stands it must be declared curiously inadequate. Not only does it leave the deepest questions about Jesus Christ unanswered, it does not even raise them. As a mere matter of history the problem of the Atonement has entered far too

deeply into the stuff and substance of Christianity to be thus passed over in silence. And if it be said that it is dealt with by implication, there is nothing for it but to reply that this is not the way in which we can afford to deal with the deepest question of human life.

The student will find this a wonderfully useful and stimulating book. It circumnavigates the coast of historical theology, moving boldly from headland to headland, but not exploring the little bays between. Professor Brown is evidently of opinion that there is nothing in theology that cannot be made clear, and bright, and simple, and those who have groaned over the technical jargon in which theology is sometimes written will be the first to praise the merits of his style. We venture to think that he has done not a little by this work to interpret the deeper religious feeling of the age, and to vindicate for the earnest men of our day their inheritance from the Christian past.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

The Norwegians and the Old Testament.¹

NORWAY to-day is one of the most progressive countries in Europe. It has a population less than half that of Scotland; but it has some intellects that command the admiration of the world. Ibsen as a dramatist has no peer in any land at present. In the region of fiction few countries can produce a writer to equal Björnson. And in theology there are Norwegian thinkers whose works can scarcely long remain unknown; they must be translated into languages which will afford the books the circulation they deserve. So far as we know only Dahle's *Life after Death* has been translated into English; but quite a number of Norse theological books have reached us by way of the German, the latest to appear being Dr. Chr. A. Bugge's indispensable volumes on the *Parables*. Amongst other able theologians Prof. Michelet and Dean Færden have been making careful study of the Old Testament and Modern Criticism, and have just published books thoroughly up to date and well worthy of perusal and praise.

Dr. Michelet is Professor of Old Testament Exegesis at the Christiania University and is one of its half-dozen D.D.'s. Indeed he attained the divinity doctorate when he was only thirty years of age, and now, just turned forty, he is Dean of the theological faculty at the Norwegian National University.

¹ Provst M. J. Færden's *Det gamle Testament i Lyset af den nyere Bibelforskning* (i.e., The Old Testament in the Light of Modern Biblical Research). Christiania: Steenske Forlag, 1902. 8vo, 295 pp. Price kr. 3.50. Prof. S. Michelet, D.D., *Gamle Helligdomme i nyt Lys* (i.e., Old Sanctuaries in Modern Light). Christiania: Aschehoug, 1902. 12mo, pp. viii. + 286. Price kr. 3.25. *Det gamle Testamentes Syn paa Synden* (i.e., The Old Testament View of Sin). Aschehoug, 1899. Price kr. 1. *Guds Retfærdighed efter det gamle Testamentes Opfattelse* (i.e., The Old Testament Conception of God's Righteousness). Christiania: Grøndahl & Son, 1900. Price kr. 3.

He occupies a moderately advanced position in criticism and tries to guide the Norse public in Old Testament problems by lectures and treatises partly scientific and partly popular. From his youth he has been closely identified with the religious movements in the University, and is at present President of the Norse Students Christian Union. Before his promotion to the professoriate he was a clergyman in Christiania and, for some time, when revival meetings were in progress, it was no uncommon event for Dr. Michelet to be seen at a street corner preaching with winning eloquence. When he was only twenty-two he issued a treatise on the *First Epistle of Clemens Romanus*. He followed this with a full and able commentary on *Amos*. His admirable *Prophets of Israel as Bearers of Revelation* has been translated into German; and his more recent works are those before us now.

Dean M. J. Færden has nearly reached the threescore years and ten, and, *mirabile dictu*, he has just issued his first book, a volume that makes us wonder how he managed to keep his talent hidden under a bushel until now. He was, we believe, for many years editor of the *Luthersk Ugeskrift*, and certainly he wields a facile pen. His brilliant language, his eloquent periods, his spirited presentation of the facts and positions he would set before us, charm us infinitely. And his book may be said to be epoch-making in Norway; for never before have the results of modern Biblical Criticism been so clearly, vigorously and exhaustively treated in Norwegian. Færden has ministered to several parishes in the east of Norway where religious life has moved calmly and soberly along, and where the demands upon the priest have seldom been numerous or urgent. He has, therefore, had time and opportunity for study and for editorial work; but few imagined he was a biblical critic with deep insight and telling dialectic skill. In later years he has been vicar of the historic church of Norderhov, and rural dean over a district as large as a great English diocese. As showing the erudition of Dean Færden, it may be mentioned that in *The Old Testament in the Light of Modern Biblical Research*

he specifies upwards of 125 books by ninety authors in nine languages, in his own library, consulted by him, in addition to others consulted in the University library. It may be interesting to note that of the books forty-five were in German, twenty-six in Norwegian, four in English, the remaining fifty being Swedish, Danish, Dutch, French, etc.

In Norway, as in our own country, great alarm has been felt by multitudes at the prospect of losing the Bible, and with it Christianity, as the result of the destructive criticism to which the Scriptures have been exposed. Indeed Bishop Heuch's great controversy, *Against the Stream*, was directed at the inroads of Rationalism and Modern Criticism; and many Norwegians by his extreme statements have been led to fancy that the critics were deliberately undermining Christianity and rejoicing at the success of their labours. Considering the name and authority and wide influence of Bishop Heuch, it needed courage to publish such volumes as those of Færden and Michelet. The two books are on the same subject practically, overlapping somewhat, yet written with a totally different aim, and doubtless they will attain their respective purpose. They introduce us to the Old Testament in the light of modern research; but Professor Michelet's volume is almost a devotional book; it dwells on what is of value for edification; it shows how even with the accepted results of criticism the Old Testament has not lost its power to enlighten and comfort immortal souls.

Færden's book, on the other hand, is designed to set forth the results arrived at by Modern Criticism; and most clearly and courageously has the author accomplished his task. The style of the book is perfectly charming, greatly reminding us of Henry Drummond. It is such a pleasure to read the book that many will possibly too readily accept the results here set forth, arguing that the writer's logic and acumen must be as good as his style. The worthy Dean will not expect us to agree with all his conclusions, for some of his results are hardly so final as he would have us believe.

The book is full of good things. Now a flash of light is cast on current opinions and present-day views. Now a new

aspect of old truth illuminates what was formerly indefinite and obscure. The description of the prophets and their age is almost ideal. We have hardly anywhere seen them in a fuller and more radiant light. And here the great results which modern research supplies are utilised in a most striking way. The elucidation of the difference between the older and the younger prophets, between the dawn, the noontide and the gloaming in the history of prophecy, is quite original, and will hold its own with anything to be found in any language in the varied and splendid literature in this domain.

He shows that the old Jewish rabbinic view of Scripture was really non-Christian, and indeed un-Christian. In order to be acknowledged as sacred, inspired by the Holy Spirit, the various Old Testament books had to be written by holy men, within the holy nation, in the holy language and within the limits of the holy land. It was this rabbinism which fixed the canon and moulded the writing of Jewish history according to the needs of religious and dogmatic interests, grouping together, eliminating or supplementing the extant older writings or fragments of the same in order to get unity from them. Having shown the spirit animating those who completed the collecting of the Old Testament writings, and established that view of Scripture which has been the orthodox and current one until now, he points out that it was the same rabbinic spirit that accomplished the death of Christ. How necessary then it is to test carefully the validity of all that comes to us with the rabbinic stamp!

As worthy also of special commendation we might indicate Færden's sketch of the transformation of Israel into a priest-folk, the change in the Jewish view of Jehovah, the evolution of the belief in angels, the faith in life after death as the necessary compensation for sufferings here on earth, and the growth of the Messianic hope. On all of these topics the book is rich in new views and original thoughts, even if at times we cannot go all the way with our guide. It may be said that there is not a page, not a paragraph in the book which fails to rivet our attention whether we accept or reject the writer's views.

The book is divided into three parts. I. It shows us the significance of antiquarian discoveries for biblical research and the relation between the old and the new in religious development. II. It gives us a literary-historical survey, the origin of the Old Testament writings, the Jewish use of history, parable and prediction for edification, and the relation between religiousness and the sense of reality among the Jews. III. It traces the transformation taking place among the Jews, the Jewish idea of primal history, the covenant at Sinai, the colonising of Canaan, the prophetic age, the priestly age, revelation and the story of revelation in the Old Testament.

We differ from Dean Færden in the significance he gives to the word *midrash*, or at least to the free use he makes of it. Our Revised Version translates *midrash* by *commentary* in the only two passages in which the word appears. Driver defines *midrash* as an imaginative development of a thought or theme suggested by Scripture, especially a didactic or homiletic exposition, or an edifying religious story. The word is seldom used prior to the age of Ezra; but Færden applies *midrash* to many pre-exilic narratives and even employs it to cover works like Deuteronomy and Leviticus. And considering how admirably our author characterises the prophets we are surprised that, in regard to *midrash*, he has failed to recognise the great difference between the pre-exilic and the post-exilic age. In the pre-exile days the spirit was more simple and original; in the post-exile days the spirit of intention stamped the *midrash*. Without wishing to claim as historical the stories, many of them at least, which the Dean terms *midrashim*, or to deny that there are real *midrashim* among the later additions to Leviticus, we hold that Færden might have made his case stronger if he had less freely used the word *midrash* or had limited its usage according to Driver's familiar definition.

The weakest part of the book—indeed, in our view, the blot upon the fair page—is Færden's treatment of Ebed-Jahve. He deals at considerable length with the contents of Isa. liii., and concludes that the "servant of the Lord"

passage actually refers to King Jehoiachin. Færden's book is not meant to be really original; it is intended to set forth ascertained results, and on the whole it does so. But in this case one feels that the Dean wanted to make an original contribution to criticism, and he has failed. At least he does not produce sufficient evidence that Jehoiachin's deliverance from the Captivity awoke such feelings as are expressed in the familiar passage. It is not that we are wedded to the chapter as a Messianic prediction; but if the passage is personal, and does not refer to Christ, we would have it refer to some one worthy of its terms. A much better case could have been made out for seeing in the "servant of the Lord" a reference to the genuine pious kernel in the people, Israel after the Spirit. But the point is that Færden's view is not really that of the critics. Professor Sellin of Vienna is the father of the Jehoiachin theory, and we know that until recently he championed the view that Zerubbabel was the "servant of the Lord". In 1900 he deposed Zerubbabel from his high estate and set up Jehoiachin in his place; and if no more can be said for Jehoiachin than we have here the sentence of deposition will also ere long be passed upon him. Some things have been omitted by our author presumably because general critical agreement has not yet been reached. Here, if Færden wished, he could likewise have drawn the line; for while we want to know what is generally agreed upon, we are content to hold our own old cherished views until there is a consensus of opinion on the part of those whose faith, scholarship, research and judgment we can trust.

We have one other fault to find with the book, a fault, however, common to most Norwegian books. It has no index. That would not matter if it was a book only to be read and then thrown aside. But the book will be frequently referred to for information and guidance on the questions treated of, and it will not be superseded for a long time. But much time will be wasted in seeking what one wishes, since in the 300 pp. 8vo the only assistance for reference is the twelve chapter headings. The Dean may start

on the index at once, to be ready for the second edition which ought soon to be due.

The book is bound to create a great sensation in Norway, where the Erastianism of the Church has fostered much formalism in religion and where the old orthodox way of looking at things has been almost universal. But in several districts of the country revivals of religion have been taking place; the most popular preachers in the land are men who are more evangelical than truly Lutheran in their theology—men whom zeal for souls has liberated from fettering dogmatism and who know that what is needed is the truth, and that neither God nor the Bible will suffer from the truth or from the most critical examination by believing minds. And this book will make the Norwegians think. The theologians must apply their minds to the questions dealt with; believers must accommodate their views to the new conditions; the curious will try to gratify their curiosity and may find salvation; and the unbelieving will, as ever, grasp at anything to comfort or strengthen them in their hostility to the Christian faith. Dean Færden by this book reveals his great erudition, his keen intellect, his fruitful fancy, and his marvellous power of discovering the most perfect form for his thoughts, combined with a firm faith in the unseen verities, a profound reverence for the truth and an engrossing love for the undying Word of God.

There are very few Christian scholars who have taken up Old Testament research without feeling that it helps them to see deeper into the ways of God; but we have not hitherto seen any book which systematically shows what criticism has done for the Christian faith. Prof. Michelet in his *Ancient Sanctuaries in Modern Light* has worked out excellently a very original conception. His purpose is to enable his readers to peruse the Old Testament in the light which modern research has thrown upon it, to their spiritual profit. The book is divided into two parts. In the first Michelet takes up several passages from the Hexateuch and Judges, especially the story of creation in Gen. i.; the offering of

Isaac, Gen. xxii.; the Mosaic laws of purity, Lev. xi.-xvi.; loving God, Deut. vi.; and the story of Gideon, Judges vi.-viii. He shows how the religious truths which those passages contain remain equally good even if modern research can show that in them we do not have a photographic reproduction of a historical reality; and he makes it quite clear that each of these sections or sanctuaries is merely typical of whole groups. In the second part we have a capital survey of the development of the Jewish people from the beginning until the time of Christ. He treats of the Israelitish peasant people and their land; the nation's struggle for independence; politics and religion in ancient Israel; the great prophets; the death struggle of the Kingdom and the origin of the Jewish Church. We re-read the story of the old covenant in the light which is derived from modern science and from faith in Jesus Christ. And in our judgment Prof. Michelet has wonderfully succeeded in the task he undertook, *viz.*, to lead Christians to appreciate more fully what is too often to many a closed part of their Bible, the Old Testament, and to derive spiritual nourishment from its pages. Some will doubtless say that Dr. Michelet weakens the certainty of the records, the firmness of the foundations, because he calls the Old Testament reports *traditions*; but surely we are entitled to presuppose in the readers of such books the ability to grasp thoughts and views lying outside the customary tracks. Much that has been said of Færden's book might as easily be said of Michelet's. This volume contains only what are the accepted results of criticism according to the light we at present have; and extreme critics may think the Professor should have gone further. But Michelet himself does not pose as a critic here; he has accepted only what he considers to be proved results; and the critic himself is not always the best judge as to whether he has proved the case he would like to make out.

One very excellent feature in the book is the way in which Michelet manywhere shows us the old Jewish mode of thinking. If we are to understand the evolution of the Old Testament aright it is absolutely necessary that we should know how

the men in an age so remote, and in a region with a very different atmosphere from ours, thought and looked at matters. Michelet makes them live, and we can see how and why they think as they do.

It might have its interest for some to point out the divergences between Færden and Michelet. They are not numerous, but we content ourselves with referring to the Messianic predictions in Isaiah xlii., xlix., l., lii., and especially Isa. liii. Michelet holds that these passages, more clearly than any others in the Old Testament, give us a picture of the most important characteristics of Christ as the Saviour; they help Christ's followers to understand His sufferings. But "the prophet himself meant them to be a picture of the Old Testament people of God, which he looked upon as designed, through the sufferings of the exile, to be the instrument to lead all nations to the faith".

Prof. Michelet's book combines fidelity to revelation with conscientious acceptance of scientific results and the ability to appropriate the new moments of truth without at the same time destroying the old fundamental truths. The Old Testament revelation stands unshaken even if our view of its historic documents, the Old Testament writings, must be altered. The test of the light is whether it gives light. Do the modern views make God's plan of salvation, His grace and glory, His greatness and faithfulness, clearer and more glorious to us? Dr. Michelet has proved that they can.

We felt inclined to regret that two such able books on the Old Testament should have been published simultaneously in Norway; but after all it may have been fortunate. Many Christians would be alarmed at finding the new aspects in which parts of the Old Testament must now be regarded, even although Dean Færden's loyalty to the Scriptures could not be impugned; but when Prof. Michelet, whose evangelical fidelity and zeal are universally admitted, shows how the Old Testament does not lose, but in some respects rather gains, in power for edification, his sober and inspiring volume will have quite a pacifying effect. The Norwegian Church is to be congratulated on having two such competent

scholars keeping abreast of Old Testament research. They have enriched Norse theological literature with able and valuable books which every candid reader will enjoy and profit by, and we shall be surprised if eventually they do not reach a wider public than books in Norwegian can ever reach.

Of Prof. Michelet's other two books it is unnecessary to speak at length. They are capable expositions of the Old Testament conceptions of sin and righteousness. They were delivered originally as University lectures; and the treatise on sin serves as an introduction to the biblical-theological study of the Old Testament, its methods and presuppositions, its problems and religious results. If Hastings' Dictionary had appeared prior to the publication of the two treatises one might have thought that considerable use had been made of the pertinent articles. In any case the conclusions arrived at are very similar. The Old Testament conception of the righteousness of God is specially scholarly and thorough; its review of the German literature on the subject is exhaustive and convincing; and the exegetical treatment of the words involved is masterly and instructive. It is quite evident that Prof. Michelet is a trustworthy guide in Old Testament studies, and any future book of his will be looked for with interest and perused with pleasure and profit.

JNO. BEVERIDGE.

A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek, with various Readings and Critical Notes. By the Rev. ARTHUR WRIGHT, B.D., Vice-President of Queen's College, Cambridge. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. London: Macmillan & Co., Limited, 1903. 4to, pp. lxxii. + 319. Price 10s. net.

When this *Synopsis* appeared in 1896 it was noticed in this Journal,¹ and its merits were cordially recognised. It is a work of pains and labour, built up on the foundations of exact scholarship, minute acquaintance with the Greek of the New Testament, and careful study of the difficult questions regarding the origin, relations and trustworthiness of the Gospels. It is a book which all students of these questions will find of much use to them, whatever view they may take of Mr. Wright's own conclusions. We are glad, therefore, to see it now in a new edition, in which everything has been brought up to date. Its value is greatly increased by the enlargements and improvements which are introduced now. These embrace the inclusion of various readings, an Introduction, grammatical and critical notes, and certain changes in the arrangement of the texts.

The Westcott and Hort text is followed throughout, with some few exceptions in matters of accentuation, orthography, punctuation, and the like. The textual criticism of the Gospels has much attention given to it. All the variants of the four primary Greek Uncials are chronicled, with the exception of those of very subordinate importance, the itacism of *αι* for *ε* or *ε* for *αι*, variations in the mere order of words where the sense is not affected, and such variations in spelling as *εἶπον* and *εἶπαν*, in form as *Ἰησοῦς* and *ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, or in terms as in the interchange of *καί* and *δέ*. The readings of the Old Latin and the Old Syriac Versions are also

¹ Vol. vi., p. 320.

noticed, when they indicate a variant in the Greek text followed by the copyist. All this makes the book a more valuable aid than before to the prosecution of the historical criticism of the Gospels according to the comparative method. The Introduction deals at some length with the analysis of the Gospels, the oral hypothesis, the antiquity, nature and number of the sources, the main features of each of the Gospels separately, the topography of the Gospels, Church Lessons, Editorial Notes, the historical trustworthiness of the Gospels, the Resurrection, and the Virgin Birth. On all these subjects Mr. Wright has something to say that is worth having, and all his discussions are marked by caution, modesty and sound judgment as well as by ability.

Mr. Wright still adheres to the oral hypothesis as the simplest and most satisfactory solution of the synoptic problem. He confesses that it is one of the things of which no more can be said than that they are yet *sub judice*, and he has modified a good deal in his own statement and defence of it. But he still thinks that it is "most in accordance with the habits of the Apostolic Age, and that it has never yet been seriously refuted by the adherents of the documentary hypothesis". He restates his case for it, contending that we must allow about forty years as the period during which oral teaching supplied the need of the Church—surely a longer space of time than facts fairly support. He elaborates again his theory of what oral teaching was—to wit, not *ex tempore* addresses, such as we have in the Book of Acts, repeated often enough to assume a fixed form, but formal lessons given by Peter and others to their catechumens and committed to memory by these. This means that the fixity of form was due more to the catechists than to the Apostles themselves.

This explanation of the phenomena presented by the Gospels is supported by various arguments, drawn, *e.g.*, from the retention of the oral repetition of the *Halacha* and *Haggada*; the analogy of Eastern custom in our own day, which makes teaching essentially a learning by heart; the analysis of many parts of the evangelic record; the opening statement of the Third Gospel, etc. Little is done, however, or can

be done, in the way of producing historical evidence of the existence of an order of catechists such as Mr. Wright speaks of. Mr. Wright also continues to hold by the theory of five sources, Mark's Gospel and the *Logia* (on which latter he thinks the principle of conflation would naturally operate) being the first of these, and a certain place being assigned also to Editorial Notes. With regard to *Mark*, Mr. Wright distinguishes between a Proto-Mark, consisting mainly of Peter's recollections, a Deutero-Mark, largely due also to Peter, and a Trito-Mark which is chiefly editorial work. He holds this Gospel at the same time to rest on one source, while Matthew must have three and Luke five. Of his reasons for all this, we can only say that they are briefly stated, and that they do not seem to be very considerable either in numbers or in quality. On the larger question of the historical trustworthiness of the Gospels, Mr. Wright takes a position between that of the advocates of verbal inspiration and that represented by critics like Schmiedel. The reports of events and teaching are not *verbatim* reports, but are nevertheless historically true.

There are many other points in Mr. Wright's Introduction on which one might touch. They are all very carefully put and are fitted to make one reconsider his ideas of the problem of the Gospels. But we must conclude by referring to what is said on the subject so much debated at present—the Virgin Birth. Here Mr. Wright is of opinion that that doctrine was not generally revealed to the earlier part of the Apostolic Age; that we have no proof that Paul held it; that the genealogies show no sign of any acquaintance with it; and that it may have been kept back “like many other doctrines . . . until conflict with heresy brought it forward”. But he does not admit that the decisions of the later Apostolic Age should count for nothing. He holds that the Gospels of Matthew and Luke possess authority as well as those of Mark and John; that the fact of the Virgin-Birth is clearly declared in these Gospels; and that we have in these not only two independent witnesses, but witnesses whose evidence is supported further by the Trito-Mark. He comes

to the conclusion therefore that this doctrine of the origin of the Humanity of our Lord is to be regarded as a matter of faith. The book will be of much use to students of the New Testament. It is published, we should add, at a surprisingly low price.

The Dream of Dante. An Interpretation of the *Inferno*. By Rev. HENRY F. HENDERSON, M.A., author of *Erskine of Linlathen*. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1903. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 135. Price 2s. 6d. net.

This is a very attractive book. The publishers have done their best for it in the remarkably tasteful form in which they present it. It is also well written and interesting throughout. First a short sketch is given of Dante himself. The Dream itself is then taken up and its contents summarised in a series of chapters with such titles as these: "The Sin of Indecision," "Great Spirits of the Past," "Paolo and Francesca," "Among the Gluttons," "The Stygian Marsh," "The City of Dis". In these chapters, short as they are, the author contrives to give much matter and to lead us in a pleasant way from point to point. In the end the reader gets a good general idea of the contents and the purpose of the *Inferno*. The object which the author has in view in his expositions of the several sections of the allegory is to get at its ethical and religious teaching. He finds the key to unlock its treasures in the exhibition of *righteousness* as the source of all good and its contrary as the source of all evil. But the book is not didactic. It is descriptive and interpretative. It should thus be a very suitable first book to put into the hands of young students of Dante.

Guidance from Robert Browning in Matters of Faith. By JOHN A. HUTTON, M.A. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1903. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 148. Price 2s. 6d. net.

This is a book of the same order as Mr. Henderson's *The Dream of Dante*. It is not less pleasing in external form and

it is full of good matter. Like the other it is the kind of book to take up with confidence in Bible-class work. In point of fact it is the outcome of four lectures given to a considerable class on Sunday evenings in winter. Young readers will find in it an attractive introduction to the study of Robert Browning. It will interest them in his poetry and help them much to understand and value it. In four chapters it deals with the "Case for Belief," the "Soul's Leap to God," the "Mystery of Evil," and the "Incarnation," and it brings together in a lucid and interesting way the main points in the poet's teaching on these great questions. The first chapter is occupied mainly with "Bishop Blougram's Apology," which is carefully analysed and expounded, with the result that its message stands out clearly and boldly, that the denial of God has difficulties of its own which are greater indeed than those connected with belief in God. The story which Caponsacchi tells of himself in the *Ring and the Book* is skilfully used in the second chapter to illustrate the way in which "God and all holy things rush in upon the soul". The poet's faith that the "Mystery of Evil" will end in the evil passing away when its use is done is handled well in the third chapter, and in the fourth justice is done to the doctrine of the Incarnation as the root of all Browning's thoughts. The volume deserves cordial welcome.

The Life and Writings of Rev. Alex. Murray, D.D., F.S.A.S.

By JOHN REITH, M.A., B.D. Dumfries: J. Maxwell & Son, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 227. Price 3s. 6d.

Dr. Alexander Murray's life has been written before. We have it in his own hand. We have it also in Dr. Thomas Murray's *Literary History of Galloway*, and there is another and more complete account of the man by the Rev. Sir Henry Wellwood Moncrieff in the *History of the European Languages*. But there is quite a place for this new biography. The author of it has made use of some sources of information which were not available previously, and has not only given an interesting picture of the man, but has entered largely into the value of his contributions to the study of language.

The subject of this memoir was in more respects than one a remarkable man. He deserves to be remembered for his extraordinary acquisitions, his rare linguistic gifts, the important place which he holds in the history of the Science of Language, the way in which he made himself and gave effect to his genius in the most untoward circumstances, the distinction which he secured, and the pathetic circumstances of his end. Born in 1775 in a remote glen between the village of Monigaff and New Galloway in the south of Scotland, the son of a humble shepherd who could do little for him, he got little schooling, but taught himself language after language. Before he was twenty years of age he knew French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, mastered German sufficiently to be able to translate a volume of German literature, and acquired considerable acquaintance with Anglo-Saxon, Welsh, Arabic and Abyssinian. After passing through the University of Edinburgh he succeeded John Leyden as editor of the *Scots Magazine*, brought out a new edition of Bruce's *Travels in Abyssinia*, and distinguished himself otherwise in literature. Becoming minister of the parish of Urr, he prosecuted his linguistic researches with such ardour that he became an adept in some scores of tongues, Semitic, European, Celtic and Oriental, and published the prospectus of his *History of the European Languages*, which embraces dialects ranging from the Atlantic to India and from Iceland to Gibraltar. This book was ultimately published in 1823. He reached the height of his ambition when he was elected Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Edinburgh, and after a brief half-session of brilliant work in that position he had to lay his armour aside, turn his face to the wall, and die.

He had interesting relations with Scott and other literary men. He assisted Sir Walter in sketching the career of John Leyden, the probable prototype of Dominie Sampson. He was the one man in the kingdom to whom the Marquis of Wellesley could apply to translate a despatch received by the King from Abyssinia, and he distinguished himself beyond all other English scholars of his time by the contribution he

made to the study of Comparative Philology. His biographer indeed makes out a strong case for his claim to be the real founder of that science. He shows that he anticipated the work of Bopp by four years and that of Grimm by seven. The book is the record of a memorable career, sadly cut short in 1813, when the scholar was but thirty-eight years old and had held only for a few months the honourable position to which his extraordinary merits had raised him from the shepherd's hut.

The New Testament in Modern Speech. An Idiomatic Translation into Every-day English from the Text of *The Resultant Greek Testament*. By the late RICHARD FRANCIS WEYMOUTH, M.A., D.Litt., Fellow of University College, London, and formerly Head Master of Mill Hill School; Editor of *The Resultant Greek Testament*. Edited and partly revised by Ernest Hampden-Cook, M.A., formerly Exhibitioner and Prize-man of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: James Clarke & Co., 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 674. Price 2s. 6d. net.

Mr. Hampden-Cook has done his part as editor of this volume excellently well, and the volume is one that will be useful in various ways. Dr. Weymouth's merits as a New Testament scholar are recognised by all, and in this posthumous volume we get the maturest results of much of his long-continued studies in the grammar and exegesis of the Greek New Testament. And his work can always be relied on for carefulness and accuracy and penetration. The book now before us is described as "a *bonâ fide* translation made directly from the Greek and is in no sense a revision". Its aim is to give the New Testament in the language of the twentieth century, not in a pedantically literal fashion (which is often farthest away from the realities of things), but in good, idiomatic English, such as will at once render the thought into modern forms and read pleasantly. The text followed is that of the well-known *Resultant Greek Testament*, only those various readings

being chronicled which are of greatest importance and affect the rendering. Much attention is paid, as one should have expected, to the exact rendering of the tenses of the Greek verb, and to the particles. The probable chronological order of the books is given thus: 1 and 2 Thess., Gal., 1 and 2 Cor., Rom., Philipp., Ephes., Col., Philem., Mark, Luke, Acts, 1 and 2 Tim., Titus, Heb., James, 1 Pet., 1 John, Rev., Matt., John, Jude, 2 Pet., 2 and 3 John. But the order is not followed in the translation. The rendering is also accompanied by a valuable body of foot-notes, explaining and illustrating the text.

Opinions no doubt will differ considerably on some of the applications of grammatical principles, and on the form given to many familiar passages. But the book undoubtedly is a real help not only to the general reader, but to the student of the Greek original. In many cases its renderings are very happy, and they are suggestive even when they may not commend themselves very readily to acceptance. Generally speaking, the version of the narrative books is good. In the Epistles, especially in those of St. Paul, there are also many apt and successful renderings, which appeal at once to the common understanding and put things in a clear and forcible way. On the other hand, in the case of the Epistles we find more that sounds strange and provokes dissent. As examples of the better order of translation we refer to John x., or indeed almost any chapter in the Fourth Gospel, most of Mark, and such sections of Matthew and Luke as Matt. ix., xiii., xix., Luke iv., v., etc. Even in the Gospels, however, phrases meet us now and again that are flat or inappropriate. One that jars considerably is the rendering of our Lord's "Verily, verily, I say unto you," by the phrase "In most solemn truth I tell you"—a form which to many readers will convey the impression of protesting overmuch. In the Epistles we might mention the opening chapters of Romans, the bulk of the letters to the Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, etc. But here in greater measure we are disposed to criticise. To take one or two passages, almost at random, in Romans viii. 3, we have a good, popular representation of the sense—

"For what was impossible to the Law—powerless as it was because it acted through frail humanity—God effected". But side by side with this we get the inadequate renderings "for the Spirit's Law—telling of Life in Christ Jesus" (viii. 2), and in "order that in our case the requirements (for δικαίωμα, singular) of the Law might be fully met, for our lives are regulated not by our earthly, but by our spiritual natures" (viii. 4). So in Romans xii., which is well handled as a whole, we stumble at such phrases as "to present *all your faculties* to Him" (xii. 1); "through the *authority graciously* given to me" (for χάρις, verse 2), "be thoroughly warm-hearted" (verse 11), etc. So, too, in Ephesians we have many admirable renderings, *e.g.*, "you were called the Uncircumcision by those who style themselves the Circumcised—their circumcision being one which the knife has effected" (ii. 11); "we shall no longer be babes, nor shall we resemble mariners tossed on the waves and carried about with every changing wind of doctrine according to men's cleverness and unscrupulous cunning, making use of every shifting device to mislead" (iv. 14); "do not over-indulge in wine—a thing in which excess is so easy—but drink deeply of God's Spirit" (v. 18), etc. But alongside these again we have others which are either dilutions of the original, *e.g.*, "the work which God has graciously entrusted to me" (iii. 2), or are out of harmony with the figure in the passage, *e.g.*, "grows by the aid of every contributory link" (iv. 16). Taken, however, as a whole the book is by far the best of its kind known to us, with the possible exception Weizsacker's German. It has achieved a very high degree of success in a very difficult task. In its notes as well as in its renderings the student will find much to help him to a better understanding of the New Testament and much to quicken his thought.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Die Reichsgotteshoffnung in den ältesten Christlichen Dokumenten und bei Jesus.

Von Lic. Paul Wernle, a. o. Professor an der Universität Basel. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1903; London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 58. Price 1s. 3d.

Die Hauptprobleme der Leben Jesu Forschung.

Von Otto Schmiedel, Professor am Gymnasium zu Eisenach. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902; London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. iv. + 72. Price 1s. 3d. net.

War Jesus Ekstatiker? Eine Untersuchung zum Leben Jesu.

Von D. Oscar Holtzmann, a. o. Professor der Theologie zu Giessen. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1903. London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. viii. + 143. Price 3s. net.

Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu: Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung.

Von Fritz Barth, Lic. Theol., ordentl. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Bern. Zweite, umgearbeitete Auflage. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1903; London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. xv. + 288. Price 4s. net.

No one can read the New Testament without becoming aware that somehow the term "the Kingdom of God" seems to have a double sense. Sometimes it clearly points to something in the future—an eschatological magnitude bound up with the judgment and the Parousia; but at other times it suggests something already present in the world of men. Do both these views of the kingdom—the transcendent and the immanent—go back to Jesus, or is the second an apostolic or churchly development? This question has been much to the front during the last ten or fifteen years, and

in the little book before us the author of *Die Anfänge unserer Religion* offers, as a contribution to the debate, what he thinks is at its present stage most urgently needed—a fresh and thorough examination of the oldest documents. The result is a bit of work of the very first order, clear, careful and frank; not perhaps completely satisfying, but in a high degree illuminating. The documents examined are the Pauline Epistles, the Apocalypse, the Synoptic Gospels and the Logia. The Pauline Epistles and the Apocalypse reveal both conceptions of the kingdom; it is a thing future, which believers are to inherit, but it is also a thing already begun, growing as the Gospel is preached in one land after another, and truly present wherever men live as new creatures in Christ the Head. In the Synoptic Gospels Wernle holds that the eschatological view prevails, and endeavours to show that such passages in them as seem to point the other way either have been misinterpreted, or owe their existence to later Church feeling. As an exegete, Wernle is most masterly; for example, he shows very convincingly that what Luke xvii. 21 means is: The kingdom of God is not a thing that comes in such a way that men will be able to observe its coming and say, Lo here! or, lo there; rather will it come so suddenly that, before they have time to say a word, it will be in their midst. Much less likely to command assent are some of his critical views. It may be that the Gospels are much more coloured than we are willing to believe by the Church atmosphere in which they were edited; but we need a great deal more evidence than has yet been given before we can accept some of the things here set down as if they had been already established: as, that the parable of the wheat and the tares was born of the sad experiences of the post-Apostolic Church; that the closing verses of Matthew's Gospel have their origin in "ein stolzes kirchliches Machtgefühl"; or that Matt. xvi. 18 ff. implies an institutional ("recht-politisch") view of the Church which goes far beyond the Pauline towards the Roman Catholic. We may always have to remain, as Wernle elsewhere suggests, in the dim light of the probable, but surely we

may expect something far more probable and far more creditable to the first Christian writers than this.

At any rate, even if the eschatological view of the kingdom prevails in the Gospels, there remain the *Logia*; and in them we find not only that view, but, side by side with it, the other. Jesus' words about John the Baptist, the Beelzebub discourse, and the parables of the mustard-seed and of the leaven, all regard the kingdom as already in some sense present; and as these passages cannot in any wise be got rid of, Wernle concludes that both views go back to Jesus Himself. Only, he adds, we must be very careful not to read into Jesus' words our modern modes of thought. Jesus never conceived the kingdom, in the way we do, as a thing slowly growing and by its own ethical force spreading in the world; to Him it was ever a dramatic and supernatural happening in the future; only, as against those who doubted His preaching of its nearness, He appealed to His miracles as signs that the powers of the coming supernatural æon were already at work, and framed the parables of the mustard-seed and the leaven by way of showing that the end was not less certain because the beginnings were small. "So oft auch aus diesen Gleichnissen der Gedanke der allmählichen innerweltlichen Entwicklung des Gottesreichs herausgelesen wird, so oft ist ein modernes Fündlein in sie hineingelegt worden. . . . Mit der ethischen oder innerlichen Gottesreichsidee Jesu ist es nach allen unseren alten Quellen nichts" (pp. 53-4). This is a point that is well worth the looking into; and Wernle's book, small though it is, should not be missed. Meantime, we can only remark that, if Paul was able to moralise the conception of the kingdom, it can only have been through the influence of the moral teaching of Jesus, who may therefore have been able, as some things in the Gospels seem to suggest, to do it Himself.

As the author very neatly puts it, this little book is not for learned theologians, but for learning laymen. It is what we should call a popular lecture on the higher criticism of the

Gospels. Hence its only value for the scholar is that, unencumbered as it must be by processes and details, it throws into bold relief the main lines or principles on which German scholarship is at present moving. It makes clear to us—and it is well that it should be clear—that what we have had within the last few years is nothing other than a sort of return to Baur. O. Schmiedel puts it very frankly. It may, he says (p. 31), be very unmodern to speak of “tendency” nowadays, but the thing has never been disproved; and if Baur went too far in affirming, his opponents have been much too strong in denying. We thus see where we are. The light that shines in the Gospels is not the pure white light of historical truth, but coloured by the beliefs and prejudices and delusions of the writers, who indeed were so dominated by the didactic motive and, in particular, by the desire to magnify and even deify Jesus, that they not only distorted facts but even at times invented them. Luke, for instance, turns everything to suit his ardent universalism, and invented the story of the publican and the sinner in order to show and encourage his Paulinism. Matthew, again, in his zeal for the divinity of Jesus, omits the words “not even the Son” and the question “Why callest thou me good?” In short, says O. Schmiedel, here as elsewhere following his more noted brother P. W. Schmiedel, the only sayings of Jesus we can accept as absolutely historical are those in which there is no trace of the endeavour to make Jesus more than common man. One cannot help asking what right any scholar has to put these things before laymen as if they were the last results of scientific research and therefore as certain as the proved conclusions of natural science. The truth is that Biblical Criticism is not in any strict sense a science at all—it knows nothing, for instance, of experiment; and Schmiedel, who admits that its settled results are continually turning back into unsettled problems, and again and again in support of his positions appeals, not, as true science does, to facts, but to authorities, only misleads when he calls it so. What he puts forward as results are after all only hypotheses; and, what is worse, they do not

fit the facts, or at least do not fit them nearly so well as the old-fashioned one that the Evangelists were honest men. If Jesus had only been such as Schmiedel implies, they would have had no one to write about; and the facts of the early Christian Church are simply inexplicable, unless the Jesus it believed in had been just such as the Gospels describe.

The title at once offends. But, when we get into the book, we find that it is a way the author has—to state an extreme position and then lead us back to something more reasonable; and so we discover, with no small feeling of relief, that his answer to the question that forms his title is not that Jesus was only an ecstatic—a mere enthusiastic visionary and nothing more, but only that there was in Jesus, beside other elements, an element rightly called ecstatic, in which, however, it is argued, is to be sought the secret of His power. As due to ecstasy Holtzmann adduces in chief Jesus' belief in Himself as the Messiah, which came to Him in a vision at His baptism, and His belief in the nearness of the kingdom of God; and, among other things, His resolve to go to Jerusalem, the atoning significance he gave to His death, and His exclamation before the High Priest. On the other hand, rightly recognising that it is of the very nature of ecstasy to be transient, he shows very clearly and fully how readily Jesus passed from ecstasy to clearness—as from His cleansing of the Temple to His marvellously prudent answering of questions, and how strictly he kept His enthusiasm from running out into fantastic acts. The temptation began in ecstasy and ended with the quoting of Scripture. His piety and His force of will kept Him on the rails of quiet earnest work. He even repressed enthusiasm in others. He refused to make His disciples fast, and rebuked the sons of Zebedee for their visions of power. Moreover, His teaching, even in those very points—such as non-resistance of evil—where it has often been assailed as extravagant, is almost entirely free from the ecstatic. Indeed, the heart of it—God's love toward sinners—had its root in the Old

Testament ; and the only difference Jesus' ecstatic beliefs made was, that it impelled Him the more earnestly and courageously to set this view of God in sharp opposition to that of the Pharisees. His ecstasy was the driving power which brought out the treasures of His piety—the Gospel, and made them the common good of men (pp. 132-3).

But what does Holtzmann mean by the term ecstatic ? Seemingly he calls ecstatic any belief or feeling that goes beyond the common contemporary range. Thus of Jesus' belief in His Messiahship he says it is so extraordinary that the holder of it must have been an ecstatic. Of His belief in the nearness of the Kingdom—borrowed from one who was an even more pronounced ecstatic than Himself—Holtzmann remarks : “ *Das ist nicht die Weltanschauung einer ruhig die gewiesene Strasse wandernden Persönlichkeit ; wer den baldigen Zusammenbruch der ganzen bestehenden Weltordnung vor Augen sieht, der lebt in einem den meisten Menschen fremden Gedankenkreis* ” (p. 50). In like manner, His faith in God was so far beyond the common, and His interpretation of His death so extraordinary, that they can only be called ecstatic (*cf.* pp. 104, 113). Does it then follow that all such ecstatic beliefs are false ? By no means. For, if that were so, every one, every great man in history, who saw farther or felt more deeply than his contemporaries, would have to be written down a visionary. What comes to a man by ecstasy may be truth ; but also it may not. And in regard to Jesus this is just the point Holtzmann fails to make clear. In an ecstatic moment Jesus depicted Himself in a parable as the Son of God ; He believed Himself to be the Christ of God ; was He in very truth what He believed ? Holtzmann does not just say. He declares Jesus an ecstatic, but leaves his readers to decide for themselves whether He was a deluded visionary or a God-inspired mystic. Nevertheless his book suggests the true answer. If there was an ecstatic element in Jesus, the other elements in Him authenticate it. The very fact that the main course of His life was so calm and sane, so full of love and good works, of words wise and deep, so free from ascetic extravagance

and fantastic acts, assures us that even His loftiest utterances and most stupendous claims reflect the truth. Read alongside of recent books on the psychology of religion—Professor James's chapters on mysticism, for example—Holtzmann's book might possibly be found suggestive.

The first edition of this work was briefly noticed by the Editor in *THE CRITICAL REVIEW* of November, 1901 (p. 567), and was then described as "a historical inquiry, not remarkable in any way for novelty, but conducted with fairness, and insight, and sobriety". In the second edition, the third section ("The Miracles in the Life of Jesus"), the fifth ("The Death and the Resurrection of Jesus"), and the sixth ("The Self-Consciousness of Jesus"), have been entirely rewritten; and various minor changes have been made so as to render the book more grateful to non-theological readers. As a popular work it is just what is wanted—modern in tone and liberal in its critical views, but deeply pious in spirit and conservative in essentials. The chapter on miracles and the pages on the miraculous birth of Jesus are exceedingly well done; and indeed the whole book reveals that discriminating faith the present times most urgently ask for—a faith that can distinguish between spirit and form, between the things that are first and the things that are only second.

JOHN LENDRUM.

Carl Schmidt's Petrus Akten.

Die alten Petrus Akten im Zusammenhang der apokryphen Apostellitteratur nebst einem neuentdecktem Fragment, untersucht von Carl Schmidt. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 8vo, pp. vii. + 176. Price 5s. 6d. net.

THIS is a work which has been long promised, and which will receive, as it deserves, the closest study and attention from all students of the subject. It was published in June, and is to be followed by the *Acta Pauli*, to which it is intended to serve as an introductory study. Dr. Schmidt in this volume gives us his general view of the authorship of the Encratite Acts, which he holds to have been from the first Catholic. It is a mistake, according to him, to regard even the Acts of John as Gnostic, and equally a mistake to suppose that the Acts of Peter, so far as we possess them, are Gnostic either in their present or their supposed original form. Corrections they no doubt received in the process of transmission, but not of such a nature as to radically alter the work. In short, he does not believe in Lipsius' general theory that all the original Gnostic Acts underwent a Catholic recension, but is of opinion that the scribes altered the MSS. from purely subjective reasons, and did not act under authority. They suppressed, *e.g.*, stories of married women being persuaded by the Apostles not to live with their husbands, because that offended the taste of a later age. We have examples of this in the stories quoted by Euodius from the original Acts of Andrew (see p. 53). But there was no such reconstruction of the originals as would be involved if we suppose that the writer of the Apostolical Constitutions (vi., 8) had before him an original text when he treats the disputation between Peter and Simon Magus at Cæsarea as a portion of the Acts of Peter, and

the occasion of Peter's flight to Rome. Schmidt treats this statement of the Apostolical Constitutions as a mere error. It is true that in the Clementine Recognitions (i., 74) an intention to visit Rome is indicated which is never fulfilled. That, however, would not, according to our author, be indicative of anything but a change of plan on the Clementine writer's part. For Simon's flight to Rome was not due to his discomfiture at Cæsarea, but rather to the reason assigned in our existing Acts of Peter, *viz.*, an act of theft on Simon's part from a Jerusalem matron. Schmidt would, therefore, quite disagree with Hilgenfeld in regarding a portion of the Clementine Recognitions as having been originally a dialogue between Peter and Paul, under the mask of Simon Magus. These pseudo-Clementine discourses are, according to Hilgenfeld, based on those which the writer of the Apostolical Constitutions describes as forming a portion of the Acts of Peter. But Schmidt does not believe the Clementines to have been in existence before the end of the third century. He points out that the author of the Syriac Didascalia, writing in the third century, represents Simon Magus as following Peter from Jerusalem (not Cæsarea) to Rome, and betrays no knowledge of a previous conflict in Cæsarea. But it is not safe to argue from his silence. In fact Schmidt seems too lightly to reject the evidence for an original second century source for the Clementines. It is true, as Dr. Hort in his study on the Recognitions pointed out, that Hilgenfeld himself now admits the historical character of Simon Magus, but that veteran scholar still explains the clear references to St. Paul in our present Clementines by the existence of an original work underlying the earlier part of the Recognitions, in which Simon Magus was solely a mask for St. Paul. What Gnostic, asks Dr. Schmidt, would have dreamed of representing Simon, the great protagonist of the Gnostics, as the butt of St. Peter? But what if Simon, at that time, was simply a Samaritan Christian, and the writer of the original anti-Pauline romance simply a Jewish Christian, hating all Samaritans with the inherited instinct of an ancient race feud? It is highly probable that the

Samaritan, like the Essene, Christians did not find it easy to give up their pre-Christian practice of magical incantations, and the accusation that Simon represented himself as a god may ultimately rest on the fact that the general theory of Adoptionists was that every believer became a Christ, a theory which Mr. Conybeare has abundantly illustrated in his *Key of Truth*. Considering the polemical methods of those days, it would not be unnatural for a Jewish Christian opponent to ridicule the Apostle of the Gentiles by satirising him as one of the hated Samaritans, the most extreme and invidious example he could select of the class of Gentile converts.

But, according to Dr. Schmidt, if the writer were simply a Jewish Christian, and not in open opposition to the Church, but simply to the Pauline section of the Church, then he was not a Gnostic, for his definition of a Gnostic is "the founder or adherent of a conventicle". He argues, at some length, that the author of the Acts of John was, in this sense, a Catholic writer. But surely the real differentia of a Gnostic is not his position within or without the Church, but rather the nature of his teaching. If Gnostic teaching was at first tolerated within the Church, it was none the less Gnostic. The argument on pp. 127, 128 is most extraordinary. Schmidt would maintain that a man was not a Gnostic, even if he believed and taught that the Creator of the world was not the good God, but the Demiurge, the adulterous offspring of Satan and Sophia! But, argues the author, St. Paul himself would have to be reckoned as a Gnostic, if you judge by the standard of teaching, and not by that of open exclusion from the Church. For in Col. i. 16 we find a doctrine of angels not very dissimilar from that of the Gnostics. But is there not all the difference in the world between the mild Gnosticism (if it be Gnosticism) which regarded the second and third heavens as peopled respectively by demons and angels, and that which regarded the whole visible universe as inherently evil? The whole question turns on the definition of the term "Gnostic". Would not a better definition than Schmidt's be that a Gnostic was one who taught the inherent evil of matter?

Turning now more in detail to Schmidt's position as to the authorship of the Leucian Acts, he has made his case perfectly clear that the Acts of Peter, as we have them (and we have to thank him for the publication of another interesting fragment) are a Catholic work. The writer shows traces of the use of the Acts of John, but he evidently knew and acknowledged the early Roman symbol. The chronological data are most carefully worked out, and the date of the present work is most convincingly shown to be c. A.D. 200-210. The treatment of the whole question is most scholarly, and the evidence of St. Augustine, in particular, has been most fully worked out.

But the author has failed, in my judgment, to disprove the existence of earlier Gnostic recensions. Willingly conceding that the Gnostic author (or authors) of the earlier recensions were within the Church, yet the evidence that these earlier forms existed is very strong. The fragment of the Acts of John published by James is an example of the type of earlier recension, and the same author probably produced the originals of the Acts of Peter, Andrew and Thomas. The Acts of Paul had, we know, a separate author, but the original quartette of Leucian Acts, *viz.*, the Acts of Peter, John, Andrew and Thomas, are so clearly connected by Photius with one author, pseudo-Leucius, and are so definitely linked together by Eusebius, and so constantly treated as the work of Leucius by Roman Popes in their lists of Apocryphal books, that it is hard to reject so strong a chain of evidence. Schmidt appears to me more than once to strain the wording of the texts which refer to these Acts in support of his peculiar view that pseudo-Leucius wrote the Acts of John alone, *e.g.*, on p. 54, where in the sentence, "*Cetera autem, quae vel sub nomine Matthiae sive Jacobi minoris vel sub nomine Petri et Johannis, quae a quodam Leucio scripta sunt,*" etc. (Rescript of Innocent I., A.D. 405), he maintains that the relative "*quae*" only refers to the Acts of John, and not to those of Peter also. Has he not here been biassed by a preconceived theory? So, again, on p. 74, in the statement of Philastrius about these Acts,

“Non intelligentes multa addiderunt et tulerunt quae voluerunt haeretici,” would not the natural sense be: “Unintelligent people have added a great deal, and heretics have abstracted what they pleased”? Here neither Lipsius nor Schmidt gives a quite natural sense, the former putting a full stop at *intelligentes*, which he connects with the previous sentence, and translating: “The heretics have added a great deal and abstracted what they pleased,” and the latter: “Unintelligent people have added and abstracted a great deal, which was just what the heretics wanted,” *i.e.*, the heretics could not have made the use they did of these Acts, if unintelligent Catholics had not tampered with them.

Now the translation which I have ventured to suggest implies not only that there were two recensions, a Catholic and a Gnostic, but also that the latter was marked by its omissions, and the former by its stupid additions. This so exactly corresponds to the general method of treatment on the part of the Catholics, as witness the later Acts of Prochorus, and also with the general accusation brought against the Catholics by the heretics, *viz.*, that they had interpolated the original documents of the sacred writers, that I cannot but think this is the true sense. The heretics included these Apocryphal writings in their Canon, as we learn from St. Augustine (*De hær.*, 46): “Ipsiusque Testamenti novi Scripturas tanquam infalsatas ita legunt, ut quod volunt inde accipiant, quod nolunt rejiciant, eisque tanquam totum verum habentes nonnullas apocryphas anteponant,” and in another passage, speaking of the New Testament of the heretics, in which we must remember these Acts were included, St. Augustine remarks: “Nihil proferam eorum quae solent immissa esse dicere” (*De Moribus, Eccl. Cath.*, i., 2). Schmidt argues that Augustine and Turibius betray no knowledge of two recensions. But to have admitted the existence of two recensions might have been a tactical mistake. This was just what the heretics wished to prove.

The Acts of Thomas are held by Mr. Burkitt to have been originally a Syriac work. But since Epiphanius relates that a certain Joseph discovered, amongst other documents,

Hebrew Acts of the Apostles, the truth may be that all the Leucian Acts were originally written both in Greek and Syriac. Bilingual MSS. of the Gospels (in Greek and Latin) are amongst the very oldest in existence. May there not have been an earlier type of bilingual MS. in Greek and Syriac?

The new fragment of the Acts of Peter, printed at the beginning of the book, is a Coptic version of the story of Peter and Petronilla, hitherto only known to us in an incomplete form, as referred to by St. Augustine, and in the Acts of Philip, and the Acts of Nereus and Achilleus. It was discovered in a wall at Akhmim, and this reminds one that the Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter were also found in a tomb at Akhmim. It would, therefore, be not improbable that this fragment is part of the original Gnostic Acts. The definite discouragement of marriage in the episode of Ptolemæus and Petronilla, the former being told that "vessels" (a word used for women in the New Testament) were not meant for carnal intercourse with men, is more Gnostic than the general tone of the previously known portions of the Acts (*vide* M. Bonnet, *Actus Petri cum Simone*, vol. i., pp. 45-103). In these, indeed, Agrippa and Albinus complain that Peter robs them of their wives and concubines. As this was the motive for Peter's execution, to have eliminated it would have meant too serious an alteration of the document, but Peter does not otherwise preach against matrimony, as in his address to Ptolemæus in the Coptic fragment, on the other hand he even smiles at the protest which certain rigorists made against his accepting a large donation from Chryse, who evidently stands for Marcia, the concubine of Commodus. This seems inconsistent with the statement that Agrippa's concubines were persuaded by the preaching of Peter to refuse further intercourse with him; still more with the statement that Xantippe, wife of Albinus, "conveniens ad Petrum de castitate servanda sustulit se a marito". Is it conceivable that the same writer introduced these episodes, and yet represented Peter smiling at the present from Marcia, and merely remarking that she was

Christ's debtor? I can only suppose that we have here indications (1) of the original extremely ascetic tone of the whole work, which condemned even marriage; (2) of this original having been re-edited by a Catholic writer, who represents the beginning of a compromise with the world. Had we in our present Acts of Peter the genuine work of the original Encratite author, the ascetic spirit would pervade the whole, as it does, *e.g.*, in the Acts of Thomas.

The subscription of this Coptic fragment would correspond to *Πρᾶξις Πέτρον* in Greek. This indicates (1) that the original title was *Πράξεις Πέτρον*, and that the work consisted of a number of separate stories, each in itself a *πρᾶξις*; (2) that the later title *περίοδοι* was invented in order to distinguish these Acts from the Canonical Acts; (3) that the hitherto known Acts of Peter have been so far altered in general arrangement as to form one continuous story instead of a series of short stories. In confirmation of the general position adopted in this review, it is interesting to note that we have in these Acts of Peter a variation from the Canonical Acts in the story of Simon Magus precipitating himself at the feet of Peter and Paul, and offering them money, etc., and that, too, in Jerusalem instead of Samaria (*cf.* Gal. i. 18). The mention of Paul strongly suggests the hand of a Catholic redactor anxious to correct the original reference of Simon to St. Paul. It is also to be observed that if there were no earlier Gnostic Acts of Peter, then these Acts must be considerably later than 2 Peter. But, on the other hand, a comparison of the passages about the Transfiguration common to the two suggests that the Acts of Peter is the earlier document (see Mr. Bate's review of Dr. Bigg's work on the Epistles of St. Peter, *Journal of Theological Studies*, July, 1902).

But if we assign all the four original Acts of Peter, John, Andrew and Thomas to pseudo-Leucius, it must be clearly understood that Leucius, a supposed contemporary of the Apostles, is a mere *nom-de-plume*. The writer must have been a strong Docete, and tradition represents him as having been as much opposed to Cerinthus as St. John was.

This is curious, but the probability is that, although Cerinthus held a mystic view of the Incarnation, the fact that he admitted that our Lord, as regards His merely physical nature, was the Son of Joseph and Mary, made him equally hated by the orthodox party and the extreme Docetes, who believed, like Marcion, that Christ was not born at all. The strange statement of the Acts of John that sometimes the body of the Lord resisted your hand when you touched Him, but at other times it did not, but your hand passed through (as though He were a phantom), implies that the writer of these Acts was an extreme Docete, who held that our Lord had a merely phantasmal body. St. Paul possibly refers to such teaching by emphasising in the words "made of a woman" (Gal. iv. 4) the reality of Christ's birth. Zahn, in assigning quite an early (possibly a first century) date to these Acts of John, is perhaps nearer the truth than Schmidt, who dates them *c.* A.D. 160-170. These early Docetic teachers thought of Christ as a Being similar to the Angel of the Lord. His appearance on earth was to them a mere Theophany, parallel to the Theophanies of the Old Testament. The view is naturally associated with the Essenes, whose secret doctrine dealt largely with angels. When one remembers the curious picture of Essene superstition preserved for us in the Essene form of Invocation printed by Dieterich in his *Abraxas*, with its magical incantations, one may very well imagine that these were the class of people of whom we read in the Acts that they brought their books of magic and burned them in public. They would naturally retain many of their Essene ways of thinking after their conversion, and St. Paul, while really impatient of their Ogdoads, etc., would bear with them, and try to base his teaching on lines familiar to them; hence such a description of the Atonement as that contained in Col. ii. 15. On the other hand he discouraged their "worshipping of angels". We have then in these Apocryphal Acts a survival, probably, of Essene mysticism. Their views were tolerated in the Church until the struggle with Manichæism made it necessary to condemn Priscillian, their fourth century descendant.

The struggle, however, lasted on into the Middle Ages, nor was the Catholic cause finally triumphant, until the drastic methods of the Inquisition suppressed those poor enthusiasts, who went by hundreds to the stake with a firmness and constancy worthy of a better cause. It was, doubtless, for the good of the Church that they should cease to discourage Christian marriage, which was the worst feature in their propaganda. But they are the real originators of the Monastic system, and the study of these Acts has great value, if for that reason only. One recalls the stories of wives leaving their husbands, under the influence of the monks, in our own Anglo-Saxon Church, and it is curious that Aldhelm, the first bishop of Sherborne, in his *Praises of Virgins*, tells the story of St. John turning grass into gold. From the mention of this episode in Euodius we see that it had a symbolical significance. "All flesh is grass," but by the practice of continency it may become gold. This suggests that many others of the at first sight absurd stories in these Acts were really allegories. Take, *e.g.*, the story of the Acts of Peter that Simon kills a man by merely whispering in his ear. Is not this a parable of the malign and deadly influence of his teaching?

To the patient student the study of these Apocryphal Acts may become one of extraordinary interest and importance, and Dr. Schmidt deserves our best thanks for his admirable monograph on the subject.

J. H. WILKINSON.

1. The Representative Men of the Bible.

By George Matheson, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 369. Price 6s.

2. Gospel Records: Interpreted by Human Experience.

By H. A. Dallas. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903. 8vo, pp. viii. + 302. Price 5s. net.

3. The Soul: a Study and an Argument.

By David Syme. London: Macmillan & Co., Limited, 1903. 8vo, pp. xxxi. + 234. Price 4s. 6d. net.

4. Jesus' Way: an Appreciation of the Teaching in the Synoptic Gospels.

By William De Witt Hyde, President of Bowdoin College. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903. Pp. xii. + 198. Price 4s. 6d. net.

5. Essays on Faith.

By Rev. P. Hately Waddell, D.D. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1903. 8vo, pp. 246. Price 3s. 6d.

6. A Compendium of the Canon Law.

By Philip A. Lempriere, LL.D. Edinburgh: St. Giles Printing Co., 1903. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 286. Price 6s. 6d.

7. The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland.

By Heinrich Zimmer, Professor of Celtic Philology, Berlin. Translated by A. Meyer. London: David Nutt, 1902. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 131. Price 3s. 6d. net.

1. IN this original and suggestive volume Dr. Matheson writes with his well-known freshness and ingenuity, and gives a series of studies of representative men of the Old

Testament, as he has already done in his study of the portrait of Christ. The standpoint of the author is not that of orthodoxy or criticism, but of sympathetic interpretation of each picture drawn by the artist, who is the medium of revelation. This method of isolated study in the gallery of portraits, and of allowing "no voices from the outside to distract us," has drawbacks as well as advantages. It explains perhaps a tendency in this highly gifted writer to offer us novel and unexpected interpretations rather than what appears to be the natural and obvious meaning of the picture. We are not convinced, *e.g.*, by the reading given of the first portrait, that the primitive narrative of Adam describes not a case of disobedience but of the violation of justice; and again, in the chapter on Enoch we see as little ground for the statement that "the passion for eternal life is the first and the last passion of the Hebrew race". Some of Dr. Matheson's titles, such as "Abel the Undeveloped," "Moses the Practical," "Elisha the Imitative," are natural and felicitous, but to head the portrait of one of Israel's leaders "Joshua the Prosaic" is hardly just to that hero or to the impressive vision that inspired him (Joshua v.). Readers of Dr. Matheson's handsome volume will find much that is striking if also not a little that is strained, and from nearly every chapter will derive pleasure and profit. The devotional tone of the work is enhanced by the short characteristic prayer at the end of each study. "Immorality" appears by an unfortunate misprint on page 79 for "immortality".

2. Mr. Dallas employs a principle that makes his volume, based on the "Gospel Records," an interesting and readable one. This principle is that "intelligent sympathy" is the best organ of knowledge, and that to understand things we must not only put ourselves into the attitude of intellectual assent but also of experimental insight and association. Hence he is led to take up, in the course of twenty-three chapters (followed by three appendices), difficult sayings and incidents in the Gospels, and to interpret the problems they present by bringing them into the light of "human experience".

The two chapters on "The Spiritual Consciousness of Jesus," and those on such points as Christ's "Principle of Education," the "Choice of Judas," the "Barren Fig Tree," are examples of the use of this method of interpretation, which is boldly but reverently applied. Here and there the author is too much influenced by his theory. To attribute so much uncertainty and hesitation to Jesus in His dealing with the Syro-Phœnician woman (p. 42) is to forget the principle of education already alluded to, and to speculate on the fate of Judas (p. 140) is to be guided by sentiment rather than intelligent sympathy. The author in his reference to the Atonement (p. 36) and in his chapter on "Sin-bearing" (p. 246) is open to the charge of theological vagueness, and should include definiteness as well as sympathy in his method of interpretation. In the chapter on the "Resurrection of Jesus," which St. Paul viewed less exclusively "in line with human experience," and on other pages, Mr. Dallas introduces the evidence of modern psychology or "psychical" research. It is a good feature of this volume that the topics chosen are really weighty and are dealt with in the spirit of investigation and without dogmatism.

3. Mr. Syme writes on "The Soul" from the standpoint of modern science rather than in the interest of theology, and with sufficient knowledge of the facts and results of investigation and independence in using them. The seven chapters which make up the volume are clear in statement and vigorous in argument, and contain Mr. Syme's answer to the three questions with which he opens his Introduction—"Is there a soul? Is there any purpose or design in nature? Is there any after life?" Life, in the view here advocated, is the impulse found in every being to resist extinction, and in the last analysis life is a function of mind. "The fundamental error of the physicist is his assumption that matter preceded mind" (p. 93). Spencer's theory of consciousness and "Reflex Action" is denied, and the view held that there are various centres of "psychical" activity in the same body.

This supposition is used to account for the difference of "conscious and unconscious states" (chap. iii.). It is maintained, in face of imposing and opposing authorities in the chapter on "Teleology" (v.), that there is "ample evidence of design in organic nature". The theological reader will find the chapter on "Instinct" (vi.) full of curious and well-chosen information. The argument for immortality in the last chapter admits the legitimacy of instinct also in regard to the future life, and weight is given to the idea that annihilation is everywhere repugnant to the human mind. An appreciation of the change due to Christianity would have strengthened this part of the argument. Mr. Syme convicts Darwin of "a singular mistake" (p. 147) in making natural selection or the survival of the fittest a *cause* instead of only a result, and "thus leaving the origin of species unaccounted for". We do not profess to see how Darwin went on in spite of this inconsistency, any more than we see how Mr. Syme can consistently hold to his view of "the extension of mind" and "the soul's immateriality," and conclude after all that "mind may be a subtle form of matter and matter may be a crude form of mind" (pp. 177, 179). But, criticisms and difficulties apart, we have to thank the author for an able and stimulating book.

4. President Hyde offers us in a simple and unpretending volume an exposition of the teaching of Jesus as drawn from the Synoptic Gospels, when "primitive Christianity was known simply as the Way," and called mainly for practical acceptance and obedience. His mode of viewing and stating the elements of Christ's teaching is recommended as giving an experimental basis for understanding and testing the Christian life, and yielding a proof independent of intellectual difficulties. Jesus' "way" is simply the exposition of the principles He applied to life, and its laws are as indispensable to the Christian as any other set of laws or rules required by the worker or learner. The exposition takes up different aspects of "The Way" in twelve chapters, each with its appropriate title—"The

Father: the Principle of the Way"; "Repentance: the Entrance to the Way"; "Sacrifice: the Cost of the Way"; etc. The author has succeeded in grouping skilfully together the scattered precepts of the teaching of Jesus, and in keeping within the "common-sense proportions" of his plan.

5. The collection of six essays by Dr. Waddell is intended as a continuation of his two previous volumes on Christianity as a Gospel and an Ideal. The present volume looks at the Christian religion as Thought or in its relation to Reason. The first essay, "Faith and the Gospel," is abstract and general in its statements and criticisms, and is typical of the others—"Faith and Theology," "Faith and Protestantism," etc. We find it difficult to get any concrete result out of Dr. Waddell's thinking, or to measure the progress made at each chapter. The definition of faith as having something universal in its nature, and grasping at a thought of final unity, gives us one clue to the author's meaning; another perhaps is that faith or the Christian religion is of value because it can be allied with thought and philosophy, and with the conception of higher unity or reconciliation of all things in God as absolute and self-conscious Spirit. In a word, these essays, like the scheme of thought moulding them, are Hegelian, and suffer from excessive vagueness and indefiniteness. We would get more good from Dr. Waddell's insight and penetration, in criticism of movements like Protestantism and Rationalism, and of writers like Mr. Kidd, if he would free his mind and his style from these tiresome "categories of thought".

6. The learned author of *The Canon Law* has compiled a treatise of great ecclesiastical interest and given proof of wide and accurate acquaintance with his subject. The material drawn together is ample, and the various books and chapters are clearly divided and arranged. The list of authorities made use of, and the appendices and index at the close, show that the author has spared no pains to

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give completeness to his volume. Dr. Lempriere is to be congratulated on providing an excellent and handy compendium, which cannot fail to be useful and indispensable to the clergy and students of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Complaint is made (p. 77) that the pittances received by some of the bishops of the Church "in" Scotland are most inadequate. Presbyterian "bishops" in various dioceses can sympathise with this complaint, while agreeing that "the people of Scotland are in other ways liberal in support of religion".

7. Professor Zimmer's work on "The Celtic Church" was contributed first to the pages of a German periodical, and now appears in a translation which reads well. By the Celtic Church the author denotes the branch of the Christian Church found in parts of Great Britain and in Ireland before the arrival of the missionary Augustine (A.D. 597). This first period is surveyed in chap. i. The history of the second and third periods (A.D. 500-800, and A.D. 800-1200), during which the Celtic Church existed independently by the side of the Anglo-Roman Church, is sketched in the remaining two chapters. The "Patrick Legend" is traced to its source and exposed, and in all respects this historical sketch is an independent and thorough piece of work.

Three other slight volumes fall to be noticed. *The Church of England*, an appeal to facts and principles, by the Rev. W. C. E. Newbolt, M.A., and Rev. D. Stone, M.A. (London, Longmans, Green & Co., pp. 56, price 2s. net), a good armoury for weapons of Church defence; *St. Paul*, a series of devout but not distinctive addresses by Rev. Rowland W. Corbet (London, Elliot Stock, pp. x. + 141, price 3s. 6d.); and *The Book of Praises* or *The Psalms* by C. E. Stuart (London, E. Marlborough & Co., pp. 184, price 3s. 6d.), "an attempt to trace their sequence" and to understand them "prophetically".

W. M. RANKIN.

The Seven Tablets of Creation.

Or the Babylonian and Assyrian Legends concerning the Creation of the World and of Mankind. Edited by L. W. King, M.A., F.S.A., Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum. Vol. I.: English Translations, etc. Vol. II.: Supplementary Texts. London: Luzac & Co., 1902. Price, vol. I., 18s. net; vol. II., 15s. net.

THESE two volumes form an important addition to the ancient literature of Assyria and Babylonia which is now available for the English student in his own language. For Biblical study no part of these old records is of greater interest or importance than the Creation narratives. And since the publication in 1876 of *The Chaldaean Account of Genesis* by the late Mr. George Smith, the points of resemblance between the cosmogony of the Bible and that of ancient Babylonia have received considerable attention. With the discovery of new material, additions have been made to the literature of this subject; and Mr. King has lately collected so much fresh information as to make a new translation of the Creation Tablets desirable if not necessary; hence the two handsome volumes before us. The most recent works on this subject were by Delitzsch in 1896, and Jensen (second edition) in 1900. Only twenty-one tablets and fragments were used by those two scholars; for his present work Mr. King has used forty-nine. These tablets vary considerably in date and character. The earliest were made for the library of Ashur-bani-pal (say about the middle of the seventh century B.C.). These "are beautifully written in the Assyrian characters upon tablets of fine clay". The later, Neo-Babylonian, tablets are not so carefully written, and appear to have been prepared at different times, and for

a variety of purposes—some for private use, some as votive offerings to be deposited in the temples. Some are “Practice-tablets,” containing extracts from the Creation Poem, written out by students, partly as a practice in writing, but also, no doubt, as a help to learning the text by heart.

The new matter now made public by Mr. King is distributed among all the Seven Creation Tablets. But the most interesting part is that which is assigned to the Sixth. Of this Tablet nothing had been known previously. For the Biblical student nothing in the Creation poem surpasses in interest or value the fragment with which this Sixth Tablet opens. It gives the beginning of the account of the creation of man. It has been conjectured that when Marduk overthrew Tiamat, and brought order out of chaos, some of the gods complained that in the new state of affairs they were (or were likely to be) neglected. And (in Mr. King's new fragment) the Sixth Tablet opens thus: “When Marduk heard the words of the gods his heart prompted him and he devised [a cunning plan]. He opened his mouth and unto Ea [he spoke]. . . . My blood will I take and bone will I [fashion]. I will make man that man may []. I will create man who shall inhabit [the earth]. That the service of the gods may be established, and that [their] shrines [may be built].”

The purpose of man's creation, therefore, is that, through him, the service and worship of the gods may be attended to. Moreover, the blood of the Creator is to be used in the making of man. This statement creates a point of contact with the Old Testament. When man was made the Creator breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. Blood was the equivalent of life. The reference to the *bone* in the creation of the human race also reminds us of the Old Testament narrative. Mr. King's opinion is “that the Hebrew narratives of the Creation were ultimately derived from Babylonia, and were not inherited independently by the Babylonians and Hebrews from a common Semitic ancestor” (Introd., p. xcv.). The Semitic ancestor may be given up, unless it should be held that the original language was Semitic. But what of the

Sumerians? Mr. King tells us that "the origin of much of the Creation legends may be traced to Sumerian sources" (*ib.*, p. lxxix.). May not the Sumerian and Babylonian narratives conceal an original tradition which, having been transmitted through many generations of men who had lost all true knowledge of God, appeared at length in the form it assumes in these early records? In any case, the Old Testament narrative is, in essence and spirit, so different from that of the Babylonian Tablets that a supernatural revelation would not be so remarkable as a human mind, or a series of human minds capable of converting the latter into the former. Supernatural agency is required at some point: where?

Regarding the literary character of these Creation narratives, Mr. King's view corresponds to that of advanced critics of the Old Testament. He holds that "Five principal Strands may be traced which have been combined to form the poem" (Introd., p. lxvii.); "that the priests of Babylon made use of independent legends in the composition of their great poem of Creation" (*ib.*, p. lxx.); and "that the bulk of the poem, as we know it from late Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian copies, was composed at a period not later than B.C. 2000" (*ib.*, p. lxxx.).

It is scarcely necessary to add that these volumes exhibit the admirable and attractive workmanship of the series to which they belong. The Supplementary Texts in vol. ii. are worthy of, and such as we expect from, the trusted officials of the British Museum.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

Christianity and Modern Civilisation.

Being some chapters in European History. By W. S. Lilly, Honorary Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. London: Chapman & Hall, 1903. Pp. 373. Price 12s. 6d. net.

THE volume before us appears to be the outcome of a genuine "religious enthusiasm"—dwelt on especially on p. 241 as "the key of the enigma" of Gregory VII.'s character—and, if we want a key to the further enigma, how it is that an author evidently so widely read could commit himself to so many startling statements, erroneous assumptions and unwarranted inferences as the book contains, that key is to be found in the same enthusiasm paralysing the faculty of critical discernment. He has here strung together a number of thoughtful essays more or less connected with each other, and all of them, except one, *réchauffées* from older works. There is prefixed to the series a dialogue of three friends, under the question-title, "What can history teach us?" which is the best chapter in the book. The next best is the last on "Holy Matrimony".

It is somewhat startling to be told that at the Council of Jerusalem, in Acts xv., "the action of St. Peter saved the future of Christianity". This seems moulded on the prevailing typical thought of the volume—the glorification of the mediæval papacy—and to be designed to pave the way for the further statement, that "the rod of ecclesiastical power passed from Mount Sion to the Vatican Mount" (pp. 73, 74), seeming to claim divine appointment equally for both, and therefore in conflict with the tenour of the divine declaration in St. John iv. 21, as regards the abolition of local sanctities of preference. The *speech* ascribed to St. Peter in Acts xv. 7-11 makes of course for the decree enunciated by St. James

in v. 20. The "action" ascribed to him in Galatians ii. 11-13 makes exactly the other way.

The author's enlistment of St. Paul in support of the superiority of the celibate state to the married seems wholly to overlook the distinction which that Apostle so clearly draws between what he spoke by way of advice and what he delivered by way of commandment (see 1 Cor. vii. 6, 10, 25, 40). He adds a remark on St. Paul's "undoubting belief in the *parousia*" as influencing that advice (p. 81). This, with the author's comment on it, seems again to overlook the Apostolic correction of the error of that belief which he had written some five years previously to another Church (2 Thess. ii.). It may indeed be gathered from the language of 1 Cor. vii. that the married state involves a solidarity with secular interests from which the single state is free. But still there remains the fundamental fact that we are made male and female, and that the continuance of the race, thereon depending, is part of the primary divine ordinance; and that departure from it under whatever dispensation, must always be rather the exception than the general rule. The Apostle also recognises the fact that "every man has his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that" (v. 7), echoing in spirit the Master's words, "He that is able to receive it (celibacy), let him receive it" (St. Matt. xix. 12). But again, on the assumption that the advice (not commandment) given in 1 Cor. vii. was really given under a presumption of the *parousia* as then in fact nearly impending, we know from experience that that presumption was erroneous; and that fact cannot but qualify the view we take of the advice. Further yet, the step from exceptional cases of single life preferred on higher grounds by the individual, to societies male and female formed aloof under a vow for life, is practically enormous, and their example in history is the reverse of encouraging. The broad fact which stamps them throughout is that of constant and conscious declension. Why else through all the centuries, from Benedict of Nursia downwards, do we find perpetual fresh starts made of new orders, with new codes of discipline, confessing in effect the

successive failures of their predecessors? This argument of course is quite consistent with the admission of the vigour and concentration which such orders and houses gave to missionary effort, their rescue of learning, their educational benefits, their ample hospitality, and other indirect advantages in a turbulent and often half-lawless age. Apart from the snare of perpetual vows, society might even be glad of a few of them still, as a refuge for the lonely or life-weary.

Equally misleading is the statement concerning the apostolic age on p. 83: "The standard of orthodoxy was most rigidly enforced. It is a vast error to suppose that St. Paul the Apostle was one whit more tolerant than Saul the Pharisee." The "excommunication" referred to on the same page was not for any error of belief, but for a breach of elementary morals. Only for a denial of the resurrection does St. Paul seem to have enforced such a sentence (2 Tim. ii. 17, 18; cf. 1 Tim. i. 19, 20; 1 Cor. xv. 12) as the "delivery unto Satan". Probably St. John would extend it to those whom he denounces as the "many anti-christs" (1 John ii. 18; cf. 22, 23, iv. 3; 2 John 7-11). It may be added in passing, that the "delivery unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh," was probably something more than exclusion from the Church, and may possibly be viewed in connexion with St. Peter's doom on Ananias in Acts v. The offences for which the offender's society is to be forsaken in 1 Cor. v. 11 are all against the moral law. As regards "*tolerance* of error" there lurks an ambiguity in the word. No doubt the Apostle would have rebuked with due severity any unsoundness in the faith, as is specially clear from his instructions to Timothy and Titus. But that he would, if he could, have used against them the methods familiar to him when he was a persecutor, which appears to be the sense intended—to judge from the next sentence, comparing his attitude and practice with "the severities of the Holy Office"—is absolutely without proof, and is an undue assumption.

The office of bishop as recognised by Ignatius was far from being the monarchical episcopate of later times. The

presbyterate is associated with the bishop, and often even the diaconate, for purposes of Church government, in the system to which that martyr refers. Thus the statement that "each Church was ruled by its Bishop" conveys a false idea; *cf. Conc. Carth.*, iv., canon 23, "Irrita erit sententia episcopi nisi clericorum praesentia confirmetur". With that false idea established the pedestal was raised for an "episcopus episcoporum". For a series of examples, all to the same effect, see Bishop Lightfoot's *Epistle to the Philippians*, pp. 226, 227, ed. 1869.

Here again is a curious distortion of literary testimony on behalf of the Roman Church:—

"Before the first century is over, we see its bishop, St. Clement, intervening, unasked, in the dissensions of the Church of Corinth and speaking as one having authority like that of a modern Pope".

And the writer proceeds in a note to cite two passages in which occur the phrases, "words spoken *through us* . . . things written *by us*," as though the writer here assumed the "we" of authority or superior dignity. But the epistle entitles itself in its opening line, "The Church of God located in Rome to that located in Corinth," thus "through us" and "by us" signify the plural character of the community only. Neither is there a single sentence throughout, including those quoted, which any other Church, say of Ephesus or Antioch, might not have suitably addressed to a sister Church similarly troubled. Further, that the writer was Bishop of Rome at the time is an assumption wholly without evidence. To confound the self-declared letter of one Church to another with a claim to quasi-papal dictation, at once discredits the author as a historical critic.

That the pretensions of the See of Rome arose, when first noticeable, entirely from its central position and imperial importance, aided by its being the one known city of the West where two great apostles had laboured and died, is written broadly on the face of the history of the first four centuries. We can trace the pretensions of Rome *ab ovo*; first the egg and incubation, then the chick, next the

cockerel, until at last the full-fledged bird, tiara-crested and spurred, struts before the churches and kingdoms and crows lustily over them all.

Backed in its spiritual pretensions by the secular arm, and shamelessly accepting extension of spiritual jurisdiction from that arm purely and simply, that See was indebted in succession to Gratian, Valentinian, Pepin Heristal, and Karl the Great, for the position which it acquired in things temporal and spiritual. Its bishops became secular potentates and statesmen, as well as ecclesiastical chiefs. As policy dictated, they could confuse or distinguish the rights claimed under this head or that. And the result has been a constant confusion in history of their two functional aspects. As statesmen, measured by the mediæval standard, they average very high; as spiritual rulers, measured by that of the New Testament, they average very low. This confusion our author's mind has not escaped.

When the Church converted the world in the person of Constantine the Great, the conversion was largely mutual. Thence dates the introduction of coercive penalties such as banishment, deprivation, etc., against forms of misbelief or disbelief, the standard of legal orthodoxy being fixed by imperial edict. When the Church of the West gradually assimilated the young barbarian nations, the physical force was on the side of the neophytes, and then began the empire of fraud—pious fraud of course, which opened a long chapter of Church history of which we see not yet the end. The principle which underlay this was that a falsehood, told or acted, which conduced to an object ostensibly sacred, became thereby sanctified, and worthier of being propagated and accepted than the truth which it contradicted or displaced, not being ostensibly so conducive. Agreeably to this, falsehood is not reckoned among the deadly sins by a Church which claims to be an infallible teacher of morals. From "the world" which "lay in the Wicked One" that Church first took over his sceptre of violence, and then from him who "is a liar and the father of it," his sceptre of fraud. The astounding result is the mediæval papacy,

which, with these two principles of force and fraud concentrated in it, we are now told was infallible in its morality all along, and being so still, must necessarily retain, while it lasts, both these characteristics. The subtle combination of the two elements of force and fraud was the distinctive note of the Jesuits—the iron hand in the velvet glove, or rather all the hundred hands of Briareus at once so steeled and velveteed. Of the contributions of that fraternity, however, to “Modern Civilisation” no notice is taken by our author; save that on page 277 a trio of the Order is credited with a recasting of Latin devotional hymns. As the greatest opportunists of history, censured at intervals by eleven popes, expelled in turn from every nation which owns the papal sway, suppressed, and then restored, they surely merited something more than this scanty recognition. Possibly Mr. Lilly, having rose-watered the Inquisition (which was really the police office of the Canon Law, and therefore committed to the whole fabric of force and fraud which was built into it), may have a chapter in store for the Jesuits in some future edition.

As regards the present final chapter, on “Holy Matrimony,” those who believe that woman was created a wife, and that, therefore, facilities for divorce spell the moral ruin of womanhood, will without hesitation thank the author for his timely and powerful argument.

HENRY HAYMAN.

1. The Festival of Spring.

From the Divan of Jelal-ed-din. By William Hastie, D.D.
Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1903. 8vo, pp. xxxvii.
+ 63. Price 3s. net.

2. Economic Ideals.

By J. D. White. London: F. R. Henderson, 1903. Small
8vo, pp. 82. Price 2s. net.

3. Mönchtum und Sarapiskult.

Von E. Preuschen. Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhand-
lung, 1903. 8vo, pp. 68. Price 1s. 6d.

4. The Witness of Science to the Method of Christ's Kingdom.

By John Coultts. London: Hygienic Publishing Agency, 1903.
8vo, pp. 224.

5. Études sur l'ancienne poesie latine.

By H. de la Ville de Mirmont. Paris: Albert Fontemoing,
1903. 8vo, pp. 409.

6. Die Leibniz'sche Religionsphilosophie.

Von Dr. Phil. Heinrich Hoffmann. London: Williams &
Norgate, 1903. Royal 8vo, pp. 105. Price 2s.

7. History of Egypt.

By Röss G. Murison, M.A., B.D., Lecturer in Oriental Languages,
University College, Toronto. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
16mo, pp. 115. Price 6d. in paper, 8d. in cloth.

1. IT is sad to have to refer to the versatile author of this translation of Persian poems into English verse as the *late* Professor Hastie of Glasgow University. To his philosophical and theological and legal lore he added a pleasing faculty of writing verse. In this volume is contained his translation of fifty gazels from the Persian mystic poet Jelal-ed-din,

who flourished in the thirteenth century of our era. These gazels are odes in different metres celebrating love and religion. They are unequal in feeling and melody, but some of them contain exquisite turns of thought and expression. Perhaps the finest are those entitled "Faith," "Dependence," "Confession," "Renovation," "Love's Freedom," "Self-realisation".

Dr. Hastie writes a characteristically vigorous "appreciation" of Jelal-ed-din, who, he claims, is now acknowledged "as at once the Dante, the St. Bernard, the Spenser, the Milton, the Angelus Silesius and the Novalis of the Orient". He supports this rather superlative opinion by quotations from Von Hammer, Sir William Jones, Sir John Malcolm, Ethé, Hegel and other writers who esteem Jelal-ed-din's mystical and lyrical poetry. In closing his Introduction Dr. Hastie cannot resist an attack on the more popular Persian, Omar Khayyam, his morbid imagination, and the "neurotic votaries" of his cult.

2. This is an economic essay in a popular style arguing in favour of the Single Tax. The author has pondered the principles of taxation and discovered the injustice of the present method. He would remedy matters by making taxes fall on the owner rather than the occupier, by keeping all taxes off industries, and by free trade, as he calls it, in postal arrangements to facilitate distribution, and by free trade in money to liberate capital.

The book has only eighty pages, and being written in a general and popular manner it makes a pleasant afternoon's reading.

3. The author sets out to examine the alleged origin of Christian monachism from Egyptian religious practices and especially from the methods of the devotees of Serapis or Sarapis, on which recent papyri throw some light. The author, who is a licentiate of theology, has bestowed a good deal of attention on narratives relating to priests and priestesses attached to the temple of Serapis at Memphis, and

concludes that these attendants of the shrine in residence in the precincts of the temple were the forerunners of Christian monks and nuns. He quotes from various papyri descriptions of their duties, and discusses the force of such terms as *κατοχή*, *ιερόν*, which occur in the narratives. But it may be questioned if the thesis underlying the title is demonstrated, *viz.*, that there is a direct connexion between monkhood and Serapis worship. All the author succeeds in doing is to show that there was a body of self-denying *ιεροδουλοι* attached to the Serapeum at Memphis. The connexion of monachism with Egypt through St. Antony is rather implied than discussed in this essay.

4. The main purpose of this book seems to be to assert the reasonableness of the Bible as against popular Agnosticism. But in working out this idea the author is hampered by two faults. He seems unable to take or give a critical estimate of the movements referred to, and he cannot get free from a kind of hortatory homiletic on topics that had better be discussed calmly.

He is enamoured of the number seven and finds various cycles of seven in the physical, the intellectual and the psychical world. The result is a series of opinions on a number of topics, theological and scientific, which are doubtless interesting to the author but which do not grip the attention of the reader.

5. This is a volume of 400 pages containing critical studies of the fragmentary works of Latin poets like Andronicus and Lævius and unknown writers. The author, who is a Professor of Latin at the University of Bordeaux, writes in elegant French a fascinating study of Livius Andronicus, to whose works he devotes half the volume. This discussion reveals the distinguished place of Livius Andronicus as the father of Roman dramatic and epic poetry. The rest of the volume is taken up with four essays: on the *Carmen Nelei*, probably belonging to the same time as Livius Andronicus; on the life and work of Lævius; on the *Satura*, the nucleus

of the later drama, and finally on the *Nenia* or dirges, epitaphs, funeral orations, extant as fragments of unknown authors.

The book is well printed. Its bright style and scholarly treatment make it a pleasure to read.

6. The author investigates Leibniz's position as a contributor to the philosophy of religion from four points of view:—

(1) In relation to the crisis of religion which sprang from the method of scientific induction, in its youth in Leibniz's day. He was persuaded that religion and philosophy must coincide, philosophy settling the principles of religion. Thus religious problems must be undertaken for settlement by philosophy. He refused to admit the ultimate antagonism of religion and science, which he characterised as the hand-maid of religion for the glory of God.

(2) In relation to the leading truths of natural religion, *viz.*, God and the Soul, especially its immortality. Of the standing arguments for the existence of God Leibniz selects the teleological as the most convincing. There is a pre-established harmony which God works out in events. Unless we admit that God has an object in His action we are driven to atheism, according to Leibniz. In teleology is to be found the reconciliation between philosophy and religion: for if God is the ultimate ground of all things there cannot be final contradiction between various products of His mind. The God of Leibniz's thought is an infinitely perfect spirit akin to man. At times there is a pantheistic tendency in Leibniz, but his doctrine of the perfect monad makes for theism. Leibniz insists upon an immortality of continued consciousness. Anything less he considers absurd.

(3) In relation to religious life. Leibniz teaches that the knowledge of God leads to contentment with our lot and with the order of nature. Religion and optimism are thus bound up together. Pessimism is therefore irreligious. Surrender to God's will is the secret of contentment. The religious life shows itself in moral activity.

(4) In reference to the truths of revelation. Leibniz holds

that the proof of the credibility of revealed truth is in the domain of history. To prove the truth of Christianity is the object of history, and the development of religion has justified the claims of Christianity. Leibniz desired to rationalise Christianity and to arrive at the essence of the religion by a process of critical thinking which would eliminate the accidental elements that impress the popular imagination.

This study of the religious philosophy of Leibniz may be heartily recommended for its careful and lucid arrangement and for its explanation of the analysis by apt quotations and references.

This primer is a model of compactness. The writer out of the fulness of his own knowledge of the history of ancient Egypt has selected for special treatment the leading movements and silhouetted the bolder spirits among the rulers of Egypt. The result is a vivid picture of Egyptian history and customs and thought told in a bright taking way that will charm the youthful readers for whom the book is meant and lead many to read for themselves larger volumes on the mysterious land of the Pharaohs. The author uses, in the earlier dynasties where more divergence of opinion exists, two sets of dates, *viz.*, those of Petrie and those of Meyer. He appends to the volume a comparative chronological table showing the dates of events in Egypt, Babylon, Israel, and among other peoples.

There is a sanity of judgment in the volume that makes the reader eager to receive a larger volume from the author on the same theme. The prehistoric Egypt had other rulers than the earliest known to history, which begins in B.C. 4777 or B.C. 3180, according as we follow Petrie or Meyer. The conquerors who began history in Egypt probably came from Punt, a province at the further end of the Red Sea and lying on both sides of it.

The fascinating story of Egypt as told by this author dwells on the fourth dynasty, famous for Pyramids and Sphinx, on Pepi I., on the nobleman. Una, King Amenemhat I.,

Queen Hatshepsut, Tahutmes III., the greatest of Egyptian conquerors, the campaigner against Syrians and Hittites, Queen Tyi, the Syrian wife of Amenhotep III., the most influential woman in Egyptian history, where the succession was through the female line and where the position of woman was exceptionally high. To her influence is attributed a change in Egyptian religion in the direction of monotheism. These and other personages are vividly portrayed by the author who incidentally brings in the testimony of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets and the Israel Stele to elucidate the movements of Egypt, political and military. The author refers to Ramses II. (1320-1254) as the Pharaoh of the oppression and to Merenptah or Ramses III. as the Pharaoh of the Exodus.

From the tenth century downwards the history is rapidly sketched, as Egypt passed successively under the hands of Libya, Nubia, Assyria, Persia, till Alexander came and conquering Persia made Egypt Greek. Then came its Roman period followed by the long Moslem rule of 1200 years till Britain established her protectorate and gave a new beginning to the prosperity of the wonderful Delta of the Nile.

In a chapter on religion the author shows how under the obvious polytheism of Egypt there was a monotheistic core: he refers the popular worship of animals to aboriginal totemism. At some length he shows the place of Ra and Osiris in the Egyptian pantheon. Another chapter is properly devoted to the eschatology of Egypt, the book of the dead, the final judgment, rewards and punishments. National and political customs, science and art, literature and education are briefly summarised, giving just enough to whet the appetite for more.

This primer is one of the best in the excellent series to which it belongs. It reveals the hand of a master who arranges details to give a picture in true perspective. The author may well be congratulated on having written a great little book on a wide subject.

There is a misprint on p. 56 where 1370 should be 1320.

ALEXANDER TOMORY.

The Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India. By JOHN CAMPBELL OMAN, formerly Professor of Natural Science in the Government College, Lahore ; Author of *Indian Life, Religious and Social ; The Great Indian Epics ; Where Three Creeds Meet*, etc. ; with Illustrations by William Campbell Oman, A.R.I.B.A. London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1903. Medium 8vo, pp. xiii. + 291. Price 14s. net.

Those who know Mr. Oman's former publications, especially his volume on *Indian Life*, will expect much from this new book. Nor will they be disappointed. They will find here the same charm of style, the same easy mastery of material, the same happy art of engaging the reader's mind and sustaining his interest. He will find also many admirable illustrations, both photographs and sketches, which increase the attractiveness of the book and give us a more vivid idea of the subject.

The book, as its secondary title expresses it, is a "Study of Sadhuism, with an account of the Yogis, Sanyasis, Bairagas, and other strange Hindu sectaries". It introduces us to the most curious and most characteristic forms of Hindu Asceticism and Mysticism. It does not attempt to grapple with all the "peculiarities and minor differences of the innumerable Hindu ascetic sects and sub-sects," which would be an almost hopeless task ; but it gives us the broad outline of these systems as a whole and sufficient details to help us to a just conception of the more important types. In this way it aims at making a contribution to our knowledge of those more salient and persistent habits, mental peculiarities and tendencies, "which the native people of India have uninterruptedly exhibited through a long period of time," and thus placing us in a position to understand the "history, condition and prospects" of the Hindu race.

Taking *sadhu* as the general name for any Hindu, "ascetic, monk, or religious mendicant without reference to sect or order," and *faqir* as the corresponding term for any ascetic, etc., professing Mohammedanism, the author devotes the first four chapters to an exposition of the root ideas of Indian asceticism, and a description of the *sadhus* themselves as they appear in our own day. Much curious information is to be found in these chapters regarding the dress, the posturings, the purificatory rites, the thaumaturgy, the magical arts, the necromancy, the transmutation of metals, and the various wonders associated with the profession of the *sadhu* or the *faqir*. Abundant testimony also is produced from old Sanskrit dramas and other ancient sources, as well as from the reports of European travellers in India, to the fact that *Sadhuism* has been a very old and persistent feature in Indian life. Some chapters are next given to a sketch of the successive phases of Hinduism, the origin of the more important sects, the principal divisions of modern Hinduism, the great Sivite Reformer and his crusade against Buddhism, Ramanuja's campaign against Sivaism, the work of the great preachers of the Krishna worship and the worship of Rama and Sita, the modern democratic reformers, etc. In the course of these chapters the fundamental doctrines of Hindu theology are stated, and the tendency of the later sects to anthropomorphism is admirably brought out. Then follows a more detailed account of the sects and their subdivisions, much attention being given to the history, customs and rules of the Yogis. The book is brought to its conclusion by an interesting account of the Hindu monasteries, a general estimate of *Sadhuism* in its religious, social, political, intellectual and industrial aspects, and a forecast of its probable future.

It will be seen from this how wide a sweep the volume takes, how vast a mass of information it contains, and into how strange a region it takes us. The best of it is that it can be read with pleasure and ease, even when it is dealing with difficult questions of philosophy and theology, and with ideas far removed from those of the Western mind. Mr.

Oman fully recognises the persistency with which asceticism and mysticism assert themselves in one form or other in religion all the world over, and he brings these Indian forms into relation to the general movement of ascetic and mystical thought. He brings out very clearly how holiness of life according to the Hindu idea means renunciation, how all the strange ascetic phenomena are developments of this, and how little connexion Indian asceticism nevertheless has with the ethical life. On the whole, however, in the author's view *Sadhuism* has tended to keep contempt for the world and human things before men's eyes as something belonging to the highest ideal of religion, while it has also favoured a spirit of toleration and of regard for the poor. On its social side it has helped the recognition of the equality of all Hindus and has not been favourable to the system of caste. Intellectually, however, its spirit, Mr. Oman thinks, has been most baneful, "its tendency being to regard passing events—that is, history in the making—with undisguised contempt and the study of nature useless". As regards its future he is not very hopeful. He sees that the changes introduced into India by the Western peoples with their industrialism, the value they set on the active life, and their foreign ideas, are operating at present, and are certain to continue to operate, towards the discrediting and undermining of this ancient form of Hindu thought and practice.

The Life-Work of George Frederick Watts, R.A. By HUGH MACMILLAN, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E., F.S.A. (Scot.), Author of *The Poetry of Plants*, etc., etc. London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. + 302. Price 4s. 6d. net.

This is one of the *Temple Biographies*, edited by Mr. Dugald Macfadyen, and it is certain to rank among the best volumes of that tasteful and attractive series. One takes it up, however, with feelings of sadness. For it is the last piece of work that came from the hand of its gifted author. Dr. Hugh Macmillan wrote much in the years of his active life, and his books attained a wide and well-deserved circulation.

This volume was the fond work of his retirement, when he had obtained relief from the toils of a city congregation and was leading a life of quiet. He gave his heart to it, and almost saw it carried through the press. He corrected the proofs of the first thirteen chapters, but there his labours and his joys ended. Returning to Edinburgh after a brief holiday at Killin he "received the summons," as the editor fitly expresses it, "to meet that 'Love in Death' which he had known and served so well in life". So the volume opens with a "Prefatory Note" by Dr. Macmillan and closes with a "Memorial Note" by the editor.

The book is in every way a beautiful one—in its form, in its illustrations, and in its matter. It is enriched by a series of admirable reproductions from Mr. F. Hollyer's photographs. These include the portrait of John Stuart Mill, Orpheus and Eurydice, Paolo and Francesca, the Happy Warrior, Hope, and other well-known pictures. As frontispiece we get a charming photogravure of the poet himself in his garden—taken from a photograph by A. Fraser Tytler, Esq. And there are other reproductions of photographs by Mr. Fraser Tytler and Mr. E. H. Mills. The letterpress has all the qualities of the lamented author's style—picturesque, tasteful, appreciative writing. Dr. Macmillan could write *con amore* of the painter of "Hope". There were few men with whom he was in deeper sympathy, few painters whom he so greatly valued. After an introductory sketch of pre-Victorian art he gives an interesting account of Mr. Watts himself, his early life, his visits to Florence and Greece, his personal habits and methods, and then develops his study in a series of chapters dealing with the Portrait Painter, the Interpreter of Nature, Greek Myths, Scenes and Incidents from Hebrew Story, Allegories, Realism, etc. The closing chapters are given to an exposition of the unity and harmony of all Mr. Watts's pictures, his position as a sculptor and his literary work. The object kept in view throughout is to give a "literary interpretation of what Watts, with larger, other eyes than ours, has seen in nature, poetry and myth, and in human character". To Dr. Macmillan the work of

this great artist was the expression of his character, and he rejoiced, as if it were an honour done to himself, in the recognition which came to him at last after long years of neglect. He says much that is true and stimulating in his interpretations of the pictures which he studies more at length, and much that is of value on that "lofty idealism" which was to him the best and most distinctive note of the genius of G. F. Watts. As we look into this book we can well understand how reverently he studied the most characteristic pictures of the man whom he regarded as England's greatest artist; how he derived from them, as he tells us, "much intellectual insight and elevation of the soul"; and what a delight it was to him to compare his "own impressions with those of many others who have devoted themselves to the same fascinating task".

Forerunners of Dante. An Account of some of the more Important Visions of the Unseen World, from the Earliest Times. By MARCUS DODS, M.A. (Edin.), B.A. (Cantab.). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 275. Price 4s. net.

For centuries the opinion prevailed that Dante had no forerunners in the proper sense of the term, but that the wonderful and often appalling descriptions in the *Divine Comedy* were new things—the pure creations of his own mighty genius. The time for such conceptions of the way in which the most consummate products of original genius have come into being is long past, and in Dante's case, as in that of others, much has been done in investigating the sources of his inspiration. It is universally recognised that the great Florentine, like our own Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton, not only worked with the ideas current in his time, but made large use of materials transmitted from the past. It is of great interest to ascertain what these materials were which were ready to Dante's hand, which he could cast into the crucible of his majestic imagination, and which came out from its fires in the beautiful and terrible forms familiar to us in his great poem.

The idea of this book, therefore, is an excellent one; and Mr. Dods has carried it out well. His object is to make us acquainted with the ideas of Purgatory, Heaven and Hell, which were current at the beginning of the fourteenth century, which also had a long history behind them and at last found their "master-interpreter" in Dante. He seeks to trace for us "from their earliest beginnings the general notions of a future life, to follow the main line of development, and roughly to present the full-grown conception as it most commonly occurred at the time of its greatest and immortal exponent". The subject, of course, is one of vast extent, and Mr. Dods does not lay claim to anything like an exhaustive statement. He wisely avoids all excursions into the regions of cartography, parody, art, and the like. He also omits the peculiar ideas of India and China. He begins with the legends of Babylonia and Egypt, proceeds to those of Greece and Rome, and ends with the literature of the Romance languages. The field even with these limitations is a very large one, but Mr. Dods has given a very good survey of what it contains, taking his matter from the best sources and presenting it in a clear and orderly way. His book reads excellently well, and his accounts of things will be found reliable. Occasionally his statements are too sweeping and unqualified, as when, *e.g.*, he speaks of the idea "substantiated by the story of Karinus and Leucius," namely, that Christ's mission in the underworld was to "liberate from Hades or the intermediate state, and to take with Him to Paradise the souls of those who, born before His time, had had no chance of His redemption," as the now "almost universally accepted exegesis of St. Peter's passage". Much of the matter is familiar enough, but it is convenient to have it brought together in the handy and readable form in which Mr. Dods puts it. The mediæval legends are less known than the old Babylonian lore and the early Christian stories. Mr. Dods has done well to gather these together. We know no such handy collection of these legends as that which is given in this book, and we owe the author our thanks for it. An index, however, is much needed.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Kant's Gesammelte Schriften.

Herausgegeben von der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Band IV. Erste Abteilung: Werke, Vierter Band. Berlin: George Reimer; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. + 652. Price M.12.

Kant: Naturgesetze, Natur- und Gotteserkenntnis. Eine Kritik der reinen Vernunft.

Von Professor Dr. L. Weis. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn. 8vo, pp. viii. + 257. Price 3s. 9d.

THIS volume, which is the fourth of Kant's collected works, is the first of his critical writings. The volumes are not published according to their consecutive numbers. We have already recorded in the CRITICAL REVIEW the three volumes of the Correspondence, being the tenth, eleventh and twelfth of the collected works, and, also, the first volume of the works. The present volume contains the "Kritik der reinen Vernunft," the "Prolegomena zu einer jeden künstlichen Metaphysik," the "Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten," and the "Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Naturwissenschaft". We ought to say that here there is only a part of the treatise, the *Critique of Pure Reason*. The text is that of the first edition. Every student of Kant knows that Kant made considerable changes in the text of the second edition. He omitted many parts of the first edition and substituted for them other statements. Many will remember the accusations made by Schopenhauer when he discovered the changes that had been made by Kant, and the motives he attributed to Kant for making the change. The statements of Schopenhauer will be found in his treatise on the *World as Will and Representation* and in his other writings, for he made the statements more than once. What is printed here is the text of the first edition as it appeared in 1781. It includes everything, down to the end of the section, on the Paralo-

gisms of Pure Reason. Careful attention has been given to the text, and apparently the text affords considerable scope for the exercise of textual criticism. On this Max Müller says: "The text of Kant's *Critique* has of late years become the subject of the most minute philological criticism, and it certainly offers as good a field for the exercise of critical scholarship as any of the Greek or Roman classics.

We have, first of all, the text of the first edition, full of faults, arising partly from the imperfect state of Kant's manuscript, partly from the carelessness of the printer. Kant received no proof-sheets, and he examined the first thirty clean sheets, which were in his hands when he wrote the preface, so carelessly that he could detect in them only one essential misprint. Then followed the second "here and there improved" edition (1787), in which he not only omitted and added considerable passages, but paid some little attention also to the correctness of the text, improving the spelling and the stopping, and removing a number of archaisms which often perplex the reader of the first edition (Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, translated by Max Muller, vol. i., preface, pp. liii., liv.). Every German editor of the *Critique* has done something for the text, and the present editor has had the advantage of their work, and of the reasons given for their adoption of any change. One may safely say that here we have the authoritative text of the *Critique*.

The editor of the *Critique* is Benno Erdmann. The introduction is an admirable bit of work. It is brief, but most illuminative. It describes the origin, the growth, and the completion of the idea which is embodied in Kant's three *Critiques*. By a diligent use of Kant's correspondence he is able to trace the evolution of the idea through its successive stages. First there is "Die Dämmerungsperiode der Idee, 1765-1769". Second, "Die Periode der definitiven Entwicklung der Idee, 1769-1776". In this Erdmann marks two stages. First the distinction between the Sensible and the Intellectual, and second the origin of the Intellectual. The discussion is full of interest and most instructive. Erdmann is also the editor of the "Prolegomena," and the work here is equally well done. Paul Menzer edits the "Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der

Sitten," and the editor of the "Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Naturwissenschaft" is Alois Hoßler. We need not say that the work of each editor is a labour of love. The editors and the Royal Prussian Academy are engaged in raising an enduring monument to the memory of one of the greatest thinkers of the Teutonic race, who is also one of the greatest thinkers of humanity. We wish them all success in their pious undertaking.

It is a coincidence that a notice of the re-publication of the *Critique of Pure Reason* should be followed by a notice of a book which is a criticism of the main contentions of that work. In the preface Professor Weis says: "I am neither the first nor the only one who has been perplexed by Schopenhauer's exposition of the *Critique* of Kant, but I am, indeed, the first who have looked at Kant's whole critical work from the standpoint of the science of experience" (Erfahrungswissenschaft). We regret that we cannot give any detailed account of this work. We have found it to be full of interest, and its criticism seems relevant. Professor Weis is evidently a man who knows his subject, and can state his case with clearness and vigour. Briefly, the first part of the book deals with Kant's scientific work, mainly with his Theory of the Heavens. Professor Weis thinks that he has discovered flagrant contradictions between the view of the scientific works and the views of the *Critique*. We think that he has made good his case. But a Kantian might reply that the pre-critical writings of Kant were written from a standpoint which was afterwards transcended by Kant. This is, indeed, the only reply that can be made. The second part deals with what he calls the negative, or the destructive aspect of Kant's system. And here there are many striking remarks. The third part which has the title, "Aus der Welt der Erfahrung," deals with the more positive part of Kant's teaching, with religion and morality, with the knowledge of nature, with moral law and the proof for the being of God, and with related topics. We simply say that it is a vigorous, stimulating and worthy work.

JAMES IVERACH.

Notices.

THE opening article in the October issue of the *Hibbert Journal* is by Dr. Edward Caird, the subject being *St. Paul and Evolution*. It takes the Apostle's great work to have been that of universalising the principle of Christianity and freeing it from its Jewish envelope; and it recognises the comprehensiveness of his religious view of life. It offers some good remarks on the psychology of conversion, and gives an outline of Paul's interpretation of the history of humanity before and after Christ. There is much that is suggestive and well put in the paper, especially with regard to the antithetic character of Paul's teaching and to that as a result of his personal experience. In some of its points, indeed, it is rather the pronouncement of a philosopher judging the Apostle by the inapplicable standard of philosophy, than the statement of the historical interpreter. It does not do justice to some of the main positions in the Pauline teaching, *e.g.*, the doctrine of the Spirit, the new homage which the law receives in the man in whom the Spirit of Christ lives, and the doctrines of the Atonement and the End. But, even when he regards Paul's teaching as one-sided, Dr. Caird recognises at once the reason for this and the strength that went with it. Professor Jones gives his second paper on "The Present Attitude of Reflective Thought towards Religion". His opinion is that the defenders of religion have too often played into the hands of scepticism by "endeavouring to represent religious phenomena as unique, or as constituting some higher order, which human reason could neither deny nor demonstrate". And his conclusion is that, "if it can be shown that reason, in its speculative and moral use, rests upon the same presupposition as religion; if our intellectual and moral experience as a whole is a progressive proof that this presupposition is valid; if,

above all, the very possibility of any intellectual act, however primitive, and of any moral good, however rudimentary, implies the conception of an absolute truth and absolute goodness as their condition, then the destiny of religion will be identified with that of our life as rational beings. It cannot be denied without stultifying the intelligence, and therefore cannot be denied at all." Professor Lewis Campbell contributes an interesting paper on "Morality in Aeschylus," and there is another suggestive paper on a classical subject, "Plato's Conception of Death," by Professor Bosanquet. But there is no article that will better repay perusal in this number than the one by Dr. G. F. Stout on Mr. F. W. H. Myers's "Human Personality and the Survival of Bodily Death". It is an admirable criticism, thoroughly scientific—sympathetic, but searching. The examination of Mr. Myers's representation of the "Subliminal Self" is particularly acute. It should carry conviction with it. It will at least lead many to look again into that whole conception and Mr. Myers's use of it.

The fourth issue of the *Studien und Kritiken* for the year opens with an article by Licentiate Johannes Wendland on "Philosophy and Religion," discussing at much length, and in a critical spirit, the relations of the two in the light of the newer theories, and attempting to draw out the proper distinctions between them. The positions of Kant, F. A. Lange, E. Adickes, Ritschl, Herrmann, Kaftan, Otto Ritschl, Lipsius, Sabatier, Frank, etc., are passed under review. The writer's own conclusion is substantially the same as that given by Dr. Wobbermin. Philosophy and theology have different points of issue. The former starts with the facts of Nature and the intellectual life; the latter with the facts of the religious experience. Their distinctions and their relations are determined thereby. Dr Hellmuth Zimmermann writes on "Luke and the Johannine Tradition". The point of the paper is to show, by comparison of a series of passages in which Luke and John are in agreement as distinguished from Matthew and Mark, that Luke must have been acquainted with a tradition different

from that of Matthew and Mark or supplementing it, which we have in the Fourth Gospel—not that John must have been acquainted with something in Luke. There is a paper also by Pastor Knacke on the “Sermons of Tertullian and Cyprian,” and some observations by Dr. Karl Graebert, of Halle, on “Two Original Letters of Bugenhagen’s”.

In the *Methodist Review* for September-October we notice a paper by Professor Jacob Cooper, of Rutgers’s College, New Brunswick, on “Scientific Proofs for Immortality,” in which it is argued that if there be a conservation and persistence of energy in the physical world, *a fortiori* must that be the case “in that domain for which the physical world was made”. Professor E. König, of Bonn, writes on “Some Diseases of Modern Biblical Criticism,” among which he enumerates the intrusion into Old Testament studies of inapplicable standards taken from ethnic religions; the assumption that between peoples geographically or genealogically related there must be identity of religious conceptions; a certain colour-blindness in looking at the materials in hand; and a strange “credulity” in the reliance upon notes of style, metre and the like as the basis of sweeping conclusions. Dr. A. H. Tuttle contributes a good sketch of Frederick Robertson, of Briggston; and among other readable papers there is a forcible statement by Dr. J. B. Young, of Cincinnati, of the “argument from mathematical order”.

The 163rd number of the *Johns Hopkins University Circular* contains some notes by Professor Paul Haupt on “Bible and Babel,” “Archæology and Mineralogy,” “David’s Dirge on Saul and Jonathan,” etc., as also papers by Christopher Johnston on the “Laws of Hammurabi and the Mosaic Code,” and “Cuneiform Medicine”; by Frank Blake on the “Siloam Inscription,” “Sanskrit Loan-words in Tagalog,” etc. It is a valuable number, full of scholarly matter and suggestive discussion.

The *Homiletic Review* promises well in its new form. In its September issue Professor T. Harwood Pattison, of Rochester, N.Y., gives an appreciative sketch of “Alexander Maclaren, Preacher”; Professor A. S. Hoyt, of Auburn, gives

his impressions of some of "The Younger Preachers of the Church of England"—Bishop Gore, Bishop Ingram, the Bishop of Stepney, Canon Henson and the late Father Dolling. In the *Review* section there are other good papers; while the *Sermonic* section contains representative discourses by Dr. Lorimer, of New York, the Rev. J. Morgan Gibson, of London, Dr. Maclaren, of Manchester, and others. Social questions have a large place in this magazine and are very intelligently handled from month to month. In this issue we get an instructive paper by the Rev. W. T. D. Bliss on "Social Thought and Movement," dealing with such topics as "Leo XIII. and Labour," "Christ's Method," etc.

The fifth issue of the *Revue de Théologie et des Questions religieuses* for 1903 has several papers of considerable importance. Professor Henri Bois commences a very thorough examination of Harnack's views on the "Person of Jesus and the Gospel of Jesus". We must wait for the continuation of the article before we can judge of Professor Bois's criticism as a whole. But the paper is one that will repay careful reading. M. C. Bruston continues his discussion of "The Christian Doctrine of Immortality," dealing now with the Pauline doctrine of the resurrection of the body and other ideas related to that; and M. Petavel-Olliff gives the conclusion of his critical study of the "Logic of Expiation and M. Auguste Sabatier's Point of View". There are other good papers by E. Vaucher and Jean Friedel and an obituary notice of Charles Renouvier.

The *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* for October contains papers by Richard Butterworth on "John Norris"; F. J. Brown on "The Evidential Value of Christian Experience"; John G. Tasker on "The Bicentenary Life of Zinzendorf," and others of much interest. In the issue of *The Guild* for the same month we notice a bright paper by Henry Martin on the question "Why am I a Christian?"

In *East and West* for October we have first a very able paper by the Rev. J. C. Gibson, D.D., of Swatow, "A Study in the Character of the Chinese," which sets them before us as a "great people, with fine capacities and powers, stained by

grievous faults and enslaved by foul vices, but wanting only the quickening Word and the truth of the liberating Spirit to rise to a new and splendid life". Two papers, one by James Monro, C.B., and the other anonymous, discuss, from very different standpoints, the relation of the Higher Criticism to missionary work. There are other informing articles on "The Christian Martyrs of Japan in the Seventeenth Century," by S. Ballard; "The Anglican in the South Pacific," by Bishop Montgomery; "Education in South Africa—our Opportunity and our Duty," by the Rev. S. A. Donaldson, etc.

The *Catholic World* for October contains a paper by Geoffrey Devereux on "Dr. Briggs and the Catholic Church". It deals briefly with the article contributed by Dr. Briggs to the July issue of the *American Journal of Theology* on "Catholic: the Name and the Thing". The view which the writer takes of that article is that it must create a sensation among Episcopalians, both by the concessions it makes and the things it says about the injury done to the Church of England in the past by her "arrogant exclusiveness as a national Church". It concludes by recalling what John Henry Newman said of himself when he was yet in the Anglican Church: "I am as a man who is on his road to a city which he sees in the distance. I am going there, but I am yet on the road, and must take many steps before I reach it." In applying this to Dr. Briggs, and in the general view which it takes of his paper, the article exaggerates and misconstrues things. There are other very readable papers in this issue, *e.g.*, one by Ellis Schreiber on "Canterbury"; another by Thomas B. Reilly on "Cellini and his Memoirs," etc.

In the *Bulletin de Littérature ecclésiastique* for July-October there are two articles which deserve special mention, *viz.*, "Notes de littérature Sémitique," by A. C., and a thesis by M. Dufour on "L'inspiration de la Sainte Écriture depuis le Concile du Vatican". There is also a good paper by P. B. on the legend of St. Thais.

The *Open Court* for September has a curious paper by Dr.

G. T. Knight on "The Praise of Hypocrisy," discussing first the hypocrisy of the good and then the good of hypocrisy. The editor, Dr. Paul Carus, contributes a paper on "Mesha's Declaration of Independence," giving the facts about the famous stone, comparing Mesha's statement with the Biblical narrative, and giving Neubauer's account of the history of the stone since Klein's discovery of it.

In the *Revue d'Histoire et de littérature religieuses* for September-October, Franz Cumont writes on Ambrosiaster's *Polemic against the Pagans*, and M. Alfred Loisy completes his interesting series of papers on "The Sermon on the Mount"—a very instructive study, especially in its treatment of the Synoptic parallels.

The *Journal of Theological Studies* for October opens with an article by the Rev. J. Beveridge entitled "Against the Stream". It gives a clear and interesting account of a controversy which has been raging for a considerable time in Norway on the character and tendency of the popular theology and preaching in the Norwegian Church. In the course of the article we get good sketches of some of the outstanding figures in Norwegian theology and religious life, and are made acquainted with several men of mark hitherto little known to us. The Rev. K. Lake continues his excellent sketches of the Greek monasteries in the Levant. Professor Sanday contributes a short paper on "The Site of Capernaum," in which he declares a change of mind since he wrote his book on "Sacred Sites of the Gospels". In that book his inclination was toward the *Khan Minyeh* theory. Now he confesses that he overlooked the fact that the word *Capernaum* does not necessarily mean the *town* of that name, but may be applied to the *territory* subject to it. For this and other reasons he transfers his vote "to the other side which has throughout claimed such high authorities as Sir Charles Wilson and Professors Socin, Schürer, Buhl and Guthe," that is, to the theory of *Tell Hum*. In the *Notes and Studies* we get some elaborate and scholarly articles on the "Old Latin Texts of the Minor Prophets," by the Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley; Codex *k* by Messrs. Turner and Burkitt;

the Christology of Clement of Alexandria, by the Rev. V. Ermoni, etc. In the *Chronicle* we have two very useful summaries of recent contributions to Patristic and Hagiographical literature, by Mr. C. H. Turner and Dom Butler.

We have also to notice the following: *Der Apostel Paulus als armer Sünder*,¹ by Lic. theol. Max Mayer, a contribution to the Pauline doctrine of *Sin*, examining at some length and in an independent way first the Apostle's consciousness of a Divine Call and then his consciousness of sin, contesting the representations given by Holtzmann, Kraft and Wernle of the results of his conversion, and finding in the seventh chapter of Romans (which he understands to be a description of the Apostle's experiences in the new life and not a picture of his own condition or that of man generally prior to conversion) the classical statement and completed summary of all that he says on the subject of what sin was to himself; the second volume of the popular condensed edition of *The Journal of John Wesley*,² carrying on the wonderful story of the labours of the great evangelist from 6th May, 1760, to 24th October, 1790, a welcome and most valuable issue of a great book, to which the Rev. W. L. Watkinson has contributed an admirable introduction — a book that ought to be read and read again by all interested in the progress of the Kingdom of God in our land and in the inner history of a great personality; the fourteenth volume of the *Expository Times*,³ a great storehouse of interesting and useful matter of many different kinds, and suitable to different classes, students, scholars and preachers, contributed by competent writers enlisted in the service from various churches and countries, and controlled with skill and discernment by the editor, Dr. James Hastings, who spares no pains to keep the magazine up to the reputation it has

¹ Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. 58. Price 1s. net.

² London: James H. Kelly, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 485.

³ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. 4to, pp. 568. Price 7s. 6d.

deservedly won ; *Five and Twenty Years in a Hebrew Chair*,¹ by James Robertson, D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages in the University of Glasgow, partly a review of academic work which will be of special interest to the writer's students, and partly a survey of the course taken by Old Testament criticism during the years in question, in which some judicious and timely remarks are made in protest against the dogmatic and positive attitude of the representatives of the more advanced schools, the extremes to which they have carried the process of minute dissections of texts, and the assumptions with which they approach the study of the Old Testament literature—assumptions not justified by what we see of the religious condition and history of untutored peoples in our own day ; the twenty-fourth volume of *Young England*,² a book entitled to a very high place among publications of its kind in respect of the varied excellence both of its subject-matter and its illustrations ; the third volume of *Boys of the Empire*,³ a magazine admirably conducted by Howard H. Spencer, and heartily to be commended ; the second volume of *Girls of the Empire*,⁴ full of helpful and attractive matter, and certain to interest and instruct young readers ; *Fighting Fearful Odds*,⁵ and *The Haunted Ship*,⁶ two stirring tales, the work of Robert Leighton, forcibly told, healthy in tone, and tastefully illustrated ; *Ralph Sinclair's Atonement*,⁷ by Antony Sargent, and *The Squire's Heir*,⁸ by Evelyn Everett-Green, two volumes, telling in fit and well-chosen terms a story of life that is full of interest and charged with an appropriate moral lesson ; *In the Land of Ju-Ju*,⁹ by Robert Leighton, appropriately

¹ Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood & Sons, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 40. Price 6d. net.

² London : Sunday School Union. 4to, pp. 484. Price 5s.

³ London : Andrew Melrose. 4to, pp. 1050. Price 7s. 6d.

⁴ London : Andrew Melrose. 4to, pp. 476. Price 5s.

⁵ London : Andrew Melrose. Small 4to, pp. 270. Price 3s. 6d.

⁶ London : Andrew Melrose. Small 4to, pp. 310. Price 5s.

⁷ London : Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 255. Price 2s.

⁸ London : Andrew Melrose. Small 4to, pp. 395. Price 5s.

⁹ London : Andrew Melrose, 1903. Small 4to, pp. 343. Price 5s.

dedicated to Mr. Wilfred Styer of Uppingham School—a tale of Benin the City of Blood, told in thrilling terms and admirably fulfilling the object with which it is written, *viz.*, to teach “something of the difficulties and perils that are faced by our fellow-countrymen in the work of civilising and opening up commerce with the native races of West Africa, and in their efforts to abolish the worship of Ju-Ju and the horrid practice of human sacrifice”; *Charles Haddon Spurgeon, a Biographical Sketch and an Appreciation*,¹ an anonymous volume, but evidently the work of one who knew the great preacher well, and which will be welcome to a very large class of readers—a vivid, interesting, sympathetic sketch of a remarkable man and a wonderful career, for which the writer deserves our cordial thanks, and which will have a place of its own notwithstanding all that has been already published in the form of Lives and Appreciations of the famous pastor of the Tabernacle; *The Doctrine of the Church in Scottish Theology*,² by the late Rev. John Macpherson, M.A., being the sixth series of the “Chalmers Lectures” connected with the United Free Church of Scotland—a posthumous publication carefully edited by the Rev. Dr. C. G. M’Crie, which gives a very good account of the polemic of the older Scottish theologians in the controversy with the upholders of episcopacy, a review of their ideas of the constitution and powers of the Church, and interesting sketches of many of the men themselves; *Studies in Theology*,³ by J. Estlin Carpenter and P. H. Wicksteed, a series of papers with most of which many have made acquaintance in other forms, but welcome nevertheless as thus collected and republished, dealing with subjects of great importance—“The Religion of Time and the Religion of Eternity,” “The Place of Immortality in Religious Belief,” “The Place of Jesus in History,” etc.—from the standpoint of a liberal Unitarianism, but with ability, candour and reverence, and opening up

¹ London: Andrew Melrose, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 208. Price 2s. 6d. net.

² Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. 8vo, pp. viii. + 227.

³ London: 1903. 8vo, pp. 343. Price 5s. net.

not a few avenues of thought which are worth investigation *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century*,¹ by J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A., Lecturer on the History of Religion, Manchester College, Oxford, a series of eight lectures delivered in various towns in England, Scotland and Wales during the years 1900-1903, with the object of awakening "the interest of Christians of all Churches in the modern study of the sacred books of their religion"—of which we can only say at present that, while they occasionally present views of things, especially in New Testament Criticism, which will not obtain general assent, they give a good, popular sketch of the course which opinion and inquiry have run, the important changes which have taken place in the attitude of scholars to many questions, lucid statements of the new conceptions of the Law and Prophecy, and a fair outline of the processes and results of literary investigation into the origin of the Gospels.

¹ London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903. 8vo, pp. xv. + 512. Price 10s. 6d. net.

Record of Select Literature.

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- MIKETTA, K. Der Pharao des Auszuges. Eine exeget. Studie. Freiburg i. Br.: Herder. 8vo, pp. viii. + 120. M.2.60.
- HOLZINGER, H. Numeri, erklärt. (Kurzer Handkommentar z. Alt. Testam. hrsg. v. K. Marti. 19 Lfg.) Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. xviii. + 176. M.3.75; Subskr. M.2.50.
- BERLINER, A. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Raschi-Commentare. Berlin: E. Rosenstein. 8vo, pp. iii. + 51. M.2.
- ERMONI, V. La Bible et l'Orientalisme. III. La Bible et l'Archéologie Syrienne. Paris: Bloud et Cie. 16mo, pp. 64. Fr.0.60.
- AUCHINCLOSS, W. S. The only Key to Daniel's Prophecies. Introd. by A. H. Sayce. New York: D. van Nostrand Co. 16mo, pp. 173. \$0.75.
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- DAICHES, S. Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus der Zeit der Hammurabi-Dynastie. (Leipziger-semitische Studien, hrsg. v. A. Fischer u. H. Zimmern. 1 Bd. 2 Heft.) Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. iv. + 100. M.3.20.
- MÜLLER, E. Der Babelismus, der Kaiser u. die orthodoxe Theologie. Berlin: Stuhr. 8vo, pp. 36. M.1.
- KÖNIG, E. Der Kampf um das Alte Testament. 1 Heft. Glaubwürdigkeits-Spuren des Alten Testaments. Gr. Lichterfelde: E. Runge. 8vo, pp. 54. M.0.75.

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- LEHMANN, C. F. Babyioniens Kulturmission einst u. jetzt. Ein Wort der Ablenk. u. Aufklärg. zum Babel-Bibel-Streit. Leipzig: Dieterich. 8vo, pp. iii. + 88. M.1.20.
- RANKE, H. Die Personennamen in den Urkunden der Hammurabi-Dynastie. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss der semitischen Namenbildung. München. 8vo, pp. 53.
- McFADYEN, J. E. Old Testament Criticism and the Christian Church. New York: Scribner. 8vo, pp. ii. + 375. \$1.50.
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- KÖNIG, E. Die Gottesfrage und der Ursprung des Alten Testaments. Gr. Lichterfelde: E. Runge. 8vo, pp. 57. M.o.80.
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- Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. 8vo, pp. iii. + 117. M.1.80.
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- FRIEDLÄNDER, M. Geschichte der jüdischen Apologetik als Vorgeschichte des Christentums. Zürich: C. Schmidt. 8vo, pp. xv. + 499. M.8.
- BRIE, M. Savonarola in der deutschen Litteratur. Breslau: M. und H. Marcus. 8vo, pp. vii. + 96. M.3.
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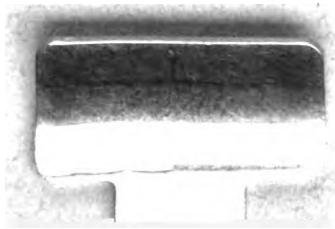
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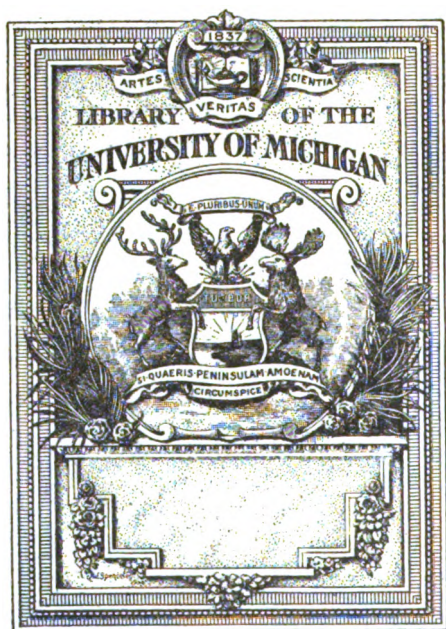
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A Quartette of Norse Preachers.

THERE are 5,000 people in Norway interested enough in preaching to procure for themselves the volumes of sermons issued ; and as the population is not much greater than that of Wales such a number must be deemed very good. How many preachers in Wales, in Scotland or in England can command such a circle of readers ? In the case of four Norwegian ministers sometimes merely a period of a month or two elapses between the issue of the first edition of a volume and the publication of the third, completing the 5,000 copies. And a perusal of their sermons enables even a non-Norwegian or a non-Lutheran to understand their popularity ; and something characteristic in each of them helps a reader to see that whatever may be the case with the average priest in Norway there is nothing stereotyped about the preaching of the popular men. And yet there is this singularity about them that the subjects are almost invariably drawn from the Gospels ; that there is hardly ever a lecture or exposition of a passage of Scripture, although the theme is usually the Gospel for the day ; that the treatment is rarely textual ; that when the sermon happens to be divided there is seldom any attempt at balancing the parts ; and that illustrations in the form of anecdotes or historical and literary references are most sparingly employed.

Johan Storm Munch, the oldest of the quartette, has well-nigh reached the fourscore years. He belongs to a famous family which has given the Norwegian Church and nation many able men ; and he himself has had a most interesting history. He was a Norse minister in the United States for four years. He was chaplain to the naval representatives of Norway at the opening of the Suez Canal ; and at that time he paid a visit to the Holy Land, a visit that had a great influence on his spiritual life and ministerial labours.

Some thirty years ago in many districts in Norway there was a distinct revival of religion which led to strenuous endeavours to secure much-needed reforms in the ultra-Erastian Lutheran State Church, and Munch was one of the most zealous reformers. He was distinguished among the Norwegian clergy for his passion for souls, and a special blessing seemed to rest on his labours in the parish of Horten, of which he was incumbent. The influence of the revival there passed far beyond the bounds of his cure and is gratefully remembered still. Munch tried to make the most of the Norwegian ritual and his ordination vows. He objected strongly to compulsory confirmation, to absolution without previous confession and to various other rubrics and regulations of the Church. The Bishop and the Church Department interfered with his Puritan zeal; and rather than be false to his conscience Munch resigned his parish and published *My Relation to the State Church and its Office*, which attracted enormous attention. And his attitude was justified; for some of the reforms he contended for have been granted by the Government, and the others still withheld have been appealed for by several National Church gatherings along the lines desired by Munch a generation ago.

Wettergreen, another State Church minister, having also resigned his cure for conscience sake, Munch and he visited Scotland in company in order to learn something about non-State religion and Free Church life. On their return to Norway they were welcomed by an immense gathering of sympathisers, and at the conference which followed the main resolutions arrived at were that "most of the evils existing in the Norwegian Church were due to her bondage to the State; that reform from within could hardly be expected; and that if a Free Church was to be organised the Presbyterian form of Church government was best in accordance with the Word of God". As a result of the conference the Free Lutheran Church in Norway took origin, with Wettergreen at its head, and that Church, Free, Evangelical and Lutheran, has had a most honourable history.

But Munch did not quite despair of the State Church, and

although he would no longer bind himself with the priest's oath he devoted his powers as a preacher to winning souls for Christ under the ægis of the National Church. In a great public hall in Christiania for a period of upwards of five and twenty years he has gathered every Sunday vast crowds from all classes of society to hear the Gospel preached as at first at least it was only preached by himself. And years ago when a collection of sermons was issued in Germany purporting to give specimens of the very best preaching in various lands, a magnificent sermon of Munch's was chosen to represent Norway, and few sermons in all the collection could compare with it for point and grace, for eloquence and unction, for spiritual insight and passionate zeal for immortal souls.

We have seen three volumes of sermons by Pastor Munch issued at intervals of ten years.¹

In the seventies the average length of Munch's sermons was 6,500 words, in the eighties it was 3,300, and in the nineties 2,200. In these three volumes one meets a man who greatly reminds us of Spurgeon, a strong man in every sense, vigorous, intellectual, eloquent, evangelical, a man mighty in the Scriptures, using quotations from God's Word both frequently and well. From a present-day standpoint the first volume is heavier than the others; each sermon being prefaced with a three-minute prayer and introduced with the formula, "Fellow-redeemed in Christ Jesus: Grace be with you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ". Some of these sermons are the nearest approach we have seen in Norwegian pulpit literature to textual and expository preaching, and more justice is done to the subject than in his later and briefer sermons.

In his volume *I Know that My Redeemer Liveth* (which reached the high-water mark of 8,000 copies) we have a collection of sermons, mainly topical but occasionally textual;

¹ *Kom til Jesus* (Come to Jesus), U. M. K. Forenings Forlag, Christiania, 1876. *Jeg ved at min Frelser lever* (I know that my Redeemer liveth), S. Mittet, Christiania, 1888. *Glæde i Herren er eders Styrke* (The joy of the Lord is your strength), S. Mittet, Christiania, 1897.

ripe, clear, pithy, practical utterances, setting forth the main doctrines of the Christian faith, singularly free from the Lutheran vice of ecclesiastical dogmatism and laying the main emphasis on salvation by faith through grace. The third volume, *The Joy of the Lord is Your Strength*, gives us sermons on the Gospels for the whole Church year. They naturally vary greatly, and the book would have been better if it had contained but half the number; although it would not then have revealed so much of Munch's average ability, it would have contained deliverances every one in some respect being happy, striking, heart-searching, soul-seeking. And yet whatever the subject, each sermon reveals a preacher who gives us some fresh, inspiring thoughts, and every hearer of them must have realised anew the value of the soul, the need of decision for Christ, and the joy of assured redemption. Well, indeed, on the occasion of Munch's ministerial jubilee in 1900, might the King create the veteran preacher a Knight of St. Olaf, for he has proved himself to be a worthy soldier of St. Olaf's Lord; and we cannot doubt that had Munch not been constrained by conscience to leave the regular pastorate of the Norwegian Church he would long ago have been raised to the episcopate like his father before him.

The second of our quartette of preachers is J. J. Jansen, who five years ago, at the early age of fifty-four, had to give up the ministry on account of broken health. Although Munch retired from the regular ministry nearly thirty years ago he still preaches to great audiences weekly; but now Jansen only preaches, with the exception of an occasional University sermon, through his printed sermons, and no preacher in Norway can command so large a circle of readers.

In his early childhood Jansen was a voracious reader of history and romance, and in his tenth year he wrote a sermon, the subject, *mirabile dictu*, being "How did Paul preach to the Gentiles?" The child was father to the man who was to consecrate his life to suggesting such questions and answering them in his preaching. Still he was well on in his university course before he decided to enter the Church, and he continued to attend many lectures outside the ordinary

theological curriculum. A nervous ailment asserted itself during his student days and frequently interrupted his work, and he was nearly thirty before he could enter on his first curacy. In his three pastorates, which have all been in rural parishes, he devoted himself to his various duties with such ardour and fidelity that his health, never robust, frequently gave way, his sufferings were at times intense, and he had to take long rests, until in 1898 there was no course open but to resign his charge at Røken altogether. But during these years his preaching and his pastoral work made such an impression that the whole spiritual life of the parishes in which he ministered was transformed and a wonderful religious revival spread far beyond the parochial bounds.

In 1891 his first volume of sermons¹ was issued at the urgent request of many friends, and the publication was an event in Norway. For the unexpected freshness of the sermons, the strength in them, the personal power behind them, bore the stamp of genius and commanded the attention of all who were interested in the religious well-being of the nation. *Everyday Sermons* was followed at intervals by other five volumes, each generally quickly reaching a third edition, the combined circulation of the six volumes being some 30,000 copies. Some of the volumes have been translated into German, Finnish and Swedish. It is not often that the minister of a rural parish commands the attention of his own country and finds an interested and expectant circle of readers in foreign lands as well. But as each of Jansen's books came out it became more evident that the preacher had something to say to his age and to say it so that the message could not be misunderstood.

Jansen's preaching was a reaction against the prosing of the pulpit in his own early days. He says: "The old way of preaching had much need to be altered, to become more simple and practical, more living and soul-searching. It needed something of the salt of the Sermon on the Mount

¹ *Hverdagspradikener* (Everyday Sermons), Aschehoug, Christiania, 1891.

and something of the spirit of conversation with friends. And it needed to be suited to the age in the right sense, not least for the men with modern minds, familiar with the questions and thoughts of the present day. And the preacher needs to speak more out of his own living personal faith. One other thing may be needed: suffering and trial, but God Himself in His grace will see to that." In these words Jansen is perhaps unconsciously reflecting exactly what his own preaching is.

In the Preface to his latest volume¹ he says: "The aim of my preaching is conversion and life in God by Jesus Christ. We all preach consciously or unconsciously after models. My pattern first and foremost has been Jesus Christ. My whole Christianity depends on personal trust in Him. And Christ by His preaching has dominated me homiletically. The preaching of Jesus is based on faith in His divine nature and on the Atonement. It is not very theoretic or dogmatic; but it is so practical, ever considering the capacity of the hearers." That helps us to understand wherein Jansen's power consists. We have no idea whether the Norwegian preacher knew anything about the sermons of Dr. Joseph Parker or Mr. Jowett of Birmingham, but there are times when Jansen distinctly recalls the characteristics of these two men at their best.

What then is the distinctive charm in Jansen's sermons? It is not so much that the preacher possesses a superlative power of simple, clear, impressive utterance as that he speaks about the supreme interests of the soul out of a life of hard toil and intense thought and many sufferings; and it is the authority of personal experience, the confidence that comes of conflicts overcome, that has given his religious outlook its ripeness and his preaching its magnetic power.

What strikes the reader immediately in these sermons is their language, their colloquial form, living, real, fresh and natural as in an ordinary conversation with friends when important questions are discussed. The sermons are singu-

¹ *Søg Gud* (Seek God), Aschehoug, Christiania, 1901.

larly free from the old dogmatic and pietistic phrases, and the ideas usually represented by these are so paraphrased as to be immediately understood by every hearer. He uses illustrations more freely than any other Norwegian, and his stories, images and examples are drawn from everyday life, events and ideas, showing how thoroughly he has entered into the common experiences of his people. In the pulpit Jansen sometimes puts a question to his audience and waits as if for an answer before he continues. The hearer therefore feels that the subject personally concerns himself. The thoughts are as a rule simple and easily grasped and the religious truths are set forth in such a way that what is spoken may pass into the thoughts of the hearers, become the moving power in their wills, and obtain the supremacy in their daily lives.

Jansen was practically unknown until his first volume of sermons appeared. Thereafter, wherever he did preach, great crowds gathered from every quarter to hear until the fiat of silence went forth. Had he been as physically strong as he is mentally virile, spiritually intense, and keenly zealous for the conversion and edification of souls, Jansen would have been the means of revolutionising the preaching of the Norwegian pulpit. As it is, in these six volumes the preachers of Norway will learn how one man never failed to reach a hearer's heart.

"The apostle of the new preaching" is the name that has been given to Thorvald Klaveness, Knight of St. Olaf, the incumbent of Frogner Church in Christiania. Now that Jansen can only preach on paper, Klaveness is the foremost pulpit orator in Norway. A man in his sixtieth year, he can look back on a long life of varied service for Church and country, and his multifarious interests and engagements show that there is no more vigorous priest and writer amongst the Norse clergy to-day.

Klaveness was a brilliant student, early displaying the great dialectic skill for which he is renowned. In any discussion or controversy his keen blade, wielded with master hand, speedily finds the weak spot in his opponent's armour ;

and seldom does any one get the better of Klaveness. As founder and joint-editor of *For Kirke og Kultur* (For Church and Culture), a powerful magazine which has aided greatly in reforming Norse theology and bringing to the aid of religion the freshness and the strength of culture, Klaveness has exercised a mighty influence on all the educated ranks and classes of society in the land. Besides a multitude of articles in all the leading journals and reviews, he is the author of important volumes on such subjects as these: *The Historical Books of the Old Testament*; *Exposition of Luther's Catechism*; *The Doctrines of the Bible*; *Biblical History*; in addition to others of less importance; and one or other of his books has been translated into Swedish, Finnish, Landsmaal and Icelandic.

At a clerical conference in Sweden, in 1901, Klaveness dealt exhaustively with the subject "Modern Indifferentism and the Church," and immediately afterwards published a volume with that title. He propounds the questions: Why do Norwegian men not go to church? What must be done to draw them? To the former question he replies that the indifference is mainly due to the present kind of preaching, on account of its poverty, its proclamation of doctrines unintelligible to the average man, and its clinging to discarded dogmas. To the latter question he replies that a recasting of these doctrines is needed, a simpler setting forth of the Christian religion, a greater effort to look with brotherly affection on men, especially on men with modern minds, emphasising the fatherly love of God and the offer of a full pardon to every penitent who longs for salvation and peace, who trusts in Jesus and seeks to do God's will.

The preaching of Klaveness could hardly be better characterised than in these words which set forth the ideal at which the great Norwegian preacher aims and which he frequently attains. In his chief volume of sermons, *The Gospel for To-day*,¹ which quickly reached a third edition, the

¹ *Evangeliet forkyndt for Nutiden* (The Gospel for To-day), Aschehoug, Christiania, 1900.

discourses cover the Gospels for the Church year. Norwegian priests receive from headquarters the texts on which they are to preach on every Sunday of the year. As latterly there has been a triennial cycle the minister's total stock need only consist of 200 sermons or thereby. Klaveness' book gives a year's sermons. Had it contained only 200 pages instead of 460 and given us only twenty or twenty-five instead of sixty-five sermons it would have been an ideal collection, for then each sermon would have been selected because of the preacher's interest in the subject or for the message it contained to others beyond his own congregation. The volume therefore suffers in comparison with a volume by Jansen. Although every sermon is more or less crisp, clear, fresh, eloquent, incisive and zealous for souls, yet the original and brilliant sermons are counter-balanced by some that show traces of perfunctory manufacture. Sometimes the prescribed text appears at the head of the sermon and in the first paragraph is dismissed, whilst some interesting subject is announced, to be ably developed and splendidly enforced. Half-a-dozen of the sermons should have had Old Testament texts instead of those that head them. And this leads us to remark that in Norway the Old Testament is practically never used in ordinary services for edification. We have examined upwards of twenty volumes of Norwegian sermons; every text but two was drawn from the Gospels. Of the two exceptions the one was from Isaiah, the other from one of the Epistles. The consequence is that in this volume, as in most other Norse volumes of sermons, some doctrines are over-emphasised, some almost ignored; some phases of religious life and activity are frequently treated of, others quite as important are seldom touched upon; the life of Christ is fully covered every year, whilst Christ in us is but rarely made the subject of a sermon at all. These strictures are not directed to Klaveness specially; their address is the Norwegian Church and its stereotyped system.

As a preacher, Klaveness, now that Jansen, his prototype, is laid aside, is head and shoulders above every parish priest

and bishop in Norway, except Dean Jensen. His *The Gospel for To-day*, although it contains some dross, contains also a large quantity of very fine gold. His last volume, *The Conflict of the Day*,¹ contains only select sermons recently preached, all gems in their way; and the book reached a third edition within three months of its first appearance. At the heart of them all we find the gospel of "the Fatherly love of God and the crucified and risen Son in whom we poor, sinful mortals have forgiveness and eternal life". If such preaching were heard in every parish in the land it would no longer be necessary to ask the question: Why do Norwegian men not go to church?

The discourses of Klaveness might all be called Sermons from a City Pulpit. They specially appeal to cultured people who have no sympathy with traditionalism, yet who find themselves in a materialistic environment and need all the inspiration, guidance and consolation which the gospel of Jesus Christ alone can give. The burning eloquence and human sympathy manifested show Klaveness' love for souls and his love for the modern man, and quite explain the immense influence and popularity of the apostle of the new preaching.

The last of the quartette is Gustav Jensen, Vicar of Our Saviour's Church and Dean of Christiania, Knight Commander of the Order of St. Olaf. The four preachers have not been introduced in the order of merit; we do not venture to place them, for each is in some respect pre-eminent. And we do not mean to imply that there are no other popular preachers in Norway. The Bishop of Christiansand, although ultra-Lutheran, hyper-Conservative, very Churchy and dogmatic, was once as popular as any preacher in the land and can still draw great audiences; and there are some rising preachers who will be heard of in the days to come. But Munch, Jansen, Klaveness and Jensen have established their popularity; they command in the pulpit or the press the ear

¹ *I Dagens Stred* (The Conflict of the Day), Aschehoug, Christiania, 1903.

of the people ; and their successive volumes of sermons reach the 5,000 standard and claim our approbation and praise.

Gustav Jensen, now verging on threescore years, is the most influential clergyman in Norway, and has been so for a long period. He left the University of Christiania with great distinction, and practically his whole public life has been spent in the Norwegian metropolis. For fourteen years he was Principal of the Theological College of the State Church, and as Dean of the diocese he is head of all the clergy in Christiania. Time after time he has refused a bishopric, and he is looked upon as the St. Bernard of the Norwegian Church. To him in times of difficulty bishops come for advice, and Ministers of State initiate no ecclesiastical legislation without first consulting him ; and the clergy of the Church have found him at all times to be the wisest and kindest of counsellors.

As Principal of the State Church College and Professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology, Jensen has wielded a wonderful influence in the Norwegian Church, an influence which, through successive generations of priests, the whole country will continue to feel. No one was better fitted for the post than he with his rich personal gifts and graces, his thorough theological acquirements, his intimate acquaintance with and great interest in the most momentous questions of the day, in addition to his keen psychological eye, his valuable pastoral experience and his fine æsthetic sense.

Of the books he has written we might mention *Lectures on the Priest's Office ; Christian Doctrine ; Divine Service and Congregational Life ;* and many treatises about *Æsthetics*, on which he is a recognised authority ; and a number of poems which are distinguished by their grace of form, their warmth and their intensity. But Jensen's best book undoubtedly is his *Preparation for the Priest's Office*,¹ a series of prayers and meditations on the various aspects of the ministerial office. It is a Norse breviary, so to speak, and is beyond praise. It sets forth in the proper light the dignity

¹ *Indledning i Prestetjenesten*, Grøndahl & Sons, Christiania, 1902.

and responsibility of the priestly office, the servant and the service, the minister's character and conduct, his consecration and courage, God's Church and the aim of all ministerial service. For clear, concise, conscience-probing, heart-searching representation of a minister's relation to his office, his congregation and his God, we have seldom read anything to compare with Dean Jensen's book. If all Norse ministers had looked upon their work in the light of Jensen's *Preparation* the religious state of Norway would be very different from what it is to-day. If all the ministers who have passed through Jensen's hands are animated by the spirit revealed in this book the regeneration of Gamle Norge is very nigh. No wonder the volume has reached a third edition and is therefore in the hands of every Norwegian priest and of multitudes besides, and been translated into the other Scandinavian languages and into German; and no wonder its author has gained a place in the love and esteem of his countrymen such as no priest has enjoyed for many a weary year.

Jensen, having occupied the chair of Homiletics, one turns with interest to his volumes of sermons¹ to discover how the erstwhile Professor of Preaching himself preaches, to find out if possible the secret of his pulpit popularity. In these volumes we note a far closer approach to our ideal of what a sermon should be than in most other similar Norse books. As a rule in Jensen's sermons the subject is clearly defined, carefully thought out, admirably developed; the language is fluent, chaste and graceful, and the various parts of the discourse are well balanced and combined into an impressive whole. No Norse preacher convinces the mind of his hearer or reader so effectively or sends one away seeing the path of duty so straight and clear. These volumes show that Jensen is permeated with the holy ardour of love, and reveal a man with rich endowments

¹*Fra Paasketiden* (From Eastertide), Grøndahl & Sons, Christiania. *Prædikener paa Kirkeåret* (Sermons on the Church Year), Christiania. *Tanker og Opgaver* (Thoughts and Problems), Christiania.

and a sustained eloquence that awakes, illumines and warms. The preacher evidently magnifies his office and deeply feels his responsibility towards the immortal souls before him. His sermons set forth the gospel of free grace in all its fulness and lead to awakening without being actual revival sermons, and try to arouse the Church to its responsibility towards them that are without.

In *Thoughts and Problems* we find Jensen treating in a masterly way such subjects as the sacred calling of medicine, religion and Christianity, progress in morality, a man's thoughts, lonely mortals, and so on. They are eloquent, cogent and powerful, and it is a pity so few in this country can read and profit by them. They reveal a man specially qualified for fighting the battle of Christianity in a city and a country where freethought and religious indifference are so common and so confident. Jensen has travelled much in continental countries and in the East, but he has never visited Britain, and it is therefore interesting to notice his repeated and appreciative reference in this volume to our own land. For instance, in setting forth the vital power in Christianity he says: "An important and pertinent testimony on this point is that the nation in which Christianity may be said to have the greatest power, the English nation, is admitted by all to be the nation most capable of living, the nation with the greatest future before it, whilst the nation in which tendencies hostile to Christianity have the freest scope, *viz.*, the French nation, in spite of some magnificent advantages, is stationary or retrograding".

And in another passage he says: "There are peoples (as, in our own day, especially the English) and there are tribes and families and individuals who are more religious than others, because they have been more faithful in the use of the religious talent which has been implanted in them by God. And even to a superficial glance it is easy to see that the religious nations and religious men are more capable of living and more happy than those in whom the religious sense has suffered injury. For the former have in their faith in God and in His government of the world an

immeasurable hold for their life which the others lack and which is of the utmost significance in a world where otherwise nothing is fixed and reliable. They are, to use a modern expression, better equipped for the struggle for existence than the others, and they will therefore certainly and necessarily survive them."

Jensen's personality and his preaching easily account for the crowds of high and low, of regular adherents and irregular churchgoers, of worthy Lutherans and those very loosely connected with religion, who gather whenever it is known that the Dean of Christiania will preach. And if ministers of the Gospel are to receive recognition from royalty we can well understand that King Oscar had special pleasure in raising Gustav Jensen to the high dignity of Knight Commander of St. Olaf's Order, the only minister of the Lutheran Church, except distinguished bishops, who enjoys that honour and precedence.

Most Norwegian ministers are intolerant towards dissenters, more so even than towards those quite indifferent to religion: and many of them lay far more emphasis on mere assent to the Lutheran doctrines in order to obtain salvation than on faith in Christ's atoning sacrifice. But when we are with these four preachers we find ourselves in an atmosphere of tolerance that is quite refreshing; there is an absence of preaching jargon in their sermons; and the full, free Gospel is offered unto all, unfettered by dogmatic bonds. Indeed, the charge of disloyalty to the Church and of heterodoxy has been raised by the conservative Old Lutherans against the "new preachers," especially Jansen and Klaveness, because of their refusal to preach in the conventional way and to use the hackneyed pietistic phrases, and to proclaim salvation as conditional on anything save repentance towards God and faith in Jesus Christ. These preachers are the champions of the weak and the oppressed, and by comparison the mantle of their charity is very broad. If we mistake not, this sympathy, freedom and tolerance have much to do with their popularity, and it is our hope that many others may find the secret, and by kindly recog-

nition of good work done by Christian Churches outside the Lutheran pale, and by consecrated, zealous efforts to proclaim the gospel of the grace of God to the wistful, the weary and the wandering, bring near the time when Norway will be completely regained for Christianity, and the descendants of the Vikings of old become in deed and in truth the devoted followers of the Prince of Peace. Britain will indeed greatly rejoice when the land which owes its Christianity to her is ministered to by a multitude of men such as these four, with hearts burning for the salvation of men, labouring in the service of Christ, to the glory of God.

J. BEVERIDGE.

Old Testament Prophecy.

*By the late A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D. Edited
by J. A. Paterson, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
8vo, pp. xiv. + 507. 10s. 6d. net.*

AT last, though with a voice from the grave and perhaps unwillingly, Professor Davidson claims his own place—the place long kept vacant for him in the library of the student of the Old Testament. We have waited with eager expectation to learn whether the MSS. of a scholar so distinguished included any adequate memorial of his life-work. Until a few months ago, the outside world depended for its direct knowledge of him chiefly on grammars and primers, dictionary articles and school commentaries. Within the limits set by the nature of each piece of work, it was universally recognised as possessing the highest qualities. The sermons recently published were a new proof that spiritual insight of the rarest kind belonged to their author. Its combination in any man with a wide and thorough scholarship always entitles us to expect some permanent contribution to theological literature. None can have used the *Cambridge Bible* commentaries on “Job” and “Ezekiel” without desiring to hear their author speak from a wider platform and on more general issues. That desire is gratified by the present substantial octavo volume, which contains, as Professor Paterson remarks in the brief preface, “the final results of forty years’ strenuous thinking on this profoundly interesting subject” of Old Testament prophecy.

Perhaps the remark would be more exact if for “results” we read “records”. This is a volume of college lectures; their composition has spread over a long term of years. “Every chapter in this book,” says the editor, “has been taken direct from the manuscript lectures which were used

by the author in his classes up to the last." But the fact of their frequent revision does not alter the circumstances of their gradual origin. To remember this is only fair to the author. Even in this book, which will probably come to be regarded as his most important and representative work, Professor Davidson has not escaped from the consequences of self-imposed limitations. Repetitions or digressions on the one hand, paragraphs in a "shorthand" style needing oral expansion on the other, remind us of the original character of the contents. Lectures written for the actual needs of the class-room are always likely to be *disjecta membra*; and the prophet himself is needed to show them rising in orderly array. But these lectures are very far from being a valley of dry bones; and although they do not cover the whole field, and we miss any comprehensive survey of it, the loss is partially atoned for by the article "Prophecy and Prophets" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. It will be remembered that Professor Davidson there divides his subject into four groups, "The History of Prophecy," "The Prophetic Mind," "The Teaching of the Prophets," "Interpretation and Fulfilment of Prophecy". The work now before us consists of twenty-four chapters, which Professor Paterson has placed in the order that seemed to him most natural. It would have been helpful had he further classified these chapters into sections, so that the scope of the book might have been more apparent. Three such main sections naturally suggest themselves, when the chapters have been studied, *viz.*, (1) The Origins of Prophecy, (2) The Characteristics of Prophecy, (3) Studies in Prophecy. The first of these includes six shorter chapters, tracing the course of prophecy through the times of Moses, Deborah, Samuel and Saul, David and Elijah. The second contains eight chapters of greater length, dealing on the one hand with the psychology of prophecy, and on the other with those questions of style and interpretation which gather round its literary expression. The third section, about half the book, discusses some special subjects, chief amongst them being "Messianic Prophecy" and "The Servant of Jehovah". From this out-

line it will be seen that the more exact title of the book would be "Prolegomena to Prophecy". For we have here something quite different in scope and intention from the book with which comparison is naturally challenged—Robertson Smith's *The Prophets of Israel*. The latter is concerned with the history of prophecy; the present volume, even in its first section, with the theology of prophecy. We still wait for the book needed to make the triad complete, the book that will give us the anthropology of prophecy.

It is not necessary to say much of the first section. This kind of work has been done repeatedly. The chief interest of such a study of history lies in the emphasis a writer puts on any one of the various factors in the historic development. None is left in doubt as to where the emphasis falls in the present case. "The religious development of Israel is mainly a development in the idea of God. . . . When mysterious problems arose either in national or individual life, the problem was immediately reflected back upon God, and became one regarding His nature or action." Thus the idea of God becomes the dominating factor in Old Testament prophecy, which is equivalent to saying "in Old Testament history," for as is here said "The history of Israel is a history of prophecy . . . men of prophetic rank and name stand at the great turning-points of the people's life, and direct the movements" (p. 17). In a later portion of the book, the prophet's contribution to the history is thus forcibly stated: "He could foresee, because to his mind the principal, or rather the only, actor in the drama was Jehovah Himself. And his foresight of it is little else than his conception of Jehovah—of what He is and what His purposes are—flung into the wrestling mass of principles and forces which he perceived around him."

The second section, dealing with the inner and outer characteristics of prophecy, is of the highest value and importance. Our best commentaries contain much material bearing on this subject, but it is scattered in various books, and fragmentary even when gathered. Here, however, is a book that can be placed in the hands of students as an

admirable introduction to this branch of study. There are two possible lines of approach to the elusive and difficult subject of the prophetic consciousness. One is by way of anthropology. During the last generation, most of the phenomena recorded in the Old Testament have been more diligently studied in the light of parallel developments amongst other peoples. To this tendency of study we owe much, and shall eventually owe more. Whatever theory we may hold as to the Divine factor in each product, we all recognise the human. To apprehend this rightly, we need the widest possible induction from related facts. In the case of the prophetic consciousness, our study must range from highly intellectual products like the Koran to the mutterings of an African witch-doctor. But those of us who work along this line of approach are sometimes in danger of forgetting that it is not the only one. A real contribution can be made by those whose gifts of ethical and spiritual insight enable them more than most to enter into the prophetic consciousness by living sympathy. It is this line which the author specially calls us to follow. He proceeds by an examination of the various terms applied to the prophet, *viz.*, "man of God," "servant of Jehovah," "messenger of Jehovah," "interpreter," "seer," "spyer" and "watchman," "nabi". The intellectual content of these terms is strongly emphasised. "The prophetic condition was *a state of high mental activity*, going through various grades of intensity, and of that kind of activity called *intuition*" (p. 117). Hence we obtain the following as one of several attempts to define the prophetic consciousness: "Prophecy is the intuition of truth accompanied by the feeling that the truth was immediately communicated by Jehovah" (p. 80). So it is elsewhere said: "I dislike any theory that would put any other source or means of revelation on a level with the mind of man" (p. 99). A suggestive and striking figure puts the revelation through the prophet's mind into relation with that given by other means: "There was still a living fountain out of which there welled forth God's commands, and which sent its waters down through every channel of the state, beneath the

crust of institution . . . the prophet was the point at which God's revelation and will to Israel was still, so to speak, fluid, and not congealed into institutions" (p. 107). We are taken into the mind and heart of the ancient prophet and made to feel that his conviction of God's revelation was analogous to what a man who lives with God may have to-day. The chief criticism suggesting itself is that the difference between ancient and modern ideas of personality is not sufficiently brought out. The ancient mind, and therefore the prophetic, was conceived to be far more accessible to external stimuli, even to stimuli that came through none of the ordinary sense organs. This important difference in the idea of self could not but influence both the prophet and his hearers. It is just here that the comparison of primitive beliefs, within and without the Semitic peoples, is of such value. We see how the crude fact of revelation became credible before the emergence of its highest proofs through the canonical prophets, and, most of all, through Christ. Given belief in what roughly corresponds to "telepathy," and allowing for Hebrew modes of thought (concrete for abstract), the message of the canonical prophets becomes as "natural" as any Divine product can ever be. For we must not forget the warning here given: "There was a connexion between the Spirit of God and the mind of the prophet, but the connexion was miraculous, and so evades definition. What is capable of definition only is the mind of the prophet" (p. 130). The remainder of this second section deals with the prophetic style and its interpretation. It is an English equivalent, on a small scale, to parts of such works as König's *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik*, and Koeberle's *Natur und Geist*. There is a careful and instructive discussion of Typology, calculated to remove some modern prejudices against the subject. The position taken by the writer can be summed up in one of his own sentences: "The way of the Lord is always typified" (p. 212). The relation of the two dispensations is thus tersely defined: "The old consists of a body and a soul, the new of a disembodied soul" (p. 241).

The rest of the book is devoted to various special studies

within the general field of prophecy. Though they afford little that is new, they will be read with interest and profit. Their author will not be remembered as a pioneer through the pathless forest, but as one who bade us stand in the old paths and see how much we should have overlooked without his aid. The chapter entitled "The Isaianic Problem" has a freshness that springs from antiquity, like that of some old-world village untouched by modern thought. The following chapter, which summarises the teaching of the canonical prophets, makes a rather surprising claim for its spiritual standard: "It may be safely said that no advance upon the doctrine of God has been made in the New Testament over the Old except in this: the Old Testament deals with Israel as a whole. . . . In the New Testament, God through Christ enters into relations with the individual" (p. 275). A most interesting chapter is that devoted to "The False Prophets". We are taught that the background of the true prophet is no dull monotone, but is full of light and shade and infinite colour. "In order to understand the Old Testament Scripture anywhere, we must endeavour to realise that there was in Israel a life as various as our own" (p. 289). As we gaze on the finished architecture of the prophet, we are apt to forget the scaffolding that was once there—"the complications in which he was involved, the popular interests that he ministered to, the struggles of opposing parties, the darkness and shadows that fell upon the leaders of the people, and perplexed their counsels and paralysed their actions" (p. 287). Messianic prophecy claims fuller attention. The Messiah is regarded as Jehovah's representative—"Jehovah's word and truth incarnate"—to the widest extent. It is later thought that systematises what has been uttered by grouping all round a single person. Distinction is drawn between direct and indirect Messianic prophecy. Prophecy demands for its fulfilment no more than the realisation of prophetic principles amongst the changed circumstances of a later age. The New Testament is fully justified in its application of prophetic anticipations to Christ: "There was an identity of Christ with all those

offices and characters, an organic connexion between Him and all this" (p. 339). In regard to the question of the time of fulfilment, stress is laid on the peculiarity of prophetic perspective. The prophet sees realities, but he sees them foreshortened. The chapters dealing with the Servant of Jehovah are of great interest. Speaking of the return from exile, Professor Davidson says: "In the outer movement Jehovah's instrument is Cyrus; in the inner movement it is the Servant of the Lord" (p. 397). By the Servant he understands an ideal Israel, not to be identified with the community of the devout, but Israel as God meant it to be. "The Servant of the Lord appears to me a similar abstraction, elevated by the singular idealisation of the prophet into a Being, and distinguished from the individuals or the tribes of Jacob, the fragments of the people in all lands. This Being does not belong to the Israel of any particular age, He is permanent" (p. 437). He admits, however, the difficulty of forming any clear conception of the Servant on this theory; and in practice, his discussion of the Servant's work is really concerned with the faithful nucleus, actually present throughout Israel's history. In regard to the work of the Servant, there is a luminous and stimulating inquiry into the function of vicarious suffering, which ought to receive careful attention from some of our New Testament theologians. The visible suffering of the Servant is made the basis of appeal for belief in the Divine forgiveness of sin. This is the simple fact, which the Bible sets over against the conviction of sin as the Divine answer to the cry of the heart.

In the foregoing notice of a book which every student of the Old Testament will desire to possess, the aim has been rather to give a definite idea of its contents than to attempt to pass judgment on them. Many of the positions taken are of course open to criticism, but the criticism would be prompted by our own theological prepossessions rather than by our consideration of the book itself. We have here the simple and clear statement of a definite theological position in regard to the Old Testament. It is set before us with the qualities of expression and insight which have come to be

associated with the author. Here are patient explanation (*cf.* the examination of unpromising theories in the chapter on "The Restoration of the Jews"), use of striking illustration, the frank facing of difficulties characteristic of the genuine teacher. Even the "formlessness" of some parts is impressive from this standpoint. No facts are sacrificed to get artistic unity. There are many digressions from the main theme, but none will wish them away. The remark was made of a current philosophical work that it was redeemed by its digressions; it is the last thing we need to say of this work, where the digressions must and do redeem themselves. But of greater value than all else are those moral and spiritual qualities which make themselves felt at every opportunity. College lectures are often disappointing. But of these we may say that they give us the clue to that reverence in which the writer has for so long been held by his pupils. The book will take its place as one of the best memorials of a scholar who was also a man of God. Many must have said, and through this noble book will say through a wider circle, what was once uttered of a greater Teacher: "Did not our heart burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the Scriptures?"

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

Library of Philosophy.

Edited by J. H. Muirhead, M.A. Contemporary Psychology, by Guido Villa, Lecturer on Philosophy in the University of Rome, revised by the author, and translated with his permission by Harold Manacorda, Attaché to the Italian Embassy in Paris. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 396. Price 10s. 6d. net.

THE volumes of the *Library of Philosophy*, edited by Professor Muirhead, appear somewhat slowly, but they do appear. Usually when they appear we find that they are worth waiting for. We confess that we have a feeling of impatience, as we look at the titles of the volumes in preparation, for they are books on topics we desire to have discussed, and by men whose work we long to study. We should like to read Dr. Ward on Epistemology, and Professor Mackenzie on First Principles of Philosophy, and other promised volumes of the *Library of Philosophy*. All things, it is proverbially said, come to him that can wait, but that is a slight consolation for the man who waits.

The volume on Contemporary Psychology now before us has many features of interest, each of which is sufficient to secure for it a warm welcome from the student of psychology. It is the work of a thoroughly competent student, of one who knows thoroughly the past history and present state of the science with which he deals, who is himself a worker in the science, and who has done somewhat to advance it. He wields a graceful pen, and the translator has rendered it into clear and fluid English, and we can read it as if it were a work written in our own tongue. A further feature of interest is the history of psychology during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the graphic descriptions of the various writers who have made their mark in

psychology. But we shall not further describe the features of interest present in the volume. We proceed to the volume itself.

The Introduction is a clear, though brief bit of work, and its function is to set forth the problem of the work. It describes the vaguer uses of the word psychology in its implicates, and leads us gradually to a scientific description of the science, its content, and its method. Our space will not be wasted if we make the following quotation: "The marvellous development in the last century of the moral, *i.e.*, the historical, philological, social and juridical sciences, arising in great part from their adoption of rigorous scientific methods and the accumulation of a mass of material, is one of the striking features of nineteenth-century learning, and has been a potent factor in the formation of a distinct science of the mind. Each separate science such as history, philology in its numerous branches, sociology, political economy, statistics and law, has accumulated by degrees a vast mass of facts which possess the common characteristic of being pre-eminently products of the human mind. These sciences, though connected with the physical sciences and in a manner dependent on the data furnished by them, study particularly the psychic aspect of human nature in all its manifestations, so that one might say with truth that the moral sciences, though connected in a way with the natural sciences, form a whole and distinct system in themselves. The moral sciences having detached themselves from philosophy in order to be placed on an empirical basis, have succeeded in obtaining, by means of the historical method, the results with which we are acquainted. And it was naturally to be expected that this should have gradually led to the adoption of the objective method, not only with regard to the concrete manifestations of the mind, which form the object of the so-called moral sciences, but also with regard to the psychic phenomena in the more general and abstract form. The general science of psychic phenomena aims at formulating the fundamental laws of all moral facts, and giving to the moral sciences a unity similar to that enjoyed by the physical.

Those who first studied the problem of the logical methods of the moral sciences were in hopes of founding a general science of human nature (as Mr. Mill terms it), by which alone historical and social events could be scientifically explained. This is precisely what psychology professes to do, seeing that the different moral sciences are not content with empirical research, but are anxious to examine mutual relations and to give a psychological explanation to every historical and social fact—in other words, to make psychology the foundation of their own superstructure " (pp. 6, 7).

The main purpose of the author is to produce a work which will serve as a critical and historical introduction to the study of modern psychology. How the problems of contemporary psychology arose, how they are related to general philosophy, to natural science, to the social and moral sciences, and what aspects they assume in the various scientific systems of the present day, is the subject of the work. It may be said, without reserve, that the work is well done. Whether we agree with the author, or differ from him, we find his work most helpful; in fact, it may be said to be indispensable to a serious student of psychology. The statement holds good, whether we have regard to the chapter on the historical development of psychology, or to the more constructive parts of the work. The historical part begins with the seventeenth century. We have brief yet adequate descriptions and characterisations of the views of Descartes, Spinoza, Locke, Leibniz, Wolff, Tetens, Berkeley, Hume, in fact there are sufficient descriptions of the psychological work of all significant writers on psychology, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Passing to the early part of the nineteenth century, Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Beneke, Cabanis, De Biran, Jouffroy, Galuppi, Rosmini, Comte, Hamilton, and J. S. Mill are passed in review, their positions indicated, and their work estimated. Then he passes to what he regards as the rise of modern psychology. It gives a clue to the main position of the author, and to his point of view when we find that the rise of modern psychology is dated from the works of Bain and Spencer. It is rather

flattering to an inhabitant of these islands to find such a conclusion set forth by an Italian author, and from his point of view not without cause. The writers on modern psychology enumerated by the author are Lotze, Weber, Fechner, Wundt, Horwicz, Spencer, Bain, Bailey, Lewes, Maudsley, Charles Darwin, and for the psychology of peoples he gives another list of authors. It is an account of these writers which is at once condensed and luminous. The student will find the author to be a guide well-informed, judicious and interesting.

In a succession of chapters the author sets forth the problems of modern psychology. The Object and Scope of Psychology, Mind and Body, the Methods of Psychology, Psychical Functions, on the Composition and Development of Mental Life, Consciousness, the Laws of Psychology, are the topics he discusses in the volume. These are not discussed as if the author were writing an independent treatise on them. They are set forth as the problems of modern psychology, and the aim is to describe how they are treated by the various writers whose works he deals with, and what solutions are set forth by the schools of philosophy in the end of the nineteenth century. No writer of note is neglected, if he has had something relevant to say; no nation is neglected; in fact, it is quite a cosmopolitan handbook. The reader, if he masters the book, will be up to date.

A critical estimate of the work is not possible here, nor is it possible to dwell on many things which attracted our attention as we read the book. As regards the general result of the whole investigation we give the following quotation: "Consciousness and animal organism, function and organ, are correlative terms, the one of which cannot be thought of without implying the other. It is therefore certain that organic evolution is closely connected with psychological evolution; for the organ to become modified it is necessary for the function to have become transformed. Psychological laws, however, find in this necessary co-ordination with mechanical laws a limitation to their development, just as the extension of mechanical laws finds a limitation in the will

of the animate being. This limitation, however, is not to be understood in the sense that these two series of laws cease at a given point of their evolution to follow their respective courses in order to mingle one with the other. On the contrary, psychological laws always follow their own course, and mechanical laws theirs; in physical nature there is no place for liberty, just as in the chain of mental causality a mechanical order is inadmissible. Thus, when man wishes to influence external nature, he endeavours to apply his own ideas to it; but so far from trying to change the inner essence of physical laws, he endeavours to understand their inner workings so as to guide them to his advantage. From this it follows that the increase of mental energy is subject to the physical conditions of life. In the psychophysical individual this interdependence of the laws of volition and matter is closer than elsewhere, but its nature remains the same. Briefly, in all investigations of physical and psychical facts, it must be constantly borne in mind that they are mutually dependent and connected in one all-embracing unity" (p. 384).

While there are some positions advocated by our author of the validity of which we are by no means sure, there are other positions which we believe to be of great and permanent worth. One of these is the vindication of the teleological character of psychological principles. A change has passed over the mind of man from the time when Bacon described final causes as vestal virgins who produced no fruit, when in pretended humility Descartes refused to think of them, and Spinoza declared them to be founded on illusions. More recently teleology was declared with great solemnity to have received its death-blow at the hands of Darwinism, and here it appears reinstated in more than its pristine splendour, and psychological principles are declared to be teleological. The whirligig of time brings about its revenges.

A result of the author's investigation is the description of the growth of psychology, and the recognition of its claims to be an independent science. He describes the process of its separation from philosophy, and its gradual emancipation

from it. He describes also the process of its separation from physiology, if indeed this separation can be described as complete. Our author thinks that the separation ought to be regarded as complete. The phenomena of consciousness, he thinks, and rightly, is essentially different from corporeal phenomena, though closely connected with them. But the process of emancipation from philosophy and physiology, and its recognition of its claims to be an independent science, led the way to further efforts, and to conquests of a noted kind. "Psychology is becoming always more intimately connected with the moral sciences, owing to the fact that, in spite of all attempts at confining themselves exclusively to biological methods, these sciences have had to recognise in psychology the starting-point of all studies dealing with the various products of consciousness."

"The physical world is subject to mechanical laws; the mental world, on the contrary, is spontaneous and independent. Mental energy is continually on the increase, and is the product of a conscious activity, and not an inscrutable force to which free will is foreign. History, society, art, religion, and science are the result of a continuous and incessant action which has no precise limits, and which, issuing from the untrammelled will, is the expression of the noblest and most elevated part in man. The spiritual world exists by itself, as a psychical reality, as positive and real as any material reality. Ideas, feelings, acts of willing, and even the simplest sensations are all *sui generis*, and cannot be compared to physical phenomena" (p. 392). Such is the conclusion set forth in the last page of the book as the result of the historical and scientific investigation conducted by the author, and it is a statement which a reader may well ponder.

JAMES IVERACH.

Die Religion des Neuen Testaments.

Von D. Bernhard Weiss. Stuttgart: Cotta'sche Buchhandlung,
1903. Pp. xii. + 321. Price 6s.; 7s. 6d. bound.

THIS volume may be regarded as the last fruit of an old tree. The veteran exegete sums up the results of his life-study of New Testament theology in the form of a rounded doctrinal system. If only for the perfect mastery shown of every word and idea of New Testament teaching, the work is a memorable one. Nothing relevant to the topic in hand is forgotten, and nothing is out of place. The order and unity are so perfect and natural that we forget that the material lies in Scripture in unconnected form. We may often challenge the interpretation given, but at least we admire the consummate ability with which the argument is conducted. After the introduction in four chapters has discussed the prolegomena, the work proceeds to expound in three parts the Presuppositions of Salvation, the Salvation in Christ, and its Realisation, in sixteen chapters. Dr. Weiss takes a very free view of inspiration, if he holds any doctrine of special inspiration at all. He also maintains the offer of salvation after death for those who did not receive it in this life; he maintains this as a self-evident postulate of reason and justice, although Scripture says nothing on the subject and does not profess to do so. He emphasises the point that Christ's resurrection was not one to earthly, but to heavenly life. We instance these cases as examples of matters requiring consideration. As to the great essentials of faith, the great exegete is clear and strong. The section on the atoning death of the Saviour is very full and explicit. It concludes thus: "In point of fact, this Gospel of the cross conquered the world, not the preaching of God's fatherly love and the love of our neighbour . . . this death of necessity formed

the centre of the Apostolic message of salvation, and so it must remain in the religion of the New Testament". The compressed style in which the Scripture proofs are massed together after a brief indication of the contents is very forcible. "In His exaltation Christ is already (James v. 7) the Lord absolutely, in no other sense than that in which in the Old Testament the Lord is the specific name of God, in which account also Old Testament passages which speak of the Lord in this sense are directly transferred to the exalted Christ." Then follow instances. "In the Thessalonian epistles especially it is often hard to decide whether by the Lord is meant God or Christ." "It is a complete error to place the religion of the New Testament in opposition to the Old Testament religion in which the fear of God prevailed. . . . What Paul opposes to the filial trust, with which we call on God's fatherly love, is such fear as dominated the readers in their former heathen state, in which they were always in terror of the capricious vengeance of their gods."

J. S. BANKS.

**The Note-Line in the Hebrew Scriptures commonly
called Pāsēq or Pēsīq.**

*By James Kennedy, D.D., Acting-Librarian in New College,
Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. Price
4s. 6d. net.*

DR. KENNEDY, since he entered on his theological studies, has grown up in the Semitic atmosphere which has pervaded the New College, Edinburgh, from the days of Rabbi Duncan, who made a sort of idol of Linguistics (his own expression). The genial librarian has not lived his Semitic life in vain. Years ago he gave us in an English dress the syntax part of Ewald's great work on Hebrew Grammar. This was followed by an *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*—a valuable work for students desirous of becoming good Hebrew scholars. Later on appeared a volume on Hebrew synonyms, full of interesting and suggestive matter. And now a volume from his pen appears which, though not large (only 129 pages, appendix and index included), represents an amount of patient labour which can be appreciated by those alone who have seriously attempted to grapple with the mysteries of the Massoretic text of the Old Testament. The *note-line*, as Dr. Kennedy designates the Hebrew textual mark, discussed in this volume is the pāsēq or pēsīq of Hebrew grammars. The mark is a short perpendicular line, the same in form as *Metheg* and *Sillūq*; and, like almost everything else connected with the Old Testament, the use of it is more or less disputed. Dr. Kennedy's explanation of its function is a reasonable one. According to him, it is not a part of the accentual system proper. It does not divide a verse, or a part of a verse, as a disjunctive, in order to indicate the sense; nor is it intended to assist in the cantillation of the Scriptures for synagogue purposes. Further, it is the earliest

mark added by the scribes to the sacred consonants of which the Old Testament text originally consisted. The object in view of those who introduced the mark is essentially of the same kind as that served later on by the *qeri*. In other words, the mark is intended to call attention to some peculiar form of word, or scription, or construction. But when *pāsēq* was introduced the time had not come to render such help to a perplexed student of Old Testament Scripture as is afforded by the *qeri*. Reverence for the sacred text prevented that. Learned scribes perceived the difficulties in the way of students; and thus felt free to note them in the text—but only in a way which could neither be misunderstood, nor give offence. This was done by inserting a short perpendicular, the simplest kind of mark beyond the sacred consonants themselves.

Such, substantially, is Dr. Kennedy's view; and he supports it by references carefully selected from the books of the Old Testament. *Pāsēq* is not in any proper sense a distinctive accent. But, unfortunately, it received a name which suggested a distinctive function. It was found in MSS. used by the Massoretes, and through these devout students it has been transmitted to us, demanding explanation, and suggesting (as what Old Testament subject does not?) speculation.

Dr. Kennedy's little volume is a model of its kind. The author states the question fairly, gives his own view distinctly, and supports it by references to passages which exhibit the various usages of the note-line. The work is not one to quote from; but the value of the book itself and the industry of the author may be gathered from the appendix, in which are placed all the passages in the Old Testament books in which the *pāsēq* occurs. It would add considerably to the usefulness of the volume if, in this appendix, the pages were given in which at least the principal texts are discussed.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

Von Soden's Greek Testament.

Von Soden's Greek Testament. Vol. I., Part I. Die Schriften des neuen Testaments in ihren ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte, von Dr. Theol. Hermann Freiherr von Soden. Band I.: Erste Abtheilung. Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1902. Large 8vo, pp. xvi. + 704. Price of complete work, M.50.

THE latest attempt to throw further light on the problems of the New Testament text is contained in Von Soden's monumental work, of which the first half-volume, containing some 700 pages, appeared at the end of last year. It is the result of fifteen years' labour, and one remembers that Westcott and Hort took twice as long to cover a smaller field of material. Von Soden, however, has had the advantage of having his undertaking financed by the wealthy German lady, Fraülein Elise Koenigs, to whom he dedicates his book; and so, at every point, he has been able to command the assistance of skilled collaborators in his researches in home and foreign libraries.

Only praise can be given to the marvellous industry and care with which an enormous amount of data has been brought together, and to the heroic patience which this work must have demanded. In the meantime it is necessary to await the constructive pages before attempting to estimate the services rendered to New Testament scholarship. Yet some interesting things are contained in this preliminary instalment, and in the forty pages regarding the section on the woman taken in adultery we have a sample of his critical method.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the book is the rather questionable departure it makes from previous custom in designating the MSS. Von Soden objects to the hap-

hazard growth of the present system of nomenclature, and, as champion of the cursives, will not allow the right of the uncials to arrogate to themselves titles like **N**, **A**, **B**, and leave only small numerals to the others. He will abandon this arrangement and give to each document a designation fixed by its date and contents. Thus each MS. of the whole New Testament is noted by the letter δ (from *διαθήκη*); those containing gospels only, by ϵ (from *εὐαγγέλιον*); those containing apostolic writings, by *a*. Besides this letter, each MS. has a number made up of one figure for its date, and one to distinguish it individually. The notation is very complicated. As a simple illustration we may take this: ϵ 315 means a codex of the thirteenth century containing the Gospels, and distinguished from others of that description as number 15. The disadvantages, however, of changing a well-known system are great, and further, the first figure of each formula, that involving the date, must very frequently be open to dispute; it is often a mere dictum of a palæographer who has been asked to report on the matter, and concerning whose principles of judgment we have no information.

The reader's curiosity is at once stimulated by the pre-fatory remarks regarding previous textual criticism. The "superstitious veneration" for the uncials **N** and **B**, and the "unwarranted" depreciation of **D** 33 and the Fathers are remarked on. A direct attack is thus made on Westcott and Hort's view of the "neutral" text, and further, their procedure in setting aside the mass of the cursives is said to have had quite inadequate grounds. In fact, the cardinal point of von Soden's position is, that a proper study of the whole mass of the cursives will carry us back in the history of the text beyond the time of the great uncial MSS. hitherto regarded as our ultimate authorities. Nothing less than this thorough examination of the enormous mass of cursives is the task which von Soden has undertaken. Some would consider a new investigation of the versions to be a more promising line of research, and the section of the next half-volume dealing with these will be looked for with

special interest, although it seems to occupy an inconspicuous place in the table of contents.

The present volume is devoted almost entirely to lists of documents, with explanations and notes regarding them. First comes a list of MSS. containing the New Testament text, then a list of commentaries with text, then a list of superscriptions and subscriptions and other notices found in MSS., but foreign to the text. Dr. von Soden uses this last list in discussing the relations of documents; for he is inclined to give some weight as evidence of common ancestry to similarity in such introductory or final remarks—which correspond to modern title pages or prefaces—and to the agreement of MSS., in noting the chapter divisions or Eusebian canons. This is an argument requiring to be used with much caution. For while there is always a balance of odds that a copyist will reproduce a given feature of his copy, yet, on the other hand, the execution of a new copy is just the most favourable opportunity for introducing a new feature like the canons, or obliterating a feature no longer desired.

Only in one section of this volume do we see von Soden actually in grips with his material. He remarks that the character of the text in the interpolation, John vii. 53 to viii. 11—which he calls μ (from *μοιχαλιν*)—is often an index to the kind of text in the whole document in which it is found, and so he sets to work to unravel the relations of the text of this *pericope* in the 1000 manuscripts containing the passage. “Nothing,” he remarks, “could at first look more hopeless, and if this puzzle is disentangled we may feel in good heart to face the larger one of the New Testament text in general.” We are not so sure that von Soden has got rid of that “if”.

His first step is to distinguish the two prevailing types of text in the Middle Ages. These he calls, in the light of the final result, μ^b and μ^c . They are not the exact text of any existing documents, but are the texts which he holds to be the basis of that contained in a large number. There is no doubt that two or three hundred MSS. have a text

assignable to one of these two types. Now, have μ^5 and μ^6 influenced each other? At first it seems so, for there are six places in μ^6 where μ^5 is largely followed. But the μ^6 documents which agree in following μ^5 at one place, diverge from each other in other places, proving that μ^5 has not exercised its influence on μ^6 all at once, or through one ancestor, but sporadically through isolated copies. Our attention is next directed to the form of text for which we possess the earliest evidence, that lying in Codex Bezae— $\delta 5$ or, more familiarly, D—and a few related MSS. He reaches the important result that this group shows here and there the influence of μ^5 and μ^6 ; in general, however, it contains an older text, μ^1 . This text is seen in some cases to explain both μ^5 and μ^6 ; for example, in δ^{10} *τη γυναικι* of $\delta 5$ is an early addition to the abrupt *που εισιν*, and had to be given up again when μ^5 and μ^6 made additions of their own; in μ^6 which inserts *ειδεν αυτην*, we have simply *γυναι*, and in μ^5 which inserts *μηδενα θεασαμενος πλην της γυναικος*, the next clause has necessarily simply *αυτη*. Behind this early type we have μ^0 , the most original text attainable, differing but slightly from μ^1 . There are also three others, μ^2 closely related to μ^0 , μ^3 related to μ^2 , and μ^4 , the text of the Ferrar group, and finally μ^7 , a late redaction combining μ^5 and μ^6 . Looking now at the table of variants which is exhibited, these results are seen to emerge: μ^5 and μ^6 are independent of each other; μ^5 is a derivative of μ^3 , for the several considerable divergences are due, not to another genuine ancestor of μ^5 , but to a late corrector; μ^5 is unrelated to μ^1 or μ^2 ; μ^6 depends on μ^4 and on μ^2 , and is independent of μ^1 and μ^3 ; μ^4 and μ^3 are inter-related, and also depend on μ^2 ; μ^3 may be related to μ^1 , but μ^2 is the only type that certainly depends on μ^1 . But many of these judgments are made on a balance of evidence, and go against some of the data. The whole result is finally set forth in a diagram. It may be doubted if an elaborate result like this, involving a series of nice decisions into which the personal equation largely enters, can possess any real stability.

Von Soden is really attempting to trace the text apart from the actual documents containing it. But a real history of the text must be a history of the documents. Von Soden calls his work an exhibition of the form of the text based on the history of the text. It would be equally true to call it a history of the text based on the various forms in which it is handed down. He does not, in these pages at any rate, get his history from outside considerations like the geographical distribution of MSS. or the known origins of versions, and then use such independent results as a basis for deciding regarding various readings. Yet this is the only method that could yield any real certainty. As long as the history of the text has itself to be gathered from the criticism of various readings on the ground of internal probability, the reconstruction of the original text cannot be undertaken with hope of reaching a definite and final conclusion.

ROBERT W. STEWART.

Funk's Patres Apostolici.

Patres Apostolici, edidit F. X. Funk. Vol. I. Tübingæ, in libraria: H. Laupp, MDCCCCI.; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. cli.+688. Price M.10.

FUNK is perhaps the best known of that school of Roman Catholic patristic scholars in Germany and Austria which seeks historical truth for its own sake and by genuinely historical methods. To it belonged F. X. Kraus, and to it still belong Bardenhewer and Ehrhard—to name only its most considerable members—men who understand history as did Döllinger and those who became known as Old Catholics after the Vatican Council of 1870. Their work is marked by thorough knowledge of the literature of their subject in all its branches, and by real appreciation of the contributions made to it by Protestant scholars, no less than by those of their own communion. Thus it comes about that the volume before us may be regarded as the most compact and trustworthy *Corpus Patrum Apostolicorum* at present available. It is terser than the great edition of Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn—of which it makes good use—and has the advantage of all the research that has gone on since 1877. In particular Funk has studied Lightfoot's work diligently, and as a rule acquiesces in its results. His views, then, may be taken as those of a sober, progressive criticism; and this edition forms an excellent starting-point for those beginning such studies, while yet it will repay even the specialists who consult it.

The work is written in readable Latin, and its prolegomena embrace all the main topics introductory to each writing, *viz.*, the Didache, Barnabas, I. and II. Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Mart. Polycarpi, Papiæ Fragmenta, Quadrati Fragmenta, Presbyteri apud Irenæum, ad Diognetum, Hermas. The following are some of the more distinctive of Funk's

positions. The Didache he places first in time, *i.e.*, c. 80-90, but differs from most scholars in denying that the "Two Ways" existed apart at an earlier date. He thinks these ethical precepts were afterwards separated for catechetical purposes, a position which forces him to make the surprising statement that the most Christian precepts, now found in *Did.* i. 3-5, were left out as "less fit" for such a use. It is possible that a more adequate study of the Latin version of the "Two Ways," recently published by Schlecht and utilised in his own *apparatus criticus*, would lead our author to reconsider his solution of this literary problem. Barnabas he places under Nerva; but can thus render no account of the three kings humbled at one stroke (τρεῖς ὑφ' ἑν)—a really crucial point, in that the author added it to a nominal quotation to help his readers to the right solution. But Funk argues well against the later dates based on the reference in chap. xvi. to an expected rebuilding of the Jewish temple, "cum auctor, Judæis spem templi restituendi semper alentibus, etiam ante Hadrianum illo modo loqui potuerit". Thus nothing stands in the way of a date under Vespasian, as Weizsäcker, Lightfoot and Ramsay reckon in slightly different forms, save Funk's dubious theory as to the priority of our Didache, as distinct from the "Two Ways". For I. Clement use is here made of the Latin version published in 1894; but perhaps hardly enough weight is allowed it in deciding between variant readings. As to II. Clement, Funk agrees generally with Lightfoot, for instance in taking its reference to "sailing to the games" as almost proving Corinth to have been the place where the homily was first delivered. The passage will not bear the strain of such an argument; and indeed it seems very doubtful whether, in view of its probable use of the gospel according to the Egyptians, if not of a second apocryphal gospel, we should not look in another quarter than either Corinth or Rome for the home of this archaic sermon. In dealing with the phrase Ἰγνάτιος ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, Funk takes *Theophorus* as a second or Greek proper name, not as a descriptive surname, and gives good reasons for so doing.

Funk's handling of the famous fragment of Papias touching "John the Elder" merits notice. A good case is made for preferring Irenæus to Eusebius as an interpreter of Papias' meaning, and he concludes against the existence of a second John, at least in Papias, "ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης indicat apostolum Joannem κατ' ἐξοχὴν a suis πρεσβύτερον appellatum fuisse, et locus accurate interpretandus est, *et senior, scilicet* (vel. qui vocatur) *Joannes*". Clearly πρεσβύτερος was a term of wide and varied connotation in primitive Christianity, and Irenæus was far more likely to appreciate this than Eusebius, especially when the latter had a prejudice touching Papias to deflect his usually clear vision. But, on the other hand, Eusebius is deliberately correcting Irenæus' reading, which makes a difference; and one cannot imagine Papias naming the apostle John *after* Aristion. Again, is Funk right in placing Papias' book as late as A.D. c. 130 (with Lightfoot and many others)? To judge from the place which Eusebius assigns to him in his *History*, viz., along with Ignatius (iii. 36, 1) in the age of Trajan, and before several references to his closing years and death (iv. 1-3), it would seem that Eusebius at least did not think so; and he had every motive to put him as far from the Johannine age as possible. Certainly Funk is mistaken¹ in relying on Philip of Side to prove that Papias wrote *non ante Hadriani regnum*. After some excerpts in *Cod. Baroccianus* 142, traceable to him and containing statements drawn from Papias, the last of which relates to the mother of Manaïmus (Mena-hem), τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστᾶσαν, we get another jotting, disconnected save as to subject, περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντων ὅτι ἕως Ἀδριανοῦ ἔζων. The very form of the sentence betrays its nature as a summary, based on Eusebius' section on Quadratus and his apology (iv. 3); and the MS. itself hints at the fact by a red dot separating the words from what precedes. Accordingly there seems no valid ground for putting Papias' Ἐξηγήσεις later than Trajan's reign, or at any rate as late

¹ Professor B. W. Bacon makes the same mistake in his paper on "Recent Aspects of the Johannine Problem," in the *Hibbert Journal*, i., 512.

as A.D. 130. But, apart from this, Funk's notes on the various fragments of Papias and the *Presbyteri apud Irenæum* (who are discriminated more carefully than is common) are most useful. As regards *The Shepherd of Hermas*, which he places *sedente Pio*, our editor has given a good deal of attention to the text, using the Berlin papyrus of *Sim.* ii. 7-10, iv. 2-5, as well as Dr. Armitage Robinson's collation of the Athos MS. and Schnell's fresh collation of the Palatine form of the Latin version. But even his vigilance has overlooked the fragment of *Mand.* xi. 9-10, printed in the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, i. 190. And now we are able to point to a yet more important find due to the same source, *viz.*, some fragments of the lost Greek ending of Hermas, just published by Grenfell and Hunt in *Oxyr. Pap.* iii. These contain the bulk of *Sim.* x. 3, 2-5, and demonstrate that Simonides' Greek text of this part was the forgery it was already judged to be.

One principle of this otherwise excellent edition—and we have now the notes in view, as well as the introductions—is to be regretted for the sake of all save beginners; our editor places opposite the original text a modern Latin translation (for the most part his own), even in those cases where an ancient Latin version is extant. This greatly detracts from the completeness of an otherwise wonderfully self-sufficing manual. The only slip in reproducing an authority which we have noted is on p. lxxviii. There Polycrates of Ephesus is said to have succeeded seven of his kinsmen in the episcopate of that city, whereas he really claims only to have succeeded to some of the seven, the rest having been bishops elsewhere (*Eus.* v. 24, 6). There are indices of Scripture passages (which perhaps err on the side of inclusion) and also serviceable, though brief, *Indices Vocabulorum*. The second volume, including unauthentic Acts of Martyrdom of Clement and Ignatius, the Pseudo-Clementine Epistles *On Virginity*, and the Pseudo-Ignatian Epistles, has not reached the present reviewer.

VERNON BARTLET.

The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi. By STANLEY A. COOK, M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. + 307. Price 6s. net.

WIDESPREAD interest has naturally been excited by the discovery about a year ago of the remarkable series of legal enactments of very ancient date at the great mound known as the Acropolis of Susa. The questions raised by that discovery are of far-reaching importance, and the attention of many scholars has been given to their solution. Already a very considerable literature has grown up around these Laws; to which weighty contributions have been made by Scheil, Winckler, Jeremias, Orelli, Mr. C. H. W. Johns and others. We are already in possession of three translations of the Code and of valuable discussions of particular points connected with it. Other publications are promised us by the University of Chicago and by various scholars. Meanwhile Mr. Cook gives us a volume which will be of much use to the English student.

His chief aim in writing this book is, he tells us, "to provide a full account of the contents of the recently discovered Babylonian Code of Laws, promulgated in the twenty-third century before Christ by Hammurabi, the king whose name has been identified with Amraphel, the contemporary of Abraham" (Gen. xiv.). We may at once say that the book well fulfils its declared object. It would have been better, it must be added, if much more time had been spent on the style, for the volume is not very attractive in that respect. It is sometimes obscure and involved where a little pains might have made things very different. But it is full of matter. Its estimates and judgments are sober and well considered, and it comes very opportunely.

The story of the discovery of the Code is briefly told; a synopsis of its contents is given, and the questions relating to Hammurabi are stated. The influence of Babylonia over Canaan is next considered, the conclusion being reached that neither Babylonia nor Arabia would have been likely to "influence Israel to such an extent as to impose upon it a code of laws representing a stage of society which the Israelites had scarcely reached before the Exile". The various enactments in the Code are then examined in detail, much space, perhaps disproportionate space, being given to those referring to family life. In the chapters dealing with these various provisions we get much interesting matter. Some important comparisons are instituted between the Babylonian legislation and the Mosaic, the latter being looked at always from the standpoint of the critical reconstruction.

The general result is that, while in many points the two Codes resemble each other in a striking way, there are important differences. There are similarities in the legal formulation, in phraseology and in various groups of laws. There are differences at the same time which Mr. Cook carefully points out, even in some of the provisions which have a large general resemblance. The Babylonian Code further deals only with matters of civil law, and, strictly speaking, should be brought into comparison not with the legislation of Israel as a whole, but only with the original Book of the Covenant. The conclusion to which Mr. Cook comes after his detailed study of the Code is in harmony with the provisional conclusion to which the general historical position of the two peoples pointed, *viz.*, that the Israelite legislation was not "to any considerable extent indebted to the Babylonian," and that the parables and analogies which have been observed are "to be ascribed most naturally to the common Semitic origin of the two systems". The view of Joh. Jeremias, who would explain the likeness between the two Codes by a common *Arabian* origin, is also noticed. But Mr. Cook is not of opinion that there is anything to prove direct borrowing from Arabia. He would rather say that "Arabia, which

has best preserved Semitic characteristics, continued to retain the primitive principles of law and justice which the Semites of Babylonia and Canaan developed in different directions". This is the just view to take in the present state of inquiry. The notion that there has been direct borrowing on the part of one religion from another has been disproved in too many cases to make it reasonable, in view of what we possess at present in the way of evidence, to leap to the conclusion that Israel was in this sense Babylonia's debtor or even Arabia's. The enormous influence asserted by Friedrich Delitzsch and others to have been exerted by ancient Babylonia over early Israel, and the dependence of the latter upon the former, even in its doctrine of God, are positions supported as yet by nothing that would be accepted as *proof* in any other line of inquiry.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.

The Song of Songs, with Introduction and Notes. By the Rev. Andrew Harper, D.D., Principal of St. Andrew's College, within the University of Sydney, and Professor of Hebrew. Cambridge: University Press, 1902. Extra Fcap. 8vo, pp. li. + 96. Price 1s. 6d. net.

MANY students of the Old Testament can never forget the thrill of delight with which they first read the volume of Ewald's *Dichter des alten Bundes* which contains his exposition of the Song of Songs. Then felt they "like some watcher of the skies when a new planet swims into his ken". A book which had been obscure and uninteresting became to them the most enthralling of romances. Its dramatic unity, its lyric splendour, its noble ethical motive were suddenly revealed to them. They had no prejudice to overcome, no traditional view to discard, before they could accept the modern interpretation. The younger generation never had the fortune or misfortune to hear the old order of communion addresses based upon the mystical understanding of the Song of Songs. For them this Scripture was simply one of those books which were never read, far less expounded, in church. It was a sealed book, waiting for some one to break the seal.

The seal is now broken, and many sermons are, or ought to be, derived from this admirable product of the inspired Hebrew mind. The message of the book was never more needed than it is in the present age. The author regards pure human love as an infinitely sacred thing—"a very flame of the Lord"—and it is this conception which makes the song an essentially religious poem. The idea that the writer, while composing this work, had constantly in view the love of Jehovah for His people, or of Christ for His

Church, has ceased to be credible. It is quite another thing to say that all kinds of pure love, divine and human, are intimately akin, and may be used to illustrate each other. The author of the Song, with his lofty ideal of human love, would of course have been the last to deny this; but there is really no evidence that he ever had this idea before his mind, or that he expected or desired his poem to be used for the purposes of religious illustration. His poetry is "simple, sensuous, passionate," as Milton said that poetry should be; and the motive of the poem is the victory of pure, intense, human love, kindled by Jehovah, over the artificial seductions of unholy passion and degrading luxury. To all his reason the Hebrew poet says, in the language of the refrain which he puts into the mouth of the Shulammite, "I adjure you . . . that ye stir not up nor awaken love until it please".

Professor Harper's edition of the Song will be read by all Old Testament students with pleasure and gratitude. Its qualities of first-rate scholarship may be taken for granted. Its admirable literary style, its breadth of sympathy, its perfect appreciation of the moral ideal of the poem, are features for which we are still more thankful. Professor Harper has a clear-sightedness and sure-footedness which save him alike from the illusions of the older expositors and from the vagaries of the newer. On the whole he is at one with Ewald in his conception of the plan and purpose of the Song. "We agree," he writes, "with those who say it was what we should have expected among a people so penetrated with ethical and religious principles as the Hebrew people were, that the relation between the sexes should have been rightly set forth, and lifted above the degradation of mere sensualism and polygamy." The fresh translation which Professor Harper gives in the Appendix, supplying indications of changes of scene, names of speakers, and other external helps, render the Song at once intelligible as a dramatic unity. This edition should make the modern conception of the poem not merely tolerable, but acceptable and even entrancing to thousands of fresh readers.

Professor Harper is capable of appreciating the mystical
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element, which undoubtedly pervades much of the love-poetry of the Easterns. He reminds us of the fact that Goethe's genius found itself at home in this element. He can also read the famous sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux with enjoyment. He will not admit that nothing more need be said about the old mode of interpretation than that "it was all a regrettable blunder". "But the question remains whether the allegorical interpretation of the Song of Songs is likely to persist in the Church, now that its spiritual reference is recognised as in some sort only secondary, and its ethical meaning has been made clear. That may be doubted." And, as a matter of fact, in his "Notes" Professor Harper gives no single specimen of the allegorical mode of interpretation. He evidently feels that mysticism is here quite unnecessary. It was "the intoxication of first love" that "inspired such a glorious song as we have here". "The Shulammite is all the while exhibiting the higher qualities of love, superiority to sense, fidelity in temptation, and that tender brooding of the imagination on the loved one, which lifts even common natures to heights they would never otherwise attain."

We are exceedingly grateful to Professor Harper for his second Appendix, in which he subjects Budde's commentary on the Song to a minute and searching analysis. About five years ago Budde propounded the theory that the Canticles are merely a miscellaneous collection of popular wedding chants, carelessly strung together and devoid of moral purpose, such as are heard at the seven days' marriage-feasts of the peasantry of the trans-Jordanic and trans-Lebanon districts at the present day. One could not wish a finer piece of historical and literary criticism than Professor Harper's refutation of this theory. After reading it we are left with the impression that the German commentator is a man of "almost miraculous ingenuity," but of somewhat defective literary and ethical insight. If we cannot accept the allegorical exegesis, still less are we attracted by his sensuous interpolations. "The balsam beds are made to signify her (the bride's) cheeks, the lilies her mouth, the

pasturing and plucking the enjoyment of her love. And everywhere it is the same. The most innocent similes have to become sexual references, and from beginning to end the bride is made to beat at the door of the marriage chamber in a most unbecoming manner, although she is also childlike enough to wish that her bridegroom had been her brother." If Budde's theory was accepted, the great panegyric on love in chap. viii. 6-7 would find no fitting place in the poem. "How strange it would be to sing, "If a man should give all the substance of his house for love, yet would he be utterly contemned," at marriages where the assumption was that such love as was felt had been a mere matter of purchase and sale. We may safely predict that Budde's too clever theory of the Song, like his similar theory of Job, will never find any general acceptance among Old Testament scholars.

J. STRACHAN.

Grundriss der Religionsphilosophie.

Von D. Dr. A. Dorner. Leipzig: Verlag der Dürr'schen
Buchhandlung, 1903. Pp. xviii. + 448. Price 7s.

PROFESSOR DORNER'S activity as an author is admirable. Apart from minor publications, he has already given us large and important works on Metaphysics, on Ethics, and on the History of Dogma. The very favourable estimate of the last named—and last published—in the CRITICAL REVIEW was more than confirmed by the tributes paid to it by some of the first theologians of Germany. And now he gives us his *Religionsphilosophie*, with a most comprehensive and inviting range of study. His particular aim is to connect the empirical materials yielded by the history and psychology of religion with philosophical, and especially metaphysical, points of view. The essence of religion, Dorner thinks, must be sought much more in underlying Reality, which grounds all appearances, than in any sum of common marks or any common characteristic of a group of appearances. Reason, in all the territories of spirit, fashions ideals, and all concrete appearances are only so many attempts to realise an ideal, which is the impelling principle in the process of spiritual development. Religion, which all mechanism subserves in the teleological development of spirit, calls for metaphysical presuppositions. It reaches out towards the union of God and man, and this union moves towards an ideal which is only realised with the gradual development of spirit. The philosophy of religion has thus, in Dorner's view, to do with the process of development whereby religion is brought to the ideal, as is seen working itself out in the history of the human race as relation betwixt God and man. He refers to the tendency to hold by historic guarantees of faith rather than to God Himself, and insists

that neither to foster quietude nor disquiet is the task of science, but the honouring of truth.

Dorner disclaims giving a bibliography, but he opens with a select list of the literature of his subject, in which Britain is well represented. He gives important place to the discussion of the opposition between the speculative and the empirical standpoints in religion. Those who make of religion only a psychological and historical inquiry and strive to educe some universal point of view therefrom, come to no philosophy of religion in the strict sense of the term, but only to an inductive treatment of the factual materials. Whether the object of religion, the Godhead, exists or not, can here hardly be decided, since experience has nothing to say thereupon. On the other hand, Dorner maintains the necessity of speculation's aid, for religion is basally more than an empiric reality, its essence is not perceived in empiric mode, and its development is towards an ideal. Thus the speculative view of religion places it in the connexion of a great system, seeks to understand it as a determinate form of the life of spirit, and to assign to it its place in the total life of spirit. The speculative conception trusts to the possibility of all-comprehending principles in so understanding religion in its complete connexion with the life of spirit. He does not deny that the inductive method is almost the only one in vogue at the present time. But he says it is with philosophy of religion as with philosophy in general. This latter is the bringing together of the results of the empiric sciences under universal points of view, and the philosophy of religion is exhausted when its materials of fact are brought together under certain universal points of view. If justification is wanted for this conception, it is to be found by inquiring into the rights of philosophy as independent science, and whether it can acquiesce in the position assigned to it by empiricism. Dorner then enters upon a discussion as to the right of philosophy to be regarded as independent science, and leads up to the conclusion that philosophy has task and method of its own, and cannot rest upon mere induction.

That task and method, as treated in philosophical Encyclopædia, Dorner next investigates, with a view to giving Philosophy of Religion its place within the Whole of Philosophy. Here the theory of knowledge claims our author's attention, whence he is led through the real categories to Metaphysics. The metaphysics of the Absolute Being he distinguishes from the metaphysics of the world, and the metaphysical *Urgrund* Dorner first sets out to seek. Then he turns to the metaphysics of the world, discussing the question of an *Ursache*—and of the creative *Ursache*. It cannot, he holds, be said that God created out of nothing, but that God created and creates the world out of Himself, out of the potencies existing in Him. A noteworthy feature of these discussions is the use to which the Schellingian doctrine of potencies is turned. Dorner touches separately on the metaphysics of nature and the metaphysics of spirit. His whole treatment of the subjects already referred to is singularly lucid, able and timely, forming a needed and powerful counteractive to much superficial thinking in the theology of our time, which is so often radically weak and faulty for lack of metaphysical depth and insight.

We are now brought to Dorner's division of the subject-matter of the philosophy of religion. His main divisions are four. First is the representation of religion as relation of God and man, including phenomenology of religion and the religious ideal. Second, the grounding of religion in God, and religious metaphysics. Third, psychological view of the religious subject and his acts, together with consideration of faith and its forms of expression. Fourth, laws of the religious life. To the working out of these four divisions Professor Dorner's book is devoted, each division being worked out in detail under a variety of interesting and orderly heads. Before saying anything of these, one ought to indicate Dorner's view that the discussion of religion, as relation of man to Godhead, is not a thing to be abstractly carried through. The different stages of religious development, and the concrete historical forms of religion, are to be considered. The advance of the religious consciousness,

with the progress of spirit itself from stage to stage, must be shown; also, how the religious relation is always more perfectly formed, and how this advance is effected through immanent necessity. Then shall we arrive at results for the determination of the concept of religion. From the character of religion as relation of spirit to a supersensible reality springs the concept of subjective and objective religion as matter for discussion. The conclusion of the whole process is found in the striving to realise the ideal.

It would be impossible to follow Dorner's four divisions in detailed comment, so I shall confine myself to some remarks on each. Under the first division, Dorner describes with considerable detail the rise and development of the religious consciousness. He goes back to its earliest and crudest beginnings, where it has not apprehended itself as spirit, but evinces only feelings, impulses, phantasies. He traces its rise in the lowest beginnings of religion and metaphysics as seen in spirit raising itself above nature, when religion assumes a kind of supersensible cast. These lowest stages of the life of phantasy, presentiment, and belief in spirits, Dorner takes to indicate a primitive need—a need metaphysical—of supersensible reality. And, after discussion, he concludes that this metaphysical need of man's primitive nature cannot be severed from religion, for the supersensible reality involved is set in relation to man's whole nature. As spirit grows in comprehension of itself as reason and will, so is Godhead comprehended under similar aspects. This process of the elevation of spirit above nature, and of the apprehension of itself as the unity of real and ideal potency—of will and reason—is one wherein religion becomes determined up to its highest stages. Dorner draws much illustrative material in the discussion from the field of comparative religion. The results of this view of the historic process of religion are presented with much fulness, after which the ideal of individual religions, and the absolute ideal of religion, are dealt with.

In the second division, the grounding of religion in God, or the metaphysic of religion, engages our author's attention. Dorner clearly realises that these metaphysical aspects form

the greatest subject of contention in the philosophy of religion at present. His treatment, he significantly remarks, proceeds on the assumption that religion has not to do with illusions, but has reality for its base. He avers that what has been chiefly opposed to the attempt to prove the being of God is, that we have no base from which our proof can take its point of departure. For if God be posited as the absolutely existing Being, then we have no support for the proving of Him. Much rather, in point of fact, everything then proceeds from Him. Even the idea of God in man would, in the last result, itself be a product of the Divine. So that, in any congruent fashion, we should have the actual experience of God taking the place of proof of Him. God-consciousness then becomes the only support for the Divine Existence. But then, says Dorner, God-consciousness takes very diverse forms, and the right one must be determined. Discussing this situation, Dorner comes to the conclusion that what we must prove is—much more than anything else—that the existence of God is a thought necessary to reason—that we are necessitated to think this thought.

He then proceeds to deal with the famous proofs for the Being of God, making real beginning with the ontological proof. The first point of importance in his use of this argument is his making it a means of compassing an agreement of thought with religious experience, pointing to a possibility of perfect harmony in the life of spirit. Dorner further holds we can keep religious experience from being viewed as illusion only by proving it unjustifiable to doubt of such experience, whose content corresponds with thought necessary to our reason. For this proof shows, he holds, that if we would have knowledge in general, we must take for presupposition that there is a Being, in Whom all reality is comprehended, and Who is the single source of all reality. We must think such most real of all Beings as necessary, and as necessarily existing, and Dorner declares himself unconvinced that the ontological proof is empty and untenable. Dorner then goes on to discuss in clear and interesting fashion the forms in which the cosmological and teleological arguments are tenable,

from which he passes to ethical, æsthetical and religious lines of proof.

We are thus brought up to his third main division of the work, dealing with the psychological view of the religious subject and the practical proofs of his religiousness. Faith in all the specific forms of its expression is more fully gone into than can here be traversed. I shall make a reference only to the section dealing with the Churchly Community. This subject is dealt with on a wide basis, leading up to discussion on the specifically Christian Community. This latter is handled in no churchly-minded spirit, but in a broad and dispassionate way. He makes the advance in the development of the religious community depend on the development of the religious consciousness. And it is accounted necessary to discuss, in separate sections, whether the need of the religious community and the care of the religious life cannot be better met in other ways than through an organised Church; whether religious phantasy cannot be best satisfied by great religious Art; whether the religious principle of knowledge cannot be best met by free and far-seeing Science; and whether the need of a religiously determined will comes not best to its own through practical proof within the whole territories of Ethics.

The fourth and last division comprises the laws of the religious life. Here the need of law, and the different kinds of law, are touched upon, and the question raised whether the religious laws are natural laws or advances upon these. The answer, it is argued, will always depend on one's standpoint as taken in our philosophy of religion in the universal sense.

But this notice must close. I have tried to indicate the author's positions and lines of thought, rather than to criticise them. I think such positive presentations as we have here must form the best correctives to Ritschlian depreciation of metaphysics and to certain unbalanced ethicisms of our time. At any rate, this fresh contribution to the inspiring theological discipline now designated Philosophy of Religion deserves serious study and cordial welcome.

JAMES LINDSAY.

The Crises of the Christ.

*By G. Campbell Morgan, D.D. London : Hodder & Stoughton.
Pp. xv. + 430. Price 7s. 6d.*

The Finger of God: Studies and Suggestions in the Miracles of Jesus.

*By the Rev. T. H. Wright. London : Andrew Melrose, 1903.
Large Crown 8vo, pp. xvi. + 201.*

The Greater Exodus.

*By J. Fitzgerald Lee. London : Elliott Stock. Pp. x. + 132.
Price 2s. 6d. net.*

DR. CAMPBELL MORGAN in an interesting foreword differentiates his book from the many Lives of Jesus published in recent years. These have been more largely directed to the contemplation of the Person of Jesus than to a consideration of the accomplishment of a divine work. It is to this latter aspect of the life of Jesus that Dr. Morgan devotes himself. In point of fact this is not a life of Jesus at all, in the sense of Geikie, Farrar and Stalker. It is a series of dissertations on the outstanding features of the Christ, and the book is rightly named "The Crises of Christ".

Dr. Morgan finds seven of these turning moments in the life of the Redeemer, *viz.*, the Birth, the Baptism, the Temptation, the Transfiguration, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection and the Ascension. The book is a discussion of these, and it is a discussion growing in interest, and power, and in clearness.

In the earlier pages, if one could say it without being misunderstood, one feels Dr. Morgan has not got away. These chapters are indeed full of thought, devotion and intense

spirituality, but the line labours, and there is a sense of strain, restraint or inhibition.

When Dr. Morgan is at his best he does not say, *e.g.*, God's will "is ever *impulsed* by this perfect affection" (70); "the people have become *antagonised*" (92); "a purpose *homed* in God's perfect love" (145). We know these are trifles, but they indicate the strain and occasional turgidity here and there apparent.

Perhaps the most difficult chapter, and the least illuminative, is the one devoted to the Incarnation. In this subject that has now come to the very forefront of theological interest and criticism, Dr. Morgan, though stating fully the doctrine of Scripture, and of the Confessions, has not been quite successful in giving a fresh and co-ordinated statement of religious and philosophical thought. He tells us "the difficulty admits of no explanation save that of restating it"; "it is a mystery defying explanation". Doubtless. But the blank wall comes sooner, and is more disappointing than we thought. Yet even while we note it, this has to be said: Dr. Morgan no doubt felt that the limits he had laid down for himself precluded the fuller discussion which would otherwise have been seasonable and profitable.

When he comes to "The Parting of the Ways," he is thoroughly *en rapport* with his subject and his readers. The statement on the human development of Jesus is excellent, and sometimes piquant, as in the following practical note: "He grew in favour not only with God, but with men. Jesus was a favourite in His own village. It is not a sign of being in the grace of God when one is out of favour with men."

The chapters on the Temptation are excellent, expository, interesting, and always spiritual and searching. The discussion of the tempted Jesus, in relation to His ministry, to the perfection of His nature, and to the redemption of tempted man, is both worthy and complete, and reveals Dr. Morgan at his best as a great preacher, skilled to fortify the soul. Perhaps one might dissent from the apparent literality in his treatment of agent and locality; and Dr.

Morgan himself, by the way in which he quotes the beautiful psychological note of Luke, "in a moment of time," is not quite so far away from the modern reading of the Temptation as one might at first suppose.

In Book IV., the Transfiguration, the author returns to a subject that in his sermons he has treated with great tenderness and spiritual power. In this book one has the qualities that made these sermons, all fused and glowing, in an atmosphere that is as full of thought as it is of devotion. To read Book IV. perhaps in an hour when the fire of life burns low, and when we cannot kindle it, is to have a door opened in heaven, to be on the mount and to feel the words of Jesus, "He that is near Me is always near the fire". Yet Dr. Morgan on the mount does not forget the valley. With shrewd common-sense he comments on the tabernacles Peter would have made, and he says: "The mistake is by no means an obsolete one. Men are still attempting to make tabernacles, one for Christ, one for Confucius, one for Buddha. More harm was done in 1893 in the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago than has yet been undone. Men from the East, who then heard arguments to show the comparison between the religion of Jesus and that of others, while perhaps to-day thinking no less of Christ than before, yet cling more tenaciously than ever to the system in which they have been brought up. One for Jesus, one for Moses, and one for Elijah is utterly and hopelessly wrong. He has lost the sense of the absolute and sovereign supremacy of Jesus Christ over all teachers."

The chapters on the Crucifixion include also "The Approach to the Cross, and the Representative Crowds," as well as a careful and delicately reticent treatment of the Sufferings of our Lord. The reverent touch, forbearing to dwell on the mere physical, is all that could be desired, and is in marked contrast with the unspiritual and familiar handling of this great mystery, that mars so many books on the Passion. Dr. Morgan has entered into the sympathetic darkness that veiled the Cross. He knows there is something inscrutable, something unutterable, in the Atonement

made for man. Believing Christ's work to be both vicarious and expiatory, he refuses to be drawn into the statement of a theory of the Atonement, remembering that our Lord Himself said "Why?" and "if He asked that question I dare not imagine that I can ever explain the deep central verities of His mystery of pain".

One is deeply thankful for the chapters in which the Resurrection is treated, under the heads of "The Perfect Victory," "The Divine Seal," and "Faith's Anchorage". The various theories that have been put forward to explain, or rather explain away, the Resurrection are dealt with in close and convincing reasoning, and Dr. Morgan gives us a striking apologetic for the objective fact. It is refreshing to find the case stated with so much clearness, a very marked contrast to the almost disingenuous way in which Harnack, for example, deals with the same subject. In this, and generally, Dr. Morgan's book is a great contribution to the cause of Christian certainty. We think it will do great good. It has certain faults which we have noted, in language, plan and interpretation; but these are only accidental. The book itself remains, and has, we are glad to see, attained its majority in a second edition.

It is a praiseworthy and successful attempt to again bring the Life of Jesus on to theological lines, to think it out not in terms of the picturesque Syrian landscape, but in the related facts of sin, redemption and the reconciliation of God and man.

There has not been published for a quarter of a century a more suggestive, informative and competent book on the miracles of Jesus. It is timely also. In certain quarters the habit has set in of apologising for the miraculous in the Gospel history, as if it were only the burden of the faith.

Mr. Wright does not of course base the defence of the Christian religion on miracle alone, like some of the older apologists. We believe in miracle because we have first believed in a miraculous Person. But "we may also come

to believe in Him with a fuller faith because of the miracles, in harmony as these are with the whole Revelation in Jesus of which they are a living part ”.

The book falls into three divisions: I. The place of Miracles in the defence and commendation of Christianity; II. Examination of Miracles of Healing; III. Miracles in the sphere of non-human nature; upon the nature of Jesus; and in the Unseen World.

Dealing with the term “Supernatural”—the question-begging appellative by pre-eminence—Mr. Wright shows the impossibility of drawing the line between the natural and the supernatural. This border line is a shifting boundary, and is constantly over-passed as human experience is enlarged. Miracles are defined as “divinely significant works; manifestations of Divine power going beyond present human experience of the forces known to be working in the world in human nature”. In support of his contention of a God living and moving and working in all things Fairbairn is quoted. “The absolute miracle—the only Supernatural is the inactivity of God.”

The book is developed along this line, that miracles may be only the works that belong to that part of nature which at present is hidden from us. “Given the Person of Jesus, the Creator of a new world, given the complete Human Soul, the Perfect Instrument of Divine Power (as the New Testament presents Him), and we shall not find it incredible that He exercised a unique action on the world of matter and the realm of human spirit.” The works of Jesus were unique because He was uniquely related to the Divine source of power.

In discussing the miracles of healing, Mr. Wright aptly points out how Jesus required a certain condition of mind and spirit in those to be healed. He laboured to produce it, to call forth and to release not only all the powers of a man's soul, but also the healing forces of nature. Reference is made to the related phenomena of mental and bodily healing in our own day, with the medical evidence in connexion therewith. In the chapter dealing with the restoration of

demoniacs, the freshness and ability of Mr. Wright's book are specially shown. No doubt Dr. Menzies Alexander has been before him in this particular line, but Mr. Wright's treatment has an independent value, and in the future no man will expound this type of miracle till he has cleared and informed his thought by a study of these helpful and suggestive chapters.

We have no hesitation in saying this is a book "we cannot do without". The spirit of it is admirable; to the preacher it is stimulating, and, not least, it is written in a style at once delightful and distinguished.

Another book on the Exodus, and a brand-new theory. Certainly this book amply redeems the promise of the preface that "the author has collected together many most interesting, curious, and often really startling facts". For this book propounds the theory that the Biblical Exodus is but the legend preserving the main facts of "The Greater Exodus" of the Semitic race from Mexico and Peru, up through North America, across the ice-floes of Behring Strait *into* Asia. There has been considerable ingenuity hitherto on the part of apologists "to get round" the sea. Here we go over it dryshod, thanks to the ice. There is now no difficulty in believing the forty years' march, for instead of from the Nile to the Jordan, this was a Semitic migration from Peru to South-West Asia. Probably it would have taken all that time.

The book collects, from mythology, legend and place-names remarkable footprints of "The Wandering Jew". It seems certain Semites refused to trust themselves on the ice of Behring Strait. They remained behind, the main wave of migration sweeping on, while the remnant became henceforth identified with the Red Man. This contact between the red men and the white men is hinted at in the book of Genesis. "Jacob the smooth man, the unhairy man" (note the characteristic of the American Indian) serves a

man, wins his flocks and marries his daughter. "The man's name was Laban, which in Hebrew means the white man." There are other things in the book as good as this (page 61), and probably one feels that the preface is undeniably right on the safe side, that the "suggestions of the book must be left to the candid consideration of the reader".

W. M. GRANT.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers. By
GEORGE BUCHANAN GRAY, M.A., D.D., Professor of
Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Mansfield
College, Oxford. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903.
8vo, pp. lii. + 489. Price 12s.

COMPARATIVELY little has been done for a considerable time for the interpretation of the Book of Numbers. Yet it is a book that emphatically requires attention. It is full of interest, but it is also full of problems and difficulties. It is a surprising thing that it has been left so much unnoticed by scholars. We have indeed the great work of Dillmann than which it would not be easy to find a better. And something has been done since Dillmann's book appeared by Strack and other scholars. But much was waiting to be done, and Professor Gray has stepped into the breach. He is admirably equipped in breadth as well as in exactness of scholarship for the task in view, and in this volume he makes by far the most considerable addition to our literature on Numbers that we have got since Dillmann's time. Now that a new beginning has been made by this able and opportune contribution to the *International Critical Commentary*, we shall look for more. Already indeed we are having instalments of that from the hands of Professors Baentsch and Holzinger in Nowack's *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament* and Marti's *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*. And no doubt other scholars will be attracted to the same fruitful field.

Perhaps the most notable characteristic of Professor Gray's commentary is the variety of its method. It gives large space to questions of Criticism, both the Lower and the Higher. It makes consistent use of the grammatical and historical method in its exegesis. But it does not limit itself to these things. It interprets and values the ideas

which are expressed in the book. And it introduces much historical, geographical and antiquarian lore with a view to the explanation and illustration of the narrative. The student, therefore, will find very much that will interest him and advance his knowledge in a commentary constructed on this large and liberal scale.

In addition to the ordinary expository notes the volume contains a number of longer or detached notes. These are introduced at appropriate points all through the book, and they are of great value. They deal with such questions as the numbers of the Israelites, the camp in the wilderness, the Levites, ordeals, Nazarites, priestly dues, the cult of serpents, the power of a curse, the differences between the festivals of earlier and of later times, etc.

Among these we may refer to one on the origin and motive of the story of Balaam. The *narrative* in chap. xxii. 2—xxiv. 25 is taken to be due to J and E, and to belong, therefore, to the date of these sources, *viz.*, the ninth or eighth century B.C. But the question of the date of the poetical sections is more complicated. Until very lately the antiquity of the first four poems was generally recognised. Professor Gray refers to the arguments of Diehl in favour of a later date for these sections, and to those of von Gall in support of a post-Exilic date for all the poetical matter. But he holds it improbable, especially in the case of the third poem, that these pieces are meant to depict the Messianic age, and he attaches considerable importance to the "feeling of national confidence, success, prosperity, and contentment," as significant of the antiquity of these sections. He regards the episode as in the main "a creation of the Hebrew national spirit in the days of national prosperity and self-confidence springing from reliance on the national God, Yahweh". He finds the motive of the story in the contest between Israel and Moab—Jehovah's purpose of good regarding His people, His power to defend them, and "the fatal madness of those who oppose Him".

Among the religious presuppositions of the story, the most striking, he thinks, are the "recognition of Yahweh's revela-

tion of His purposes concerning Israel to one who was not an Israelite, and the familiar intercourse of this foreign seer with the God of Israel". As to the character of Balaam, the author thinks too much has been made of that, and that a prominence has been given it which does not belong to it in the story itself. Balaam himself seems to Professor Gray rather an accident than an integral part of the story, and, so far as the question of the seer's character comes into view at all, the main point, he thinks, is the fact that "nothing suffices to seduce him from carrying out the will of Yahweh". In this Professor Gray follows Kalisch and departs from the view which has been current. This is a construction of the story which deserves careful consideration. It is difficult to harmonise it with the New Testament view and with some things in the Old Testament itself. But Professor Gray's arguments undoubtedly are of weight and they are very carefully stated.

On questions of the Higher Criticism, Professor Gray is thoroughgoing and uncompromising. But he is neither hasty nor dogmatic. He distinguishes between the more and the less probable, the comparatively certain and the purely conjectural. He takes, for example, a less confident position than some others do on such questions as the relations of J and E. He admits how impracticable it often is to "carry through an analysis in detail". He thinks that less than a fourth of the book can be attributed to collections older than P. In the P sections themselves he finds three different contributory parts, *viz.*, first, a fundamental part, the work of a single hand, dating about B.C. 500; second, certain parts of later origin, coming down as late as the third century B.C.; and third, a considerable amount of matter of a *legal* kind, of which we cannot well say either that it was an original section of the work or that it is later than the fundamental document. In discussions of this kind the critical analysis of sources is carried, we think, at times into a detail which would hardly be admitted to be justifiable in other lines of inquiry, in view of the scanty and indeterminate materials at the critic's disposal. But our author

is usually pretty sure-footed and he is seldom over-confident. He has given us a book on which much patient, scholarly toil has been spent, and to which a high place will be gladly conceded in the list of scientific commentaries on Old Testament Scripture.

The Sacraments in the New Testament. (Being the Kerr Lectures for 1903.) By Rev. JOHN C. LAMBERT, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. 8vo, pp. xx. + 430. Price 10s. 6d.

The Doctrine and Validity of the Ministry and Sacraments of the National Church of Scotland. (The Baird Lecture for 1903). By the Very Rev. DONALD MACLEOD, D.D., one of H.M. Chaplains. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 306. Price 6s. net.

Although the first of these two volumes is occupied entirely with the question of the Sacraments, while the second deals mainly with the larger question of the Ministry and gives comparatively small space to the doctrines of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, they have much in common, and can well be taken together. They have both much good matter, and they are both written under strong conviction as well as with competent scholarship. Dr. Macleod's book is more limited in its range than Mr. Lambert's and takes a more parochial view of the subject. This may be more in appearance, however, than in reality. It is due to the fact that Dr. Macleod does not take within his purview either the Calvinistic Churches as a whole or the Presbyterian Communion as such, but unfortunately restricts himself to the branch of the wide Presbyterian Church to which he himself belongs, and leaves other Presbyterian Churches, even those of his own land, almost unmentioned. The position and claims of these latter are left by the author as matter of inference. His book is essentially a polemic on behalf of the National Church of Scotland against the National Church of England. In this we see at once the weakness and the strength of the

book. It is strong as a controversial treatise. But the exigencies of its polemic prevent it from taking that higher, spiritual view of the nature and purpose of the Church of Christ and its ministry which lifts the whole question above the region in which Dr. Macleod leaves it.

What he aims at is simply to show that there is more to be said for one kind of succession than another—more for a *Presbyterial* Succession than for an *Apostolical*. But to make the validity of the Ministry and the Sacraments depend on either of these Successions or on any manner of formal transmission of supposed powers from hand to hand in any line of men regarded as functionaries or bearers of office, instead of the inward life of the Church itself, the spiritual character and universal priesthood of its members, and the continuous presence of Christ's Spirit, is to miss the very essence of the question and to place these sacred institutions in a very precarious position. This is the great weakness of the book.

Taking Dr. Macleod's argument, however, as he puts it, it is no doubt effective for its purpose. That purpose is not the highest certainly, and there are things in Dr. Macleod's way of putting the case which might tempt one to say that the theory of a Presbyterate Succession might not work any better towards a really Catholic idea of the Church than the theory of an Apostolical Succession. It is the idea and the prerogative of a "National Church" that fill Dr. Macleod's vision, and he sees little beyond that. But within its limits it is a strong defence of the claims of his own branch of the Presbyterian Church to be a true Church, and one deserving of recognition as such even by the exclusive National Church of England. The other branches of Presbyterianism are allowed the benefit of this defence.

In the general course of the argument there is nothing in any sense very novel or very striking. The familiar ground is trodden once more on the subject of the Notes of the Church, the question of the position of *presbyter* and *bishop* in the New Testament and in early Christian literature, the distinction between the Zwinglian and the Calvin-

istic views of the Sacraments, and other kindred topics. Some sharp things are deservedly said of the High Anglican theory of Succession. Some pertinent criticisms are passed on certain very vulnerable statements made by Bishop Gore and the late Professor Moberly. Some troublesome facts, such as the disuse of the ceremony of the imposition of hands in ordination in the Reformed Church under Knox are noticed, but are too rapidly disposed of. On the other hand there is a good deal of interesting historical matter. All through the book, too, there is a refreshing antagonism to priestly assumptions in the matter of the Ministry and to superstitious ideas regarding the use of the Sacraments.

Mr. Lambert deals with his subject in a constructive rather than a controversial way. His book is an important and helpful study of a great and much-disputed question. It goes into the fundamental questions, and pursues its inquiry in accordance with the approved methods of literary and historical criticism. It begins with a good statement of the prominence given to the subject in the present day by the ritualistic over-estimation of the Sacraments on the one hand and the critical challenge of their institutional authority on the other. Taking the New Testament writings as the proper sources and immediate authorities, and setting aside as unreasonable the claim preferred by Bishop Gore and others for the priority of a so-called "ancient Catholic tradition," the author goes into the question of the reliability of the documents. This is done with commendable brevity but in a clear and well-informed way. The theories of Eichhorn, Wendt and Harnack on the subject of the Gospels receive special consideration, and, as regards the book of Acts, the traditional view is shown to be really the critical view.

Having thus cleared his foundations, Mr. Lambert turns first to the question of Christian Baptism as it is presented in the Gospels, its institution by our Lord, its historical antecedents, its significance, the Baptismal Commission. Every step in the argument is taken with care, the discussion of the difficulties raised by Harnack and others with

regard to the terms of Matthew xxviii. 19 is of particular interest. The weakness of the counter-arguments and the force of the positive evidence are brought out with much ability. The general Apostolic practice, as discovered in Acts, the Johannine writings, and the Epistles of James and Peter is the next subject of inquiry. The general result thus far is stated to be that Baptism was "the invariable accompaniment of a profession of faith, that it was the rite of initiation into the community of Christ's disciples, that it was regarded as a figure of the cleansing of the soul, and as the means of a subjective assurance of the forgiving grace of God in Christ"; further, that in all this we are not carried beyond "the sphere of the ideas suggested by the original institution of Jesus".

The Pauline testimony is reserved for separate treatment in the fourth lecture, which is a particularly good one. The several accounts of the great Apostle's own conversion and baptism, and the place occupied by the rite in his missionary activity, are carefully considered. The evidence furnished by the epistles is next reviewed, with due regard to recent critical verdicts on the writings. Here the conclusion arrived at is to the effect that there does not appear to be any difference in anything essential between Paul's view of Baptism and the general doctrine of the primitive Christian community. The theory, advocated by Holtzmann and others, that there is a marked distinction between an earlier and a later doctrine both found in the New Testament, that the rite was originally a simple symbolical action, and that it was transformed by Paul, who gave it a new mystical significance, is pronounced to have no proper ground. The fifth lecture is occupied with a statement of the questions regarding the subjects of Baptism, the mode of its administration, the persons by whom it may be administered and the value belonging to the Baptismal formula.

The remaining lectures deal with the Lord's Supper. The difficulties of the subject are fully recognised. The questions of the *sources* and the *occasion* of the Supper are subjected to careful examination. Westcott and Hort's view of the narratives

is not accepted. The four records are regarded as falling into two groups, Mark-Matthew and Paul-Luke. Of these Mark and Paul are held to be the most original, and the second is considered to be not less historical than the first. The reader's attention may be specially called to Mr. Lambert's vindication of the historical character of the Pauline account. We may notice also that Mr. Lambert declares his agreement, for reasons stated, with the majority of scholars in taking the words "I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you" as not implying a direct revelation from the Lord to Paul. The very difficult question of the date and occasion of the institution of the Lord's Supper is examined by Mr. Lambert with much candour and good sense. He deems it impossible to set aside the definite testimony of the Fourth Gospel to the fact that our Lord was crucified on the day before the regular Jewish paschal feast, supported as he also finds it to be by some touches in the Synoptical Gospels themselves. He judges it no less impossible to set aside the testimony of the first three Gospels to the fact that our Lord kept the Passover with His disciples on the night before He died, and that it was at the close of a Paschal meal that He instituted the Supper. He thinks, therefore, that we must come to the conclusion that our Lord *anticipated* the Passover, keeping it a day sooner than was the case with the Jewish community. In this connexion he notices the textual difficulty in Matt. xxvi. 17, Mark xiv. 12, Luke xxii. 7, and the explanations offered by Dr. Chwolson and Father Power. These he does not accept as conclusive. But he thinks they are "valuable as pointing in directions both of textual criticism and chronological study from which some final solution may yet be found of the apparent contradiction between the Synoptists and John's Gospel".

There is much that is of interest in the volume, and much that we might touch upon. But it is unnecessary to say more than that we are at one with the author in his leading positions and in much of his criticism. The closing pages deal with the transformation of the Lord's Supper. They

give a concise statement of the way in which this took place, the things which explain it, and the place assignable to Cyprian in the process. And whatever defence of it may be attempted on the ground of historical necessity, this transformation of the Sacrament in the line of the sacrificial idea is regarded by Mr. Lambert as a retrogression.

Giordano Bruno. By J. LEWIS MCINTYRE, M.A. Edin.,
Anderson Lecturer in the University of Aberdeen.
London: Macmillan & Co., 1903. 8vo, pp. xii. + 365.
Price 10s. net.

This is one of the best monographs that have come under our notice for a length of time. It has all the thoroughness of the best German work together with a style which is rare indeed in German treatises. It is the result of much original research, much patient, intelligent study, much careful sifting and balancing of authorities. Dr. McIntyre has made himself acquainted with the best that has been written on Bruno, and has been at great pains to understand the conditions in which his life was spent. He writes, therefore, in such sympathy with the man and his endeavours as is appropriate to the case and necessary to a just estimate of him. He writes also in the light of a large and appreciative knowledge of the times, the movements of thought, the various interests which occupied men, the cross-currents in politics, philosophy and religion. He has the further advantage of an excellent style — clear, forcible and unaffected — which makes it a pleasure to read the book. We owe him, therefore, cordial thanks for a weighty addition to our knowledge of a strange and interesting personality and a remarkable epoch in the history of European thought.

It is an important service that has been rendered by Dr. McIntyre to his own country by the preparation of this scholarly book. For on this side of the English Channel Bruno is but little known, and little has been done for him in our literature. Considerable attention has been given him in Germany and France, and in Italy there have been many

biographies and smaller publications. But in England the only complete work on Bruno is the *Life* by I. Frith in the *English and Foreign Philosophical Library*. Some notice is taken of the man and his system in the writings of Thomas Davidson, the late Professor R. Adamson, Messrs. Owen and Plumptre, and a few more. But that is all, and it does not amount to very much. We are glad, therefore, that Dr. McIntyre has removed England's reproach in this matter, and that he has done it in a way to match the best that has been produced by French, German or Italian scholars.

The book is naturally divided into two great parts, the first dealing with Bruno's life and the second with his philosophy. The story of the life is told in a very interesting way. In vivid terms the facts are set before us regarding Bruno's extraction, the home of his youth, the Neapolitan Nola, the pleasant environment in which his early years were spent, the superstitious beliefs of his fellow-countrymen, the lessons that he drew from Nature, the education he received in Naples, the teachers under whom he studied, his choice of a religious life, and his reception into the great Dominican order. That was a fateful event in his career. Disaster lay heavy on the kingdom of Naples, and it may have seemed that a youth whose aspirations were after learning made a wise decision in seeking admission into that powerful order. But the Dominican order was, as Dr. McIntyre describes it, "the narrowest and the most bigoted". The forces of the Inquisition were directed by it, and the Inquisition was in a peculiarly inflamed condition. It was the time when the Waldensian persecution burned hottest and fiercest—the time of the great counter-reformation which was to "erase with fire and sword the least traces of heresy". And our author notices how even during his novitiate Bruno was made to feel something of the terror of that dread institution from which he suffered deadly things in his later career.

We get an equally picturesque and telling account of Bruno's long and restless wanderings—from Naples to Rome, from Rome to Noli in the Gulf of Naples, "whither

a more famous exile, Dante, had come," and from that to Savona, Turin, Venice, Padua and other Italian cities, and thence again to Geneva, where Vico visited him and he entered the Academy. He left the great Calvinistic centre in consequence, it would appear, of certain "replies and invectives" against the Professor of Philosophy, M. de la Faye, and thereafter he wandered by Lyons, Toulouse and Paris, landing ultimately in England in 1583. Dr. McIntyre has a good deal to tell us of Bruno's stay in our own land, the access he had to the most brilliant literary society, his visit to Oxford at the time when Alasco was also there, his return to London, his great literary productiveness during his residence in the house of Mauvissière, the French Ambassador, and his connexion with Sir Philip Sidney. Here Dr. McIntyre has something to say about Spenser's knowledge of Bruno, of Bacon's acquaintance with his works and his possible acquaintance with himself, of the fanciful supposition that he influenced Shakespeare, and of his flattering descriptions of English women. The story of his further travels in France and Germany, his efforts to obtain reconciliation with the Church, his unhappy acceptance of the invitation of Giovanni Mocenigo to visit him in Venice, his life in Mocenigo's house, the delivering of him over to the servants of the Inquisition, his trial by the Venetian tribunal, the handing of him over to the Roman authority, the Roman process and Bellarmin's part in it, the theological errors which were finally formulated against him, his condemnation and his death at the stake—all this is related in quick and moving terms. It is a strange, affecting, dramatic, melancholy story.

The judgments pronounced by theological and historical students on Bruno's conduct have been very diverse. Often they have been very unfavourable. And it must be confessed to be far from easy to read his character and form anything like a clear and certain estimate of not a few passages in his life. Dr. McIntyre takes a favourable view, and he gives many good reasons for so doing. He allows that Bruno's heart trembled at the first and that there are things in his earlier

career which require explanation or apology. But he points out that his courage and his steadfastness grew as danger and trouble increased, and that he was nobly constant and consistent in his death. He claims for him that he died as "the apostle of a new religion, founded on a new conception of the universe and of its relation to God". He demands for him the honour which belongs to a man who was a lover of truth and who stood for freedom of thought. "No end in history," he says, "is more tragic, when looked at in all its circumstances, than that of Giordano Bruno. First a life of endless, unresting struggle, striving through years of wandering, in many lands, to overcome prejudice and outworn authority, to proclaim and urge on unwilling minds the splendid gospel which inspired himself, and by which for a brief time he may have thought to supplant the old; now admired of kings, and sought after by the highest in the land, at another time a hunted pedlar of literary wares; then eight years in darkness from the world with shame or death to choose for release." We may have some difficulty in claiming for Bruno all that Dr. McIntyre finds in him, or in setting him on so lofty a pinnacle in the sad tracts of the history of the world's martyrs, but we cannot but admire the ability and the spirit exhibited in the estimate given in this book.

Not a little of Bruno's energy was allowed to run in unprofitable channels—curious memory-arts and the like. But he wrote much that is of worth. We owe much to Dr. McIntyre for the summaries and analyses which he gives of Bruno's numerous works. Of special interest is his account of the *De Immenso*, the *Cena*, the *Causa*, the *Infinito*, and above all the *Spaccio*. The statement of his philosophy occupies a large part of the volume, and it is of great value. The sources of the philosophy are carefully examined, and Bruno's relations to the various Greek schools, the Egyptian theosophy, the Hebrew Cabbala, the Arabian speculations, the great scholastics and others, are well set forth. His leading ideas on the foundations of knowledge, the infinite universe, nature and the living world, atoms and soul-

monads, as also the more practical and ethical aspects of his system, are exhibited in a remarkably lucid way. Nor are his views of God, the Trinity, Immortality, the Hierarchy of Souls, the Timeless Reality of Things, etc., left without due investigation and exposition. His philosophical religion is shown to be in the end a theism, but "theism of a purely intellectual or rationalist type". God is supposed to exist "in absolute simplicity—as Mind; in absolute immobility, changelessness—as Intellect (the World of Ideas); in absolute perfection, self-sufficiency and self-satisfaction—as Love, or Holy Spirit". And over against this "self-contained Trinity the changing and passing world is a *non-ens*". The *formal* cause of nature is the *ideal reason*; the *final* cause is the perfection of the universe. Strictly speaking, there are only "two *substances*, matter and spirit". No part of matter is without *form* (Spirit), and matter is the true substance. Nature is both one and many, and matter is the ultimate unity. The *summum bonum* is *knowledge*, that is, as Dr. McIntyre puts it, "an intellectual comprehension of the All in things, as it is in the supreme unity or source of the world".

Another matter of great interest with which our author deals is Bruno's place in the history of philosophy. In contemporary English writers the Nolan is little noticed. On the Continent his cosmological theories attracted most attention. The chief question, however, is that of his relation to Descartes, Gassendi, Spinoza and Leibniz. Dr. McIntyre shows how far Bruno was from the Cartesian universal doubt; in what respects he was more advanced than Gassendi; and how little reason there is to suppose that Leibniz had any great interest in him. It is of course between Bruno and Spinoza that the real affinity is found, and Dr. McIntyre agrees, rightly as we think, with those who are of opinion that the latter was influenced deeply and directly by the former. The resemblances between their two schemes of thought are unmistakable. Among other things, they had both the same conviction of the *necessity* and the *goodness* of all things. But as Dr. McIntyre points out,

it is Bruno rather than Spinoza who "attempted to reconcile individual liberty with determinism in the world as a whole, and individual moral responsibility with the necessary goodness of the all".

Among other pleasures which the reading of this book has brought us is the revival of our acquaintance with such thinkers and teachers as Raymond Lully, Nicolas of Cusa, Picus of Mirandola, etc. There is a pretty full account of Cusanus and his system of thought, which should help to bring into notice again a singular personality whom neither the theologian nor the philosopher should allow to slip into oblivion.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

THE long-established theological journal, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, founded by Ullmann and Umbreit, and ably conducted now by Drs. Kautzsch and Haupt, begins the year 1904 well. The opening article, by Pfarrer Berbig, of Schwartzhausen, occupies thirty-one pages and contains much valuable historical matter. It is entitled "Urkundliches zur Reformationsgeschichte," and it gives among other things a transcription of an original letter written by Duke George of Saxony from the Augsburg Diet of 1530 and a series of thirty-one letters by or to Spalatin. This is followed by an article of much greater length by Pastor Otto Albrecht of Naumburg, "Mitteilungen aus den Akten der Naumburger Reformationsgeschichte," giving accounts of important religious services, visitations, old forms of evangelical worship and other things of interest to the historian of the Reformation movement in Germany. Dr. George Daxer contributes a good paper on Christian certitude, "Zur Lehre von der Christlichen Gewissheit," dealing with the position given to that doctrine in Frank's *System der Christlichen Gewissheit* and the discussions to which it has been subjected since. Professor Kirn, of Leipzig, writes briefly on the difficult passage in James iv. 5. He adopts the desperate expedient of substituting θεόν for φθόνον in the clause πρὸς φθόνον ἐπιποθεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα, and supposes that what James quotes is the beginning of Psalm xlii. with some slight modifications of the LXX version—ὃν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων, οὕτως ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου πρὸς σέ, ὁ θεός.

The third part of volume twenty-four of the *American Journal of Philology*, edited by Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve, of Johns Hopkins University, contains a long and very painstaking discussion of the "Modes of Conditional Thought,"

by H. C. Nutting; an interesting paper on the "*Editio Princeps* of the Greek *Æsop*," by George C. Keidel; a short account by Edgar J. Goodspeed of a "Medical Papyrus Fragment," which brings out some useful points, such as the use of *ἄλλη* for an *alternative* remedy, as *ἄλλο* is used in the *Oxyrrhynchus papyri*; and other good articles.

In the closing number of the *Princeton Theological Review* for 1903 Principal Sheraton, of Toronto, gives a careful summary of "Our Lord's Teaching Concerning Himself," dealing specially with the applications of the titles "Son of Man" and "Son of God" and the claim to pre-existence. Professor George McCloskie, of Princeton University, has a good paper on "The Outlook of Science and Faith," in which he reviews the position as it was forty or fifty years ago; notices the changes that have taken place more recently in the attitude of both parties; and concludes that it is now generally admitted that, "amidst the struggle for existence of all the world's religions, the Gospel of Christ, and it only, is being found pre-eminently the fittest to survive". Professor Samuel Dickey, of Chicago, in a short article on "New Points of View for the Study of an Old Problem," vindicates the importance of an acquaintance with modern Greek for the study of the New Testament.

Among the articles appearing in the fourth issue of the *International Journal of Ethics* for 1903, we may refer specially to one by Mr. Frank Ganger, of University College, Nottingham, on "The Right of Free Thought in Matters of Religion," dealing with the question of the imposition of religious tests upon teachers which has been raised by the English Education Act. Mr. John A. Ryan, of St. Paul, Minn., discusses the question "Were the Church Fathers Communists?" His conclusion is that, while "many of the Fathers seem to have looked upon the ideal of a Christian community of ownership with a fondness and wistful hope that have not been shared by any considerable number of the great Christian teachers that have lived since their time," the passages often adduced in proof of their Communistic doctrine, when fairly interpreted, do not bear that out, but show that what they

condemned was "not the institution but the abuse and exaggeration of private ownership". There are other good papers, most of them making excellent reading. That is the case, *e.g.*, with one by Professor George Rebec, of Michigan, on "Byron and Morals".

In the forty-eighth number of *Mind*, New Series, there are several papers of importance—one, *e.g.*, by G. E. Moore on "The Refutation of Idealism," calling attention specially to two points in the Idealist view of the universe as *spiritual*, *viz.*, these: (1) that the universe is very different indeed from what it seems, and (2) that it has quite a large number of properties which it does not seem to have. There is another by C. M. Walsh on "Kant's Transcendental Idealism and Empirical Realism," enumerating the four doctrines held by Kant and the four rejected by him, and then putting the question whether Kant really proved the doctrines he held, and disproved those he rejected. We mention also one by G. R. T. Ross on "The Disjunctive Judgment," and the third of the series by Mr. M'Dougall on "The Physiological Factors of the Attention Process".

The eighth of the valuable and elaborate series of historical papers on "The Holy Eucharist" appears in the last issue of the *Church Quarterly Review* for 1903. In this paper much attention is given to the views of Cosin, Jeremy Taylor, Thorndike and John Johnson. There are also interesting articles on other subjects, *e.g.*, one on "Church Worship and Church Order," defining the principles on which Church order might be restored in the Church of England; one on "The Golden Legend"; one on "Joan of Arc"; another on "Welsh Methodism—its Origin and Growth," etc.

In the last issue of the *Revue de Théologie et des Questions religieuses* for 1903, M. C. Bruston concludes his series of papers on "The Christian Doctrine of Immortality," dealing specially with certain Pauline ideas, with the view of relieving the Church from the necessity of abiding by what he terms the Judaic view of the Parousia. While these articles have had much that is suggestive, the exegesis is at times unnatural and forced. Thus in interpreting

Romans viii. 19-22, Mr. Bruston takes the *τῶν υἱῶν* in the sentence *τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ* to be the *gen. objecti*, not the *gen. subjecti*, and so = "the manifestation for the Sons of God," instead of "the manifestation of the Sons of God". Professor Henri Bois continues his able discussion of Harnack's view of the *Person* and the *Gospel* of Christ.

The most important article in the Novembre-Décembre issue (1903) of the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses* is one by Alfred Loisy on "The Second Gospel". It refers especially to Wrede's book *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien* and J. Weiss's *Das älteste Evangelium*. In the light of these writings and on the basis of independent inquiry, it discusses the question whether Mark's Gospel is a secondary work, a compilation of the same kind as the first and third Gospels, a product of faith rather than a historical composition.

In the October issue of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* Dr. W. E. Barton gives, under the title of "The Samaritan Pentateuch," an interesting account of the Samaritans themselves, and a statement of what he conceives to be the contribution which their version of the Pentateuch may afford to our knowledge of the Old Testament. He reviews the old controversies on the subject and the various theories of the origin of the Samaritan version which have been put forth from time to time. He agrees in most things with Kennicott, and expresses his own conviction that we "cannot account for the history of Israel without believing that the command to establish a central sanctuary, so often repeated in Deuteronomy, is much older than B.C. 621". Dr. James Lindsay writes on "The Metaphysical Needs of our Time". He can neither "share nor excuse" the "contempt of metaphysics so common in our time," but holds earnestly that such subjects as ultimate reality and the significance of the world require to be prosecuted, and that we "must press on to know to what the whole world tends; what we ourselves are, and why we do exist; yea, and for what reasons we bear ourselves as we now do". Professor Cooper gives the conclusion of his study of "Theodicy"; and among other

papers that make up a valuable number we may direct attention to Professor F. H. Foster's exposition of "Professor Park's Theological System".

The *Hibbert Journal* for January opens with a paper by H. C. Corrance on "Progressive Catholicism and High Church Absolutism," which brings out very well the difference between Harnack and Loisy as a difference not as to the facts but in the way of regarding the facts, the theory of them, and shows that Ritualism, though it has done service to certain Catholic ideas is, from the progressive Catholic standpoint, "in the main a retrograde movement". This is followed by a kind of symposium on "The Alleged Indifference of Laymen to Religion," which is interesting but does not advance matters far. There is a curious and rather far-driven paper by Edward Carpenter on "The Gods as Embodiments of the Race-Memory". Dr. Montague, of Columbia University, New York, contributes a suggestive and well-reasoned article on "The Evidence of Design in the Elements and Structure of the Cosmos". Dr. Bacon, of Yale, continues his discussion of the "Johannine Problem," dealing now with the direct internal evidence, sometimes in a rather arbitrary fashion; and Dr. Moffatt concludes his study of "Zoroastrianism and Primitive Christianity". There are also various other papers and discussions that deserve attention, *e.g.*, one by the Rev. J. H. Beibnitz on "The New Point of View in Theology," and another by Dr. L. R. Farnell on "Sacrificial Communion in Greek Religion". It is altogether a good number, varied in its contents and stimulating inquiry.

We have also to notice another edition, designated the fourth and fifth issue, of Professor E. Chr. Achelis's very compact and useful treatise on *Practical Theology*,¹ thoroughly revised; *Honour Towards God*,² by John Kelman, junr., M.A., a series of brief, pleasing and helpful papers on "The Value

¹ *Praktische Theologie*. Tübingen u. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 327. Price 6s. net.

² Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1903. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 64. Price 1s. net.

of a Point of View," "Life as an Affair of Honour," "The Trust of Life," and kindred subjects; *Gold Coast Native Institutions*,¹ by Caseby Hayford of the Inner Temple, Esquire, barrister-at-law, and of the Gold Coast Bar, a statement of the problem which England has to face in her administration of the Gold Coast and its Hinterland, based on an examination of the aboriginal State system and on a large body of evidence bearing on the political relations of Great Britain and the Gold Coast—a book full of information and advocating the imperialisation of the Gold Coast and of Ashanti on purely aboriginal lines; *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments Translated out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised by His Majesty's Special Command*,² an exceedingly attractive issue of the English Bible, one of the new Oxford Clarendon editions, printed on Oxford India paper, with references, maps, index, and the Scotch Psalms—a delightful edition to handle in respect of size ($6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4} \times 1$ inches), weight (15 ounces) and form, and welcome also to the eyes of many readers for the distinct, black, heavy-faced type in which it is printed; *Last Sheaves: Sermons by Alexander Maclaren, D.D., Litt.D.*³—a collection of discourses preached from time to time during the course of a memorable and fruitful ministry of forty-five years, ranging over a great variety of subjects—"In the Upper Room," "The Cross of Glory," "The Devout Life Here and Hereafter," "Two Shepherds and Two Flocks," "Death the Friend," "The Singers by the Sea," etc., touching each theme with the power and point of the master preacher, and appealing to all kinds of Christian need and all degrees of Christian experience; *A Hindu's Criticism of Christ Criticised*,⁴ by Isaac Tambyah, advocate of the Supreme Court of the Island of

¹ London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1903. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 418.

² Oxford: The University Press; London: Henry Frowde. Brevier 16mo, pp. 1616.

³ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 316. Price 5s.

⁴ Manipay, Jaffna, Ceylon: Strong & Asbury, 1903. Pp. 64.

Ceylon, an able and interesting examination of the views embodied by Mr. P. Ramanathan, K.C., C.M.G., His Majesty's Solicitor-General of Ceylon, in his work entitled *Sri Paramanda's Commentary on St. Matthew*, in which work the first Gospel is made a Hindu book, our Lord regarded as a teacher of the Yoga cult, His miracles interpreted as Yogic acts, and His agony in Gethsemane and His suffering on the cross explained by the supposition that He was in the Yogic state; *Die ältesten ethischen Disputationen Luthers*,¹ edited by Professor Carl Stange of Königsberg, a careful piece of work, giving a useful Preface and an annotated edition of the *Questio de viribus et voluntate hominis sive gratia* (1516), Three Fragments, the "Disputatio Contra Scholasticam Theologiam," and the "Disputatio Heidelbergae Habita"—the first part of what promises to be a useful series of *Quellenschriften des Protestantismus*, edited by Professors Kunze and Stange and intended specially for use in academic work; a further instalment, the fourth *Lieferung*, of the excellent and very welcome German translation of Professor Morris Jastrow's important work on *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*; ² *From Letter to Spirit, an Attempt to Reach Through Varying Voices the Abiding Word*,³ by Edwin A. Abbot, a volume which cannot fail to win the respect of the impartial reader for its patient and minute investigations of the Gospel narratives of voices from heaven and the love of truth which beats in its pages, but to which we cannot give our assent either in its method or in its results. The method which it follows with a view to account for the differences in the Gospel records and to explain away the facts which they attest, is, to a large extent, the application of the theory of mistranslations of primitive Christian traditions in Biblical Hebrew, and amplifications after the manner of the Jewish Targums in the process of rendering these traditions into Aramaic,

¹ Leipzig: Deichert, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 74. Price M.1.60.

² *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*. Giessen: Ricker; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 225-304. Price 1s. 6d. net.

³ London: Adam & Charles Black, 1903. 8vo, pp. xxxvi + 492. Price 20s. net.

Greek and Syriac. And the results which it reaches are such as these that the words "as a dove" in the narrative of the descent of the Spirit on Jesus meant simply "as a bird seeking its home," or alternatively that they did not contain originally the term "dove" at all, that being simply a corruption of the Hebrew word for "rested"; that the words "hear ye Him," are part of a narrative describing how Christ was revealed to Peter and others as the *Messenger* in Exodus and the *Prophet* in Deuteronomy; that the precept to *take up the Cross* is probably a Western paraphrase of the Jewish precept "to take on oneself the yoke," *i.e.*, the (Jewish) yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven, etc., etc.; *Die Kirchengeschichte des Eusebius aus dem Syrischen übersetzt*,¹ by Professor Eberhard Nestle, an undertaking which has a special interest in connexion with the great edition of *Eusebius* in preparation for the *Kirchenväter-Commission der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, and carried out with a wealth of learning, a scientific exactness, and an expenditure of labour for which students of Church history owe much to the scholarly translator; another instalment, half-volume v., of the excellent *Natural History of Animals*,² by Professor J. R. Ainsworth Davis of the University of Wales, dealing ably and lucidly with "Animal Movement" and the various modes of muscular locomotion; a small volume on *The Sacraments of the New Testament*,³ by the Rev. David Purves, M.A., of Elmwood Church, Belfast, intended specially for those who make profession of faith for the first time, and giving a clear and attractive statement of the view of the Sacraments held by the Reformed Churches—a book which should be helpful both to pastors and to catechumens.

¹ Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. x. + 296. Price 9s. 6d. net.

² London: The Gresham Publishing Company, 1903. Pp. xvi. + 280. Price 7s. net.

³ Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1904. Pp. 85.

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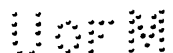
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Herbert Spencer.

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

THE death of Mr. Herbert Spencer has removed from our view one of the great figures of the Victorian age. He had a great place in the thought and life of the latter half of the nineteenth century. To many he seemed to be the embodiment of the spirit which ruled the later half of that century. In him the scientific spirit seemed to have become conscious of itself, to look not so much at its work, but at itself, and by reflection on itself and its work, to move onwards to grapple with ultimate questions which were the common background of all the sciences. The particular sciences had made such progress; connecting links between separate sciences had been discerned; and many were haunted with the thought that there must be a science of sciences, a way of unifying all human knowledge. This desire to unify human knowledge, to find a formula of universal application to all changes whether great or small, was the motive of Mr. Spencer during his long and strenuous life. He issued his first great work almost fifty years ago, the last of his great works appeared about ten years ago. During that long interval he laboured at his self-appointed task. In weak health, with long intervals during which work was impossible, and so weakened that at his best he could work no more than three hours a day, he yet completed his gigantic task. Thus we have had the successive volumes of the *Synthetic Philosophy*, with other volumes, such as his volumes of *Essays* and his treatise on *Education*. It is a great, strenuous heroic life, worthy of admiration, whatever be our estimate of the *Synthetic Philosophy*.

He has had many disciples, and many followers. Many regard him as the philosopher of the nineteenth century, and

believe that he succeeded in his endeavour to unify human knowledge. Others, again, think that he has failed, that his work will need to be done over again, with a regard to elements which they think he has neglected. But all agree that he is a man to be reckoned with, that his system must be taken into account by all who are interested in the evolution of human thought, whether they are philosophers, scientists or theologians. It may also be safely said that all, whatever their interest may be, may learn much from him. It is a great thing to be constrained to recognise that a system is possible which may bring all human thought into unity, that there may be a formula which may express the law of change in all spheres where change happens, and that the universe as a whole and in all its parts forms one system. Suppose that the particular formula of Mr. Spencer is inadequate, is a failure, yet is it not something worthy of recognition, that a man has lived who gave his life to the elaboration of this thought, and has so far succeeded as to make men think that such a consummation is possible and desirable? He has widened the thoughts of men, has enabled them to think in larger terms, and has done something to enable men to overcome a mere provincialism of thought. In an age of specialism he endeavoured to be universal. And such an endeavour is worthy of the highest admiration.

In reading over his works, which we have done again since his death, we have been impressed with many passages which almost have an autobiographical interest. Perhaps the knowledge of his death threw them into more prominent relief. At all events they came to us with a solemnity and a pathos which they never had had before. They revealed to us the intensity of Mr. Spencer's belief in his calling and his mission to the world. He had the persuasion of a prophet and also the solemnity of a prophet, and he was convinced that his work was a necessary work for the well-being of the world. This comes to the front in many places of his work, and in the most unexpected ways. When his health was such that he almost despaired of ever completing his great task, he published the *Data of Ethics* out of its place in the system, in

order that men might have a scientific guide to conduct, so persuaded was he of the worth of the guidance to conduct which he had elaborated as the highest fruit of his prolonged study of life. He was persuaded, too, that in him and through him the Unknowable Power had wrought out for men something which would help them onwards to more perfect equilibration. Witness that famous passage in the *First Principles* which forms the concluding paragraph of the first part treating of the Unknowable. "Whoever hesitates to utter that which he thinks the highest truth, lest it should be too much in advance of the time, may reassure himself by looking at his acts from an impersonal point of view. Let him duly realise the fact that opinion is the agency through which character adapts external arrangements to itself—that his opinion rightly forms part of this agency—is a unit of force, constituting with other such units, the general power which works out social changes; and he will perceive that he may properly give full utterance to his innermost conviction; leaving it to produce what effect it may. It is not for nothing that he has in him these sympathies with some principles and repugnance to others. He, with all his capacities, and aspirations, and beliefs, is not an accident, but a product of his time. He must remember that while he is a descendant of the past, he is a parent of the future; and that his thoughts are as children born to him, which he may not carelessly let die. He, like every other man, may properly consider himself as one of the myriad agencies through whom works the Unknown Cause; and when the Unknown produces in him a certain belief, he is thereby authorised to profess and act out that belief. For to render in their highest sense the words of the poet:—

—Nature is made better by no mean,
But nature makes that mean: over that art
Which you may add to nature, is an art
That nature makes.

Not as adventitious therefore will the wise man regard the faith which is in him. The highest truth he sees he will fearlessly utter; knowing that, let what may come of it, he

is thus playing his right part in the world—knowing that if he effects the change he aims at—well: if not—well also; though not so well" (*First Principles*, 3rd ed., p. 123).

We instance this passage as an illustration of the more than prophetic faith which Mr. Spencer had in himself and his calling. This belief was produced in him by the Unknown Cause, and he must be faithful to it. This belief upheld him during the years of his life, gave him courage to persevere and endure, gave him strength to wage war in the many controversies which arose out of his various works, and enabled him to bear neglect, and to confront opposition, and what he believed to be misapprehension and misconstruction. As to his faith in the beneficent character of his teaching, and of its importance for men, let the following passage speak: "Not only is it rational to infer that changes like those which have been going on during civilisation will continue to go on, but it is irrational to do otherwise. Not he who believes that adaptation will increase is absurd, but he who doubts that it will increase is absurd. Lack of faith in such further evolution of humanity as shall harmonise its nature with its conditions adds but another to the countless illustrations of inadequate consciousness of causation. One who, leaving behind both primitive dogmas and primitive ways of looking at them, has, while accepting scientific conclusions, acquired those habits of thought which science generates, will regard the conclusion above drawn as inevitable. He will find it impossible to believe that the processes which have heretofore so moulded all beings to the requirements of their lives that they get satisfaction in fulfilling them will not hereafter continue so moulding them. He will infer that the type of nature to which the highest social life affords a sphere such that every faculty has its due amount, and no more than the due amount, of function and accompanying gratification, is the type of nature toward which progress cannot cease till it is reached" (*Data of Ethics*, chap. x.). Not often does one find so clear an expression of a robust and vigorous faith. It is well to note it, as if we do not we shall not understand Mr. Spencer, nor appreciate the

secret of his strenuous life. To some the goal he depicts in the *Data of Ethics* does not seem attractive, nor the equilibration there reached, or depicted as reached in the far future, a desirable one. But a robust and fervent faith is so valuable a feature of human nature that we welcome it warmly, more especially as it appears in an unlikely quarter.

Turning to the volumes which make up the *Synthetic Philosophy* we notice the relative space he gives to the discussion of metaphysical questions proper, as compared with the other part of his system. Thirty-four sections are given to the Unknowable, or to put it more plainly 123 pages deal with the Unknowable, while the Knowable is set forth in some 5000 pages. When we consider that all metaphysical questions are disposed of in these few pages, and that these perennial questions are as widely discussed since the publication of the *First Principles* as they were discussed before they appeared, we must confess that the treatment of the question seems inadequate. Nor is our surprise lessened when we read what the terms of the discussion are. Mr. Spencer seemed to be caught in a backwater of metaphysical discussion, and had taken the reasoning of Hamilton and Mansel as the final verdict of reason on the knowledge of the Absolute. At best the metaphysics of Hamilton and Mansel are but a passing phase in the history of thought. The tide of thought has swept past them, and in every school of philosophy, and from every phase of thought, the questions which Hamilton and Mansel and Spencer believed they had settled are as lively and are as much discussed as before. Mr. Spencer has added little to the argument of Hamilton and Mansel, and that little is the assertion that while the absolute and infinite are beyond the ken of knowledge, yet there is a vague consciousness, or rather an "indefinite consciousness of the unformed and unlimited". With Hamilton and Mansel the notion of the absolute and infinite was wholly negative, with Mr. Spencer the notion is partially positive, yet altogether indefinite. The fact is that they called on faith to restore the defects of reason, and Mr. Spencer fell back on an indefinite consciousness, for his system needed "an Infinite and Eternal energy from which all things proceed".

It is not our purpose to examine the arguments by which Mr. Spencer justified the Agnostic aspect of his system. We have always felt, and we feel deeply to-day, how unfortunate it was that the great and fruitful theory of Evolution should have been, in the case of its most prominent originators and expositors, associated with metaphysical and other positions which have no necessary connexion with it. Agnosticism and Evolution are not necessary to one another. And it is only on rare occasions that Agnosticism is called in during the numerous discussions contained in the weighty volumes of Mr. Spencer. Nay, it is hardly ever the negative aspect of the Knowable that is called in at the critical stages of his exposition. It is not the Unknowable as such that does the work needed in Mr. Spencer's system, it is "The Power," "The Infinite and Eternal energy," "The Ultimate Reality transcending human thought," to which Mr. Spencer constantly appeals. But in truth, for the most part in following Mr. Spencer's exposition we are allowed to forget his Agnosticism, and most of his exposition might be accepted by a theist were he otherwise satisfied with it. We regret that the Agnostic aspect of his philosophy has hindered the recognition of the value of the theory of Evolution, for the theory has been fruitful of successful work in almost every department of human knowledge.

It was also unfortunate in the case of Mr. Darwin that the theory of Evolution as set forth by him, should have, also, been associated with a doctrine of chance which went a long way to make the theory unintelligible. Thickly strewn over his pages are such epithets as "Indefinite," "Endless," "Fortuitous," and the like, which induced the reader who took them seriously to think he was back among the "fortuitous concourse of atoms" familiar to readers of ancient literature. Evolution is not casual, nor fortuitous, nor unintelligible, nor is it merely mechanical. Variation is not indefinite, as is now beginning to be understood. In truth Darwin assumed indefinite variation, and did not inquire into it. What the laws and causes of variation are, we do not yet know: it will take much time and many experiments to obtain

a knowledge of the facts. What we are concerned with here is the observation that Darwin and Mr. Spencer put grave and serious obstacles in the way of the acceptance of the theory of Evolution, by tying it as closely as they could, the one to a merely mechanical theory of the universe, and the other to an Agnostic position in philosophy. Evolution is not merely mechanical, nor is it Agnostic. The fact of Evolution is as consistent, say, with Hegelianism, or with Theism, as it is with Agnosticism.

We note, to return to Mr. Spencer's Agnosticism, that the same kind of arguments which he used to prove the Unknowableness of the Ultimate Reality, have been used to prove that the finite is mere Appearance. It is instructive to read together the arguments of Mansel and of Mr. Bradley. To the one the conceptions of the Absolute and the Infinite are full of contradictions, to the other contradictions lurk in the finite and the relative. Of the Absolute and the Infinite, Mansel says: "The conception of the Absolute and the Infinite, from whatever side we view it, appears encompassed with contradictions. There is a contradiction in supposing such an object to exist, whether alone or in conjunction with others; there is a contradiction in supposing it not to exist. There is a contradiction in conceiving it as one, and there is a contradiction in conceiving it as many. There is a contradiction in conceiving it as personal, and in conceiving it as impersonal. It cannot without contradiction be represented as active, nor without equal contradiction be represented as inactive. It cannot be conceived as the sum of all existence; nor yet can it be conceived as part of that sum. A contradiction thus thoroughgoing while it sufficiently shows the impotence of human reason as an *à priori* judge of all truth, yet is not itself inconsistent with any form of religious belief. For it tells with equal force against all belief and unbelief, and therefore necessitates the conclusion that belief cannot be determined solely by reason."

Turn now from this thoroughgoing contradiction said to be involved in the conception of the Absolute and the Infinite, and read Mr. Bradley on the equally thoroughgoing contra-

diction involved in the conception of the finite, and the reader is inclined to say "a plague on both your houses". As we follow Mr. Bradley we come to be familiar with contradictions without number. He chooses conceptions very familiar, embodied in words in common use. Primary and secondary qualities, substantive and adjective, relation and quality, space and time, motion and change, causation, activity, things, self, are all shown to be contradictions. It is impossible, in our space, to give specimens of Mr. Bradley's reasoning, but we may state in a sentence of his own his general conclusion about finite truth or fact. "Every finite truth or fact to some extent must be unreal and false, and it is impossible in the end certainly to know of any how false it may be." As to Mr. Bradley's view of the Absolute or Reality, it is enough to say that it is in all respects the opposite of that set forth by Dean Mansel. It alone is without contradiction, it alone is complete, and so on. As far as he is concerned it is Mr. Spencer's Unknowable that would be free from contradiction, and Mr. Spencer's Knowable that would be riddled with contradictions.

One comes somehow to distrust reasoning that lands us in such paradoxical results, and one is sure there is a fallacy somewhere, even if he is not acute enough to point it out. It seems to the present writer, that all Mr. Bradley's reasoning about the finite just amounts to this, that from the very nature of the finite we cannot give a complete definition of anything. For anything really involves everything else, and to describe fully any relation would necessitate a description of the whole. Thus it is easy to show how incomplete our knowledge is, and how impossible to make our definition complete. But incompleteness is not a contradiction, though it may easily be made to appear so. It happens, also, that men too often forget Bishop Butler's wise saying, "abstract notions can do nothing". The reality we know in experience can never be fully represented by the abstract terms we are constrained to use, and often the difficulties we meet are of our own raising. But we may not enter on this question here. As regards the polemic of Mansel and Mr. Spencer against the Absolute,

their arguments, as Mr. Bradley shows, can equally well be used against the relative, and even more trenchantly. When the Absolute is defined as that which is out of all relation, and the Infinite as negative of the finite, it is easy to take them out of our knowledge, for there is no way by which they may be brought into relation with us. But the Absolute is not the unrelated, nor the Infinite the negative of the finite. But it will be sufficient to say that Mr. Spencer, his polemic against the Absolute notwithstanding, finally claims a real knowledge of it when he says that we know that we are in the presence of an Infinite and Eternal energy from which all things proceed. From this statement alone a Theist may draw many inferences.

While this Agnosticism stands in the porch of Mr. Spencer's philosophy, it has really not much to do with the practical working out of his system. His *First Principles* are so far independent of it, for the Persistent Force, which is his main conception, is really identified with the sum of the forces of the universe, and the Unknowable Power is left in the unknown. It has no effect in the system. This is true also of the Biology, of the Psychology, and of the Ethics. The only place in which the doctrine of the Unknowable has significance, is in the volumes on Sociology, and in them, chiefly in the sections which deal with religion. He had granted to religion a certain value, and that value consisted in its constant recognition of the mystery of the universe. He approves of that attitude and enhances it by saying that the mystery which religion asserts is greater than religion ever suspected, and that it is an inscrutable mystery. But his assertion of the Inscrutableness of the Mystery has constrained him to characterise every attempt on the part of religion to define its experience as incompetent, false, and a failure. Thus he was led to look on religions as on a wrong track whenever they attempted to think of the object of worship in defined terms. He allows that there has been a relative progress in religious conceptions, but the progress was due to science, not to religion. In truth, whenever religion leaves the attitude of blind adoration of the Inscrutable Mystery

it goes astray. Hardly any account is taken of the higher experience of the religious life. His researches into religions are limited to the religions of the rudest savages, and even these researches are not conducted after the manner of a scientific inquiry in which the theory follows the facts and rises out of them, but in a manner which suggests that Mr. Spencer had formed a theory, and had searched for illustrations of the truth of the theory and for confirmations of it. Thus his theory of the Unknowable has had a very striking effect on his treatment of the origin and nature of religion. It appears to us that it is in this department of his system that his Agnosticism has had a real practical effect on his system.

Turning to his treatment of the Knowable, one may learn much from it. One cannot but admire the range of his thought, the magnificence of his illustrations, his remarkable power of generalisation, and the wide sweep of his mental vision. It is most impressive. It is instructive, too, to turn to his Essays, and to see the first germs of the great thought that came to such colossal proportions. We hardly know when the theory of universal evolution first dawned on him, but he was working at it and working it out before the publication of the *Origin of Species*. Indeed, the Origin seemed to him to fall in with his scheme, and to illustrate a part of it. He tells us that it was through Von Baer's theory of the cell that his vague thoughts crystallised into form. "The investigations of Wolff, Goethe, and Von Baer, have established the truth that the series of changes gone through during the development of a seed into a tree, or an ovum into an animal, constitute an advance from homogeneity to heterogeneity of structure" (*Essays*, vol. i., p. 2). In 1857 he could say that "it is settled beyond dispute that organic progress consists in a change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous". In that "Essay on Progress, its Law and Cause," his system is contained in outline. It was published in 1857, as we said. The full-orbed formula of evolution does not appear till later, but it is there. From the definite incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity

through successive differentiations and integrations is the formula. It came to him through meditation on Von Baer's law. Was this a universal law applicable to all changes in all spheres of being? He answered, yes, and set out to prove it. The fact that he had the theory first had a great effect on his method of procedure. It is as if he had asked himself the question, what must the intuitions, axioms, rules, methods, laws of the universe be, if the hypothesis of evolution is true? It seems to us that the *First Principles* ought to be read from this point of view, for otherwise we can scarcely understand how the incoherencies of it could have escaped the view of so great a thinker.

The search for a homogeneity of sufficient magnitude to serve his purpose led him to the greatest abstraction known to science. Force, which he conceived not in the manner of physicists as Energy, but as something wider of which Energy was only one form, was the widest abstraction possible. He distinguishes the Persistence of Force from the Conservation of Energy, and he insisted in his controversy with Mr. Moulton, Professor Tait and others, that his was the wider conception. He plainly tells Professor Tait, that while the Professor might understand the abstractions of physics, he is unable to understand the higher abstractions. From the Persistence of Force as the deepest of all convictions he proceeded to deduce space, time, matter, and motion. "Matter and motion, as we know them, are differently conditioned manifestations of Force. Space and Time, as we know them, are disclosed along with those different manifestations of Force as the conditions under which they are presented. Matter and Motion are concretes built up from the contents of various relations; while Space and Time are abstracts of the forms of those various relations. Deeper down than those, however, are the primordial experiences of Force, which, as occurring in consciousness in different combinations, supply at once the materials whence the forms of relations are generalised, and the related objects built up" (*First Principles*, p. 169). Making no remark on the fact that the process herein described presupposes the

forms which they are said to build up, we pass to the other parts of the machinery which he invents to prove the theory of Evolution. These are the Indestructibility of Matter, the Continuity of Motion, the Persistence of Force, the Persistence of Relations among Forces. For most of these he has the authority of physics, though he states them in a form which has provoked the criticism of physicists. No physicist that we are acquainted with ever speaks, say, of the Continuity of Motion, they speak of the Conservation of Energy, they speak of energy as being transformed, and they speak of its passing from one form into another. Professor Tait, for instance, protests against the phrase "heat as a mode of motion," and insists that the correct statement is "heat as a form of energy".

We do not dwell on these further, except to quote one of his great generalisations: "Thus in all the changes heretofore and at present displayed in the Solar System; in all those that have gone on and are going on in the earth's crust; in all processes of organic development and function; in all mental actions and the effects they have on the body; and in all modifications and activity in societies; the implied movements are of necessity determined in the manner above set forth. Wherever we see motion, its direction must be that of the greatest force. Wherever we see the greatest force to be acting in a given direction, in that direction motion must ensue. These are not truths holding only of one class, or of some classes, of phenomena; but they are among these universal truths by which our knowledge of phenomena in general is unified" (*First Principles*, pp. 248, 249). We come to some of those principles which have a very close bearing on his own special theory of Evolution. These are set forth after the Law of Evolution has been expounded in four chapters, and the interpretation of it in one chapter. We look at these specially, as they are frequently referred to in the subsequent volumes of the *Synthetic Philosophy*, and because we have not ceased for more than thirty years to regard them with wonder. They are called "The Instability of the Homogeneous," and "The Multiplication of Effects".

Many times have we read these chapters, and we have for our present purpose read them over again. Proof of the first proposition there is none. The first step of the exposition is that "The condition of homogeneity is a condition of unstable equilibrium". Instead of proving this, Mr. Spencer goes on to tell the reader what a state of stable equilibrium is. He gives a good many illustrations of unstable equilibrium, but none of these illustrates the instability of the homogeneous. They, in fact, illustrate the instability of the heterogeneous. For every one of them shows that instability arises either from unlikeness in the thing itself, or in the conditions in which it is, or in the forces which play on it. We might set out against his principle the opposite one of the Stability of the Homogeneous, and support it grandly by Newton's first law of motion, "every body perseveres in its state of rest, or of uniform motion in a straight line, except in so far as it is compelled by forces to change that state". The assumption of the Instability of the Homogeneous is necessary for the working of the Spencerian theory of Evolution, and yet it is a formula which is self-contradictory, without proof, and which cannot be proved.

Nor does it fare any better with the principle of the multiplication of effects. It would be interesting to enumerate the number of times in his works in which he refers to these principles as axiomatic. The reference is always made after the manner of Euclid, when he refers to an axiom. Yet when we look at the chapter on the "Multiplication of Effects" we are surprised. The illustrations are very numerous and varied, and they seem quite fallacious. This is one and the others are similar. "When one body is struck against another, that which we regard usually as the effect is a change of position or motion in one or both bodies. But a moment's thought shows that this is a very incomplete view of the matter. Besides the visible mechanical result, sound is produced; or to speak accurately a vibration in one or both bodies, and in the surrounding air; and under some circumstances we call this the effect" (p. 432). Thus other effects are traced, such as light, heat, and so on. On such

examples as these is based the axiom: "Universally, then, the effect is more complex than the cause". Such a conclusion is possible only when we abstract the cause, place it in isolation, and regard all possible results as effects of that isolated cause. Change the point of view and take this or that as the effect and proceed to seek for its causes, and parity of reasoning leads to the doctrine of a multiplication of causes. In fact, in his reasoning Mr. Spencer neglects the connectedness of things when he speaks of the cause, and brings it in when he describes the effects. The cause must be as complex as the effect, or the effect is not explained.¹

JAMES IVERACH.

¹ The Second Article will appear in the May issue.

Stahl's Patristische Untersuchungen.

Von Arthur Stahl. Leipzig: Deichert. 8vo, pp. vi. + 359.
Price M.8.

THIS is a long book for the light it contains. Its preface makes large pretensions to scientific objectivity, whether as to strict exegetical method or due regard to the individuality of each writer; but the performance comes far short of the promise. Stahl is stirred to rescue his writers from recent one-sided hypotheses; yet it is just into one-sidedness that his own work seems to fall. No doubt Knopf presses to an extreme the idea that 1 Clement is largely composed, especially in its first part (down to chap. xxxviii.), of little homiletic discourses on such topics as *ζήλος, μετάνοια, ταπεινοφροσύνη, διψυχία*—an idea in which there is much truth, if it is not taken in too “modern” a sense. But in order to prove that Knopf is wrong in denying that, even so, the letter can throw real light on the conditions at Corinth which occasioned it, Stahl insists on a closer connexion between all its parts, and a more direct allusiveness throughout to such conditions, than seems needful. He might have effected more by more moderate use of some of his own ideas. Thus he seems right in holding that the Roman Church viewed the large success of the anti-official movements, though originating with a few persons, as due to a defective *morale* in the Church as a whole—the outcome of an over-weening self-complacency, owing to earlier spiritual prosperity. This idea would go far to explain the introduction of the little homilies on such topics as those named above, which Clement must have had occasion to use time and again in his own ministry in Rome, and which stand on a par with his introduction of the long and stately prayer towards the end, from the usage of the Roman

Church. Then again, starting from the right idea that the ζῆλος in chap. v. is Jewish jealousy of the Gospel's growth among the Gentiles, he makes this determine its sense in relation to the Corinthian schism, so that this must be due to an exclusive Judæo-Christian party in the Church. A like tendency to exaggeration appears in his applying to all the eucharistic references in Ignatius the realistic sense which best suits one or two, such as Eph. xx. 2, Smyr. vii. 1. Nor is it altogether absent from the best of these studies, that devoted to Hermas, on which Stahl is perhaps justified in feeling that he has something to contribute. In so saying we have in mind not merely his confident identification of the homily known as 2 Clement with the βιβλαρίδιον which Hermas was, according to Vis. ii., to give to Clement to send to τὰς ἔξω πόλεις, but also his whole argument touching Hermas *Der Antimontanist*. To him "the *Shepherd* of Hermas is an attempt of churchly theology to overcome Montanism, by recognising the necessity of strict moral discipline, . . . and setting over against the eschatological message of the anti-churchly sect *die visionär-kirchliche*" (296). Thus it is "a high-church parallel phenomenon to Montanism. This explains its double nature; for the book bears a reforming and a polemical character" (357). If our author had contented himself with drawing a parallel between similar tendencies to bring back Christianity to its original standards of strenuousness and purity, which came to a head in Rome and Phrygia independently and at somewhat different moments, he would have helped to illustrate the situation implied in the *Shepherd* without straining the facts. As it is, the passage in Mand. iv. 3, ἤκουσα παρὰ τινων διδασκάλων ὅτι ἑτέρα μετάνοια οὐκ ἔστιν εἰ μὴ ἐκείνη, ὅτε εἰς ὕδωρ κατέβημεν, need mean nothing so specific as Stahl assumes. It is, for instance, only what more than one passage in Hebrews might easily suggest, supposing any special factor beyond the persistence in certain circles of the old stricter ideal amid a more general laxity, be requisite at all. Nor is his theory free from chronological difficulty. For even though we were free to

bring down the date of Hermas' published work as late as A.D. 150 or even later—as Stahl assumes in placing the Didache c. 120-150, and making Hermas implicitly correct it—yet it is another thing to say that Hermas' central message and its conditions go back no further in time. Moreover what we know of the hesitant attitude of the Roman Church to the New Prophecy in the time of Eleutherus (c. A.D. 177), does not suggest that its discipline had already been considered and rejected in a prophetic writing of high local status a quarter of a century previously. Finally there is in Hermas no suggestion that the doctrines in question were put forward by any “prophets,” though elsewhere he refers to pseudo-prophets and attributes to them anything but strict ethical views. But though Stahl's work seems to us deficient in critical judgment, it has, at any rate in the sections on Hermas, a good deal of suggestiveness, which even its diffuseness does not neutralise. An index would double its utility.

VERNON BARTLET.

Historical Lectures and Addresses.

By Mandell Creighton, D.D., etc., etc., Sometime Bishop of London. Edited by Louise Creighton. London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, 1903. 346 pp. Price 5s.

OF this lively and interesting volume, embodying many summarised views held by a distinguished historian lately gone from us, and exemplifying his special methods, rather more than half is occupied with aspects of religious questions, both since the Reformation and before. The whole is compiled out of eighteen essays or lectures, led by the longest of them all, the inaugural lecture of the author as Dixie Professor at Cambridge, which, together with ten others, is now published for the first time, several being printed from the reporter's notes as they were delivered. The rest had appeared in various serials before.

Bishop Creighton claims to investigate Church questions from the historical side rather than from the political, and thus "the Church and the world must be studied together in their mutual relations". He puts in a *caveat* against the picturesquely flippant treatment, and another against erecting feelings and emotions into standards of appeal. He deprecates the exaltation of personages who interest us, and whose examples are edifying, into heroes wielding a superlative influence upon the men and events of their time; and he urges the importance of his subject on the ground that "till the end of the seventeenth century, ecclesiastical history is the surest guide to the comprehension of European history as a whole". The dangers which beset the historical student with examinations in view, the method of cram, briefly touched, the many lectures listened to without intelligence or digestion, the many notebooks crowded with jottings, "inaccurate because they were not understood," all

come in for lively and trenchant rebuke. A professor, although seeking the genuine interests of these smatterers, yet should ever aim at "catching a few who may become genuine students," and with this view "must be above all things a diligent student himself". Then all who ply the same calling of the higher teacher should link on as fellow-workers and promote "literary comity," recognising a comrade in every fellow-pioneer.

Here we have the heart of a man speaking, and that heart in his work as he speaks. Those who remember Dr. Arnold's introductory lecture as Professor at Oxford of Modern History may recall how many sparks flew from that anvil with kindling effect. We have a similar ring and scintillation from the "Dixie" stithy in this inaugural address.

The genesis of the early and enduring sects of the Congregationalists and the Baptists comes next upon the record. Here our author remarks on the attitude of the State towards "opinion"—not attempting to suppress it as such, but to be "the arbiter of the limits within which the expression of opinion was permissible". It required yet another century from the rise of the "Brownists" for the wisdom of toleration to commend itself to ruling powers, and yet another for its lessons to be mastered. He adds (p. 32):—

The State was tolerant in so far that it did not aim at enforcing unity, but it demanded a minimum of uniformity, the extent of which it claimed the right of defining. Thus the Church tended to lose the appearance of a free and self-governing body and seemed to be an instrument of the policy of the State. Its pleadings and its arguments lost half their weight because they were backed by coercive authority.

It was a yet more deplorable fact that this "coercive authority" was in fact to a large extent administered by the ministers of religion, the respect for whose office and persons had been so grievously shaken in the popular eye by the policy of the Tudor Crown. Under Edward VI. four bishops, under Mary Tudor sixteen, under Elizabeth herself all but one had been deprived of their sees by the high-handed exercise of royal power. It reminds us of the action

of a fractious child, who, impatient of the slow moves of a game at chess, sweeps the pieces from the board and breaks them. The suffrages of clergy and laity and of the provincial bishops in filling a see had never found place in England and find no place at this day. Comprovincial bishops, indeed, there were none, and could be none in the year 1559; for death had been so busy in the queen's first year that nine sees were thus vacant, and deprivation on the ground of the supremacy completed the tale with the exception of one. All independence of office and position had thus been made impossible in the episcopal body; and in the popular eye its members were the mere creatures of court favour. What wonder that the same eye saw in them a readiness to become the tools of royal arbitrariness? Into this position indeed the queen thrust them. When Archbishop Parker applied for enlarged power to enforce the policy which she dictated, she refused, and bade him use the powers which he had.

There is much truth in a remark of Mr. Froude that (vol. xii., p. 552)—

The shadowy form of an (episcopal) election with a religious ceremony following it gave the semblance of a spiritual independence, the semblance without the substance, which qualified them to be instruments of the system which she desired to enforce. . . . But neither Elizabeth nor later politicians of her temperament desired the Church of England to become too genuine.

This artificiality cleaves evermore to the Anglican episcopate through history; they resemble a fence made of piles driven in by *vis major* from above, instead of being the upgrowth of the soil itself, racy of it, and full of the vigorous vitality which such an origin implies. The whole structure which depends on them is therefore feeble and dislocated, and incapable of bearing a strain, and every crisis tends to produce a deadlock. There is no choice of their spiritual ruler nor voice in his selection among the clergy or laity of an English diocese. The democratic idea, so powerful in the New Testament and in the Church of the first three centuries, is lost—and that too in an age of which the ten-

dencies are so largely democratic as to leave the Crown little else than a golden shadow. But in the Elizabethan era the Crown was the most potent of political factors; and what it did was to push the bishops on to the treacherous ice and leave them to trip and flounder as they best might. But of this special feature of Crown policy in things spiritual, Bishop Creighton has no word to say. In another lecture (p. 228) he remarks, "It has been pointed out that the sufferers under Queen Mary were not more numerous than those under Henry VIII. or Elizabeth"; but he forgets to add that Henry's regnal years were thirty-seven and Elizabeth's forty-five, whereas those of Mary were fewer than six in all. Readers can draw their own conclusions by simple arithmetic. We are indebted to his research, however, for the exploding of the popular myth of the Queen's supposed letter to the "Proud Prelate" (Ely), whom according to approved tradition she threatened to "unfrock"—a tradition which figured in the school editions of English history until lately, but which is traced by Bishop Creighton to its source in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in the eighteenth century.

In several addresses the English character, either as affected by special epochs, as the Renaissance, or by the influence of native scenery, or by the stimulus of great and rare personalities, comes in for notice. The author here perhaps shows himself at his best. Candour without affectation, and a sobriety of judgment untainted by sentimental patriotism, mark his conclusions. Here and there a literary judgment peeps out, guided by the same keenness of observation and readiness to read an inward significance in an outward feature. Thus on p. 283 we read:—

Shakespeare has shown with curious insight the difference between Northern and Southern peoples. Othello and Romeo, when touched with passion, are pure individuals, and act entirely with reference to their own feelings. The difficulties of Hamlet lie in the fact that he could not forget that he was the heir to the throne of Denmark, and could not act in such a way that righteous vengeance should seem to be private ambition. He could not escape from his attachment to society, and therefore he will always fail to have the picturesqueness which belongs to individual detachment.

To Othello and Romeo he might have added Mark Antony; while in reference to Hamlet, he might have added that the poet has winged that character with the ideal in a larger measure than any of his full-length portraits of the loftier type. This tends largely to detach him intellectually from his social and dynastic surroundings, and so to redress the balance on its defective side. But the writer's purpose was one of pure illustration only of a historical principle, and to have pursued the literary analysis would have led him too far from his main subject.

In the minor essays we find the touches of the author's own method. He says in effect, take what lies next to hand; observe homely features; catch at first hand the impressions of a rural ramble or suburban stroll, and you will find "that beauty and charm are not a matter of size, but that their discovery depends upon the power of perception which we bring to it".

HENRY HAYMAN.

The Expositor's Greek Testament.

Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. Volume III. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904. Imp. 8vo, pp. 547. Price 28s.

THE third volume of this monumental work represents the labours of five New Testament scholars, whose names are worthy to stand together, and to each of whom the editor has committed a separate Epistle of St. Paul. Like former volumes it is constructed on the plan of Alford: an introduction being given to each Epistle, and thereafter a commentary on the Greek text. The several writers and the subjects assigned to them are as follows: 2 Corinthians, by the Very Rev. J. H. Bernard, D.D.; Galatians, by the Rev. Frederic Rendall, M.A.; Ephesians, by the Rev. S. D. F. Salmond, D.D.; Philippians, by the Rev. H. A. A. Kennedy, D.Sc.; Colossians, by Professor A. S. Peake, M.A.

The premier place in the group of contributors to this volume is undoubtedly due to Principal Salmond, whose work on Ephesians is nearly in every respect perhaps the writer's most signal contribution to New Testament literature, and, if it had been published as an independent volume, it would probably have commanded more immediately the consideration it deserves. One feels after a careful study of it that it speaks the last word on some questions involved. The Introduction is very full and interesting. All that relates to the history of the town and church of Ephesus is stated in a graphic and succinct manner, and the paragraph in which the Epistle to the Ephesians is analysed is worthy of special note, as justifying the statement that "among the Epistles bearing the name of St. Paul there is none greater than this, nor any with a character more entirely its own". Its great ideas, its series of terms of far-reaching significance, its vocabulary

and its affinities with the Fourth Gospel, Hebrews, the Apocalypse and 1 Peter, are dealt with in a way that leaves nothing unsaid. Dr. Salmond will carry most people with him in his disposal of the theory that Ephesians is borrowed from 1 Peter. Very full treatment is given to the relation between Ephesians and Colossians, and it is interesting to note that the verdicts of Dr. Salmond and that of Professor Peake, who writes on Colossians, are in perfect agreement with each other. As the latter says: "In a writer such as Paul, rich in ideas and unused to formal composition, such resemblance and yet such difference in letters written together was quite to be expected". The critic who would dispute the Pauline authorship of Ephesians with Principal Salmond has his work cut out for him, and would need to forge new weapons. Most students will be glad to find emphasised the distinctive view of the death of Christ taken by Paul in this Epistle, and its affinities with Johannine thought. While carefully adjusting the balance of evidence as between a local destination and the circular letter theory, Dr. Salmond gives his verdict for the latter view, "as Hort puts it, that the blank in the original copy sent with Tychicus was filled in with the name of the Church of each place in which it was read". In one sentence the doctrinal place of Ephesians among Paul's Epistles is happily defined. "It is a distinctively *theological* Epistle, in the sense in which the Epistle to the Romans is distinctively *anthropological* or *psychological*, and that to the Colossians *Christological*." It is also the Epistle in which the doctrine of the Church reaches its highest point. Of the Exposition of the Epistle the highest we can say is that it is entirely worthy. It is very full, and is as detailed as it is comprehensive. No portion of it could have been spared. There is plenty homiletic matter in the commentary, and it is of the right kind—suggestive and strictly textual. Here and there it causes one a pang of regret over pretty thoughts that have been built on textual inaccuracies, as, *e.g.*, when the writer disposes of "the whole family in heaven and earth," by his adherence to the R.V. "every family," and adds: "All such

ideas, therefore, as that angels and men, or the blessed in heaven and the believing on earth, are in view as now making one great family, are excluded". The exposition of the great words of the Epistle, as *βουλή* and *θέλημα*, *πρόθεσις* and *προορίζειν*, *πλήρωμα*, *κατοικῆσαι*, etc., etc., is illuminating. No more exacting task could be set to an expositor than the doxology in i. 3-8, which "extends over six verses, in one magnificent sentence intricately yet skilfully constructed, throbbing in each clause with the adoring sense of the Divine counsel," etc. Dr. Salmond has succeeded there; and it may be said at once that he never brings down the themes with which the Epistle deals, but is rather lifted by them to a level it must have been very hard to sustain. On crucial points such as iv. 9, *εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς*, he is very satisfactory, for while ending with the obvious interpretation, he gives a lengthened note which shows that he has faced all the alternatives, and has a reason for the conclusion reached. In every point of view Dr. Salmond's Ephesians will take rank as representing the highest kind of expository work.

After Ephesians, naturally, we turn to Colossians, to find, as might be expected, that Professor A. S. Peake has also done justice to a great task. In the Introduction much space is devoted to the subject of Angelology, as having an important bearing alike on the question of authenticity and on the exegesis of several passages. In relation to authenticity, it is shown that Paul's Angelology has marked coincidences with the later Jewish view; and in relation to the passages in the Epistle bearing on the angels he says: "That Christ was the Head of the angelic world was a natural thought to Paul, once he regarded Christ as its Creator, and realised its need for redemption". "The Angelology of the Epistle is thus in harmony with that of Paul, as gathered from the certainly genuine Epistles: and where it shows advance, the development is on thoroughly Pauline lines, and amply accounted for by the false teaching which it refutes. There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the Epistle on the ground of its doctrine of the worship of angels." Professor

Peake finds it unnecessary to go beyond Jewish false teaching in order to account for Paul's line of thought in Colossians. He rejects alike a Gnostic and an Essene origin of the heresies it refutes. Paul's line of refutation "consists partly in pointing the moral of their own experience, partly in a positive exposition of great Christian truths with which the false teaching was incompatible, partly in direct attack". Professor Peake's exposition of the text of the Epistle is careful and complete, and when one samples it at important points it does not disappoint one's expectations. At i. 14 ἐν ᾧ is rendered, "not by whom but in whom: if we possess Christ, we possess in Him our deliverance". He renders ἀπολύτρωσιν, "deliverance". At i. 15, which begins the great Christological passage of the Epistle, Professor Peake says: "Paul assumes the pre-existence of the Son as common ground, and is thus applying a fundamental Christian truth". The discussion and refutation of the interpretation of i. 15-17 given by Oltramare, who "eliminates the idea of pre-existence from the passage, and says that the reference is throughout to Christ as Redeemer," may be quoted as representative of Professor Peake's best work. He keeps Ephesians well in mind all through, as in the contrast: "It is only in Colossians and Ephesians that Christ appears as Head of the Church, but the emphasis in Colossians is on the Headship, in Ephesians on the Church". With reference to the effect of Christ's reconciling work on the angels, Professor Peake says: "So far then as the angel world was affected by sin, it needed reconciliation, and received it in the atoning and sin-destroying death of Christ its Head". The passage ii. 9 "asserts the real Deity of Christ". The exposition of the great passage in iii. 1-4 is disappointingly meagre, but the ethical ground covered by the remainder of the Epistle is carefully gone over.

One turns with much interest to Philippians, which has been entrusted to Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy, whose work as a new and young scholar is full of promise. The Introduction is short, but thoroughly competent, and on the special characteristics of the Epistle it is very fresh and uncon-

ventional, as indeed is the entire Exposition. Dr. Kennedy emphasises the *artlessness* of this Epistle as a characteristic which, if it had been always kept in view, would have prevented much futile theorising both in the exegesis and the criticism of the Epistle. But the charm of Dr. Kennedy's work is in his fresh, pithy, terse exposition. One sometimes desiderates a little extension, but perhaps the writer judged best; and certainly he has produced a rich mine for preachers. His use of contemporary literature is exceedingly good, and the quotations, incorporated more freely perhaps than an older expositor would care to do, are sometimes amazingly apt and happy. A very full discussion is given in i. 1 of the standing question of *ἐπίσκοπος* and *πρεσβύτερος*, and the writer indicates his complete mastery of the relevant literature. He concludes for "the general equivalence in the earliest times of *πρεσβ.* and *ἐπίσκ.*, and granting that their oversight and guidance were concerned with the spiritual as well as the material well-being of the congregation". In line with recent authorities he is confident that the Seven of Acts vi. were not *διάκονοι*, but came next to the Apostles. Dr. Kennedy has challenged criticism by his bold departure in rendering ii. 5, "Have this mind *within your community* which ye have also in Christ Jesus". He defends it on the view that "Christians then, as now, were often different in their ordinary dealings and relations from what they were in their strictly Christian life," and works out, on very modern lines, the necessity for obliterating the contrast between the two spheres of life. He admits that "the interpretation perhaps repels by its unfamiliarity". One might get used to that: but, as the late Professor Davidson once said in another connexion, it is a *modern* reading to which the Apostle had probably not advanced. The discussion of ii. 6-11, "this *crux interpretum*" as Dr. Kennedy calls it, is admirable. As he says truly, "this is not a discussion in technical theology. Paul does not speculate on the great problems of the nature of Christ. The elaborate theories reared on this passage and designated 'kenotic' would probably have surprised the

Apostle. Paul is dealing with a question of practical ethics." Under the discussion of $\delta\varsigma$ in ii. 6, he says: "The discussions as to whether this refers to the pre-existing or historical Christ seem scarcely relevant to Paul's thought. For him his Lord's career was one and undivided." One would need time to think about his disposal of $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ (= $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{\alpha}$) as "something still future". The attempt to clear up the passage has certainly the merit of freshness. He has had the insight to discern the unique homiletic value of Dr. Rainy's "Philippians" in the *Expositor's Bible*, and many of its most characteristic sentences are interwoven with this exposition. For his purpose, *e.g.*, at ii. 13, nothing could be better than this: "All efforts to divide the ground between God and man go astray" (Rainy, *op. cit.*, p. 136). The occasional unconventional touch comes in at ii. 15, where the rendering of $\delta\iota\epsilon\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ is the Scotch word "thrawn"! The exposition of chapter iii. is good throughout, and here and there one meets with a very fresh thing. Take this, under $\phi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$: "The survivals of Rabbinic doctrines and methods in Paul's thought, however, must neither be exaggerated, nor, because they are Rabbinic, be contemptuously dismissed. 'If God was not moving in the Rabbinic thought of Christ's day, what reason have we to say He moves in the thought of to-day?'" In a word, Dr. Kennedy has taken a line of his own, and his work does not need to fear comparison with that of any other.

The Epistle to the Galatians was safely committed to the Rev. Frederic Rendall, who has dealt carefully with such points in the Introduction as the locality of the Galatian churches. "Great weight," he says, "is deservedly attached to the opinion of Bishop Lightfoot, but it must be remembered that it was formed more than a generation ago, when comparatively little was known of the internal geography of Asia Minor, or of its condition under the Cæsars, whereas Professor Ramsay's advocacy of the opposite view is founded on intimate acquaintance with the geography and history of the country during the first century." Mr. Rendall concludes that the Galatian churches were those in the

southern portion whose foundation is recorded in the Acts. The "foolish Galatians" of iii. 1 cannot therefore be regarded any longer as volatile Kelts! A very full and careful comparison is made between Galatians and the Book of Acts, and the two narratives are shown to be in perfect agreement. The exposition is full of careful work, and every point in the Apostle's great apologia receives attention. There is a good summary in large print of each paragraph, after Lightfoot's manner, and the whole work maintains a high level of excellence, though it does not bristle with quotable passages as do some of the others.

The Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, has done 2 Corinthians with great care, and has gone minutely into all the questions that relate to the connexion between 1 and 2 Corinthians. With Dr. Denney he holds the first canonical Epistle to be the "painful letter" to which the Apostle alludes in 2 Cor. ii. 4, vii. 8, 12; but the discussion is somewhat laboured. The same remark applies to the laborious defence of the integrity of the Epistle. There is a good analysis of the contents of the letter, and a very full bibliography, but one must say, with candour, that the exposition is somewhat tame and tedious. It does not reflect the throbbing heart-beat of Paul's most agitated letter. It is typical of the kind of exposition which contents itself with setting down what Paul *said* rather than getting at what he *meant*, and in form it partakes rather too much of the "running commentary". There is nothing slight or slovenly about it, but it never flashes fire. It is unexceptionally orthodox, and bears traces of thorough scholarship and abundant learning. It will keep the student right, but it does not (to use a word of modern coinage) *enthuse* the reader: and an exposition of 2 Corinthians should. It is, in short, representative of the patient plodding scholarship of past times, and reminds one of Vaughan and Alford. But it is full of knowledge, and if the preacher knows where to supplement it, he will find that Dr. Bernard has furnished him with working apparatus.

The volume on the whole is begun, continued and ended on a high level of excellence, and very much of it deserves

much stronger praise. Its conclusions are conservative in the best sense, though the various distinguished contributors have worked with scientific method, and have shown, though unintentionally, how inevitable it is that modern exegetical work yields us the best kind of New Testament theology.

DAVID PURVES.

1. Miracles and Supernatural Religion.

*By J. Morris Whiton, Ph.D. The Macmillan Co., Ltd., 1903.
Fcp. 8vo, pp. 144. Price 3s. net.*

2. Rousseau and Naturalism in Life and Thought.

*By William H. Hudson. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903.
8vo, pp. x. + 260. Price 3s.*

3. Some Elements towards the At-one-ment of Knowledge and Belief.

*By William Routh, M.A. London: Elliot Stock, 1903.
8vo, pp. ix. + 234. Price 5s. net.*

4. Rational Religion.

*By Rev. H. Theodore Knight, M.A., Sevenoaks. London:
Rivingtons, 1903. 8vo, pp. xii. + 287. Price 4s. 6d. net.*

1. THIS volume disappoints expectation. "So long as the path of progress is guided by the lamp of experience" (p. 124) is a very mixed metaphor, and the thinking is as crude as the language. The main contention is that the final proof of the Christian Revelation lies in the moral and religious renovations it has wrought on individuals and in society. So miracles are relegated from the artillery to the impedimenta of Christianity. In spite of such passages as Matt. xi. 4, they are regarded as burdens, not as proofs. Most of them are rejected as mere misunderstandings of an uncritical age. Jairus' daughter, the widow's son, Lazarus and Eutychus were mere "revivals" from the dead. Nathaniel under the fig tree, and such like, were cases of "telepathy". The Virgin Birth is "atrophied"; and though something did happen at the Resurrection of Christ, it was not the resurrection of the Body. The Bible is quoted, usually to be contradicted; but great respect is shown to the proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research. Dr. Holtzmann's
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name is misspelled on page 48, and Dr. Horton repudiates the inference drawn on page 110.

2. This volume of the "World's Epoch Makers" is a valuable addition to this valuable series. Rousseau is a problem. In all concerning himself, he was spiritually colour-blind. He was immoral, but preached a high morality. He was a liar and a cheat to the end, but was ever urging men to probity and honour. He never wearied posing, and yet one shrinks from calling him a hypocrite. Napoleon said there would have been no Revolution but for Jean Jacques: and yet Rousseau would have opposed those who logically carried out the principles he had taught. He was no systematic thinker, his views of life were one-sided and partial, his writings swarm with absurdities and inconsistencies. Yet he influenced thought as few men have done. Buffon wrote that what Rousseau said had been proved and said before—only Rousseau could make the world attend. He uttered boldly the thoughts lying in other men's minds, and by his passionate outcries against injustice, heartlessness and depravity, he became the prophet of the new social order. Professor Hudson has given us an admirable sketch of Rousseau's life, and an equally admirable summary and criticism of Rousseau's writings. This is one of the best volumes of the series.

3. It needs courage as well as genius to believe nowadays that Christian scholarship has missed seeing obvious truths for twenty centuries. Yet Mr. Routh essays this in the volume with the somewhat clumsy title of *The At-one-ment of Knowledge and Belief*. His method assumes a Creator, but refuses to speak of the Creator as a Person. He is so great as to be hyper-personal, and therefore practically unknowable. Yet this Creator desires to communicate Himself to man. This He does through the medium of beings whom the author calls "Immortals," and whom ordinary men call angels. Further, these "Immortals" are identified with the spirits of just men made perfect. Through their ministry

the world was shaped, and Revelation given—hence the defects in both are explained. And since God rested on the seventh day, and that rest is still unbroken, the “Immortals” still rule the world. Like the Ancient Mariner the author thinks “he is the first that ever burst into that silent sea”. Had he however recalled the Gnostic and other heresies of the second and fourth centuries he would have found that his “Immortals” are not new; and had he remembered Lightfoot’s essay on the Colossian heresy he would have seen they are not true. There are some excellent sections in the book: but the “Immortals” are ever lurking in ambush. The double error lies in making bold assertions about Beings of whom we know nothing; and in virtually ignoring the twofold personality of Christ, and the virtue of His mediatorial work. Christ is at once the Highest and the Lowest. He bridges the chasm, and brings God to man, and lifts man to God, and no other mediators are required.

4. This is a collection of “addresses” to men on Rational Religion. They are of an apologetic character, and deal with such subjects as Science and the Bible, Miracles, Socialism, and the four Last Things. These topics are discussed in a chatty popular style suited to the audience. Many would demur to such sweeping statements as that all the Biblical characters prior to Abraham are wholly ideal and have no vestige of historical fact, and that sundry details in the Gospels are not reports of authentic history. Many things, too, Mr. Knight regards from his somewhat contracted ecclesiastical viewpoint. The individual’s relation to God is ignored, his relation to the Church is all-important. “Protestant” is a disliked word. “Schism is far more perilous than heresy.” Holy Communion is *par excellence* “the Act of Popular Worship”. Doubtless for those who think like the author this book will have its uses. Cowper is misquoted on page 6.

JOSEPH TRAILL.

A New Theory of Organic Evolution.

*By James W. Barclay of Glenbucket. London and Edinburgh :
Blackwood. Cr. 8vo, pp. 180. Price 2s. 6d. net.*

FOR twenty years Mr. Barclay rendered invaluable services to his country, by the measures he promoted and was largely instrumental in carrying through Parliament. In his retirement he has given his intellectual power, earnestness and force to the solution of one of the greatest questions of science, and in the above volume we have the result. He has read much and is evidently familiar with the best works on his subject. He has thought much and deeply, and it is impossible to exaggerate the value of the contribution he has made to the elucidation of the problem, in what manner the advances were made from the simplest forms of life to the most complex.

Science, Huxley says, is simply common-sense at its best ; that is rigidly accurate in observation, and merciless to fallacy in logic. Mr. Barclay proposes to test by common-sense "whether the Darwinian doctrine that the evolution of life on our planet was brought about by natural selection, and other secondary causes, accords with the ascertained facts, or satisfactorily accounts for the natural phenomena it professes to explain, and also to submit a new theory that will explain satisfactorily the admitted facts of evolution".

Organic evolution is accepted. The geological record shows that life began in simple forms, that new types successively appeared and became more and more highly specialised, until man came on the scene. The embryo of every mammal shows in the earlier stages of its growth those through which its antecessor passed, and only as maturity approaches does it assume its own special characteristics.

The part of Darwin's theory which Mr. Barclay combats

is that which ascribes the advances made from type to type, to gradual and continuous improvements by small beneficial differentiations going forward through a long course of ages, in short, spontaneous variation and natural selection. He proposes to substitute for it a new theory of advances through the Creator introducing into the germplasm of an inferior type an addition to its specific life force, which at once raised the embryo to a higher platform. It may be that in the higher organisms the fecundated ovum of an existing type was in some manner fecundated again with a new force by the divine hand, and that the old and new forces thus fecundated evolved the new type.

It needed no little courage to propound a theory of this nature. It will at once array against it many scientists, whose regnant prejudices will be roused into flame by the in-bringing of the supernatural into the course of nature. But in Mr. Barclay they have a powerful opponent, a layman to whom prejudice cannot be imputed, and who shows that he regards truth and truth only. His theory is developed in a masterly manner. It is thrown into an admirable form. Definitions are clearly given. Arguments are marshalled and stated with singular distinctness and force. Conclusions are formulated and given in brief and definite statements.

From the consideration of the facts of life and its organisations, the following principles are deduced. "In the development of the members of a race the factors are, a general life force common to all life, a specific life force peculiar to each race, and environment." "The specific life force determines the type, but the expression of the type is the outcome partly of heredity, and partly of the conditions of development." "The development of a type cannot exceed a full expression of the energy of its life forces." "Without modification of a specific life force there can be no specific variation in type." Nothing could be finer than these statements, and they are almost entirely self-evident.

The facts on which the argument largely depends are widely known and abundantly authenticated. "When," Herbert Spencer says, "we have thousands of men, whose

profit or loss depends on the inferences they draw from simple and repeated observations, and when the inferences from those deeply interested observations have become unshakable convictions, we may accept them without hesitation." Such inferences are those of the cattle breeder. He selects for breeding purposes animals that in his judgment possess the best expression of the type. He repeats the experiment with their offspring. He continues his selection till a full expression of the type is evolved. In a few generations the result is reached. Selective breeding has been pursued for three-quarters of a century, but there has been no tendency to specific variation of the type. On the contrary, the longer selective breeding has been carried out, the more forcibly do parents stamp the family likeness on their progeny. When the type has attained to its best expression, the obstacles to further advance prove insurmountable. If the young stock of the perfect type go unmated till the age when ordinary animals reach puberty, they may prove infertile, and when mated younger, the calf fails to equal its progenitors in development. Practically, a full expression of the type has been reached, and to maintain the existence of the herd its standard of excellence must be lowered by immature mating, and the process of improvement carried forward again.

Crossing cannot produce specific variation. First crosses are usually superior to either parent. They have the best qualities of both. Mongrels, however, the progeny of hybrids, are inferior and usually infertile. Crossing is rare in nature. The brown and the white mountain hares do not mate, though living on the same mountain side; neither do grouse and ptarmigan. If hybrids are bred into one of the races from which they come, in two or three generations they have all the appearance of that race, although (atavism) a representative of the other race may also appear.

Mr. Barclay proposes to divide the animal kingdom into races instead of into species. The former are much more numerous than the latter. There is considerable room for difference of opinion, as to the members to be included in a species, and difference of opinion exists. The test he pro-

poses of a distinct type is, "That its members shall not only be alike in appearance and fertile among themselves, but that their progeny shall continue fertile and the type persistent".

Against advances by small beneficial differences, which was Darwin's conviction, Mr. Barclay has many objections to urge. We can give only a few.

1. Type or race is immutable. An impure race continues but two or three generations. A pure race is persistent, and shows the same essential characteristics through all generations. No means can be devised capable of producing a radical change in the type. It is evident therefore that it is fixed, and the germplasm and embryo of an existing mammal must be virtually the same as in the first ancestor of the race.

2. The struggle for existence has a great part to play in Darwin's theory, but it is unequal to the demands made upon it. Times of stress came and weeded out the feeble of each type, and so the strongest remained to propagate a better species than before. The survivors retained their superiority, and handed it on to their progeny, and so, by successive advances, the long and slow and grand advance was made. But facts show more truly the effects of times of stress. For five years a struggle for existence has been going on in Australia, and forty million sheep have perished. The strongest have survived, but they are not equal to the unfittest of the flock five years ago, and those born during the struggle will never equal the old flock. The finest animals are not produced as the result of a time of stress, but by continuous careful protection from birth onwards. Rabbits might multiply on an island until scarcity and stress should ensue, but the survivors would come out worse than they entered. Extraordinary differences might arise and prevail, but Mr. Bateson in his work on *Materials for Variation* does not mention one that is beneficial. They are of the nature of monstrosities.

3. Continuous accumulation of beneficial differences is unknown. Beneficial differences do arise as the result of selective breeding and the absence of struggle, and Darwin asks, Why should they not go on indefinitely, and give rise

to new species? The simple answer is that they do not go on indefinitely. They come to an end in a few generations, and retrogression commences, and there is no tendency to specific variation.

4. Time effects nothing. The vastly extended period since life appeared on the earth is made much of, as affording opportunity for the greatest advances and changes. But time only affords opportunity. It can do nothing. There must be the advances to take advantage of opportunity. And these do not occur, do not go beyond their limited range. Fossils of various organisms found in primary formations are in appearance the same as species that still exist, and for them time with all the variations of the conditions of existence has done nothing. Representations of animals in Egyptian tombs 5000 years old represent also existing species. There have been 2000 generations of them and yet there is no variation. In the geological record there is nothing to support Darwin's theory. He acknowledges this but ascribes it to its imperfection. Yet if his contention were true there ought to have been some signs, clear and unmistakable, to sustain it. There is nothing in history. Animals in Egypt are the same now as thousands of years ago.

5. There are variations due to change of environment, but such as give no indication of a tendency toward specific advances.

These are the grounds on which Darwin's theory is assailed, and in the volume there is much more to the same effect. Mr. Barclay has made out a very strong case. To that common-sense which is science his facts and arguments make a powerful appeal, and it will be hard for any to show cause why they should deny that it has driven from the field, which with many it has so long held, the view that advance has been made from species to species by the accumulation of small beneficial differences continued through long ages and perfected by natural selection. Dividing animals into races, he has proved that type of race is immutable, that no specific change can by any means be

produced. The beneficial advances known advance only a little way, and then retrogression commences. If inferences are to be drawn from them, these inferences must be in harmony with their nature and action, and their nature is to make valuable but slight advances in a brief period, and their action is thus in direct contradiction to the idea of their going forward indefinitely. Mr. Barclay has given a juster view of the effect of the struggle for existence than Darwin. The weak indeed perish, but the strong are depressed in strength and those born of them in this condition are inferior. The environment can only act within a certain range. Were it greatly widened it would destroy. Weisman's contention that acquired characters are not inherited, goes to sustain that of Mr. Barclay. It is easy to imagine great changes taking place in the course of millions of years, but there must be something to sustain the imaginings. And Darwin's theory is discredited by the absence of sustaining facts. The gaps between species are considerable, and if the advances had been made by differences such as should give no evidence of their existence in thousands of years, as is the case in known historical times, the multitude of intermediates produced in the slow and partial and marked advances, must have been enormous, must indeed have been far greater than those belonging to the transformed species, and must have left vast numbers of specimens to be found in the strata of the earth.

When Darwin's theory is discredited, Mr. Barclay's is the only alternative. It is no doubt out of harmony with modern scientific ideas to represent the Creator as interposing in the course of evolution, and introducing a specific life force, by which from an inferior a higher type of animal might be produced. But science forgets its own principles, when it determines *à priori* what must have been instead of inquiring what has been. And no reason can be adduced why the divine mind should not according to the law of parsimony have delayed the introduction of a higher power into germ-plasm until the time came for its action. The tendency of Darwin's theory, while it does not exclude the divine presence

and action in the evolution of the world and of life, is to put Him far away and very much out of sight; and a view which shows Him at work in special ways throughout the whole period of evolution, and tends to bring Him nearer to the highest object evolved, and makes Him more living and active, is most likely to be true.

And while in history there is nothing to support Darwin's theory, we find in it the same mode of action pursued by the Creator as is presented in Mr. Barclay's. When God would raise man from a natural and worldly life to a higher and spiritual, He introduced from age to age such new forces of life and truth as man was able to receive, and at length by a special interposition, after the very manner supposed in the new theory, raised the perfect Son of Man to be the supreme power in the elevation of the race. From the beginning the Spirit brooded over creation, and at each advance specially introduced the new kind of type, even as afterwards in the Virgin. Thus do science and revelation join hands and sustain each other.

It is easy to see that this theory does not conflict with the unity of the race, for, according to it, new races would be drawn from the first.

WILLIAM PROFEIT.

Problems and Persons.

By Wilfrid Ward, author of "*William George Ward and the Oxford Movement*," etc., etc. London: Longmans, 1903. 8vo, 377 pp. Price 14s. net.

THE tone of Mr. Wilfrid Ward's book on its argumentative side is one of calm politeness ; which, coupled with a steadfast *ignoratio elenchi* (in the essays which relate to the Roman controversy), enables most of his appeals to thinking men to run pleasantly enough off the reel of thought. As for solid value, the first essay, "On the Time Spirit of the Nineteenth Century," has most of it. In the philosophic tracing, however, of that century's thought, should have been prominent the fact, that the process has been to efface or impair the distinction which S. T. Coleridge, founding himself on Kant, impressed upon the earlier decades of the century. That distinction was between the reason proper and the reasoning *process*, whether inductive or deductive ; which Coleridge followed up by insisting on the intrinsic importance of the contents of that reason, as compared with the results of that process. Since Coleridge, the progress has been tending to magnify these results at the expense of those contents. The wide acceptance of the principles of Herbert Spencer stands in strong evidence of this tendency ; so in a measure does Buckle's *History of English Civilisation*. It does not seem to have occurred to our author to include this very important feature. He founds himself largely, but with due acknowledgment, on Mr. A. J. Balfour and on the late M. Renan. Still there is quite enough of independent thought to give a substantive tone to the whole.

It might also have been expected that, among the tendencies of the *Zeitgeist* (inadequately rendered by "Time Spirit"), some notice of those which are ethical would have found place.

But our author exhausts himself through over sixty pages on the intellectual side, on its results, on the progress made by physical science and on the diffusion of material benefits accruing thereby. Never did an age more roundly illustrate the principle that civilisation has a relative impotency of moral forces, as compared with those which are intellectual in their origin and material in their outcome. Progress intellectually and materially is at best a zig-zag line, which, however, approaches such perfection as man, under those aspects, is capable of. Moral progress seems, on the contrary, to go round and round a point which it keeps in view, but hardly approaches at all the nearer. It was so in the ancient world, and is so in the modern. If the former is a zig-zag, the latter is at best a slowly converging spiral, and but for the influence of Christianity would probably show no convergency at all. A century which saw the extinction on English soil of duelling, and among all civilised races of slavery, was surely entitled to its ethical score. The *Zeitgeist* further includes an intellectual stimulus derived from that intensified nervous excitability, which is the nemesis of our scientific conquests over matter. The material world reacts at every point upon its conqueror, calling on the nerves for constantly increased exertion. The chords of the human instrument thus vibrate with an enormously multiplied frequency and intensity, until the living telegraphy within us becomes a mass of over-excited conductors. With this may probably be correlated the enhanced interest in spiritualistic phenomena, and perhaps their increased frequency of occurrence; of which telepathy may be taken as a leading form—a wide realm, the border-land of which alone has been pioneered in the later decades under strictly scientific method.

Room might have been found for some of these omissions by curtailing the space devoted to a summary of the time spirits of successive earlier ages from Thomas Aquinas and Dante downwards—not valueless, but, being over 35 per cent. of the whole essay, certainly exorbitant.

Several other essays are devoted to the present aspect of the question of the reunion of the Church of England with

that of Rome ; and here we seem to see the reason for harking back to Thomas Aquinas, etc., in discussing the *Zeitgeist* of the nineteenth century. Here also it is that the *ignoratio elenchi* comes in. The *elenchus*, when examined, means unconditional submission. That was found to be so when H. Froude and J. H. Newman visited Rome in the early thirties. The claims of the Papacy have swollen enormously since then. Many who might swallow the decrees of Trent have not the capacity for the Immaculate Conception and the Infallible Chair. These, and all similar incrustations upon the faith of the fourth century, are claimed as legitimate developments, and the law of growth is pleaded alike for all. With all this extra weight piled on, the demand is still for unconditional submission. The demand assumes for the Roman corner of Christendom and its dictated rather than debated decrees, the same weight of authority which is ascribed to the œcumenical decisions of the undivided Church from Nicæa to Chalcedon.

But the entire advocacy of Romish claims seems to lose sight of the fact that the same infallibility is claimed for the Chair of Peter in the sphere of morals, as in that of doctrine. Now the first requisite of a moral teacher, and that one which is ever more indispensable in proportion to the degree of authority which he claims, is that his example should embody the moral teaching of his decisions. What then has the Infallible Chair taught *by example* ? Let the whole volume of dissolute profligacy during the periods of the Counts of Tusculum, the gross turpitude of the many official acts of papal sovereignty current previous to the reforms of Gregory VII., the horrors of the Albigensian Crusade, the nameless atrocities of the Inquisition, the sanction extended to persecution—nay, the demand urged upon sovereigns to organise it as their foremost duty, give the answer. The Chair is irreformable, and cannot forego the moral decisions to which it stands committed by its own authorised actions, as being in effect its moral teaching. The whole tissue of those actions and that teaching are indissolubly interwoven in the same fabric of authority. They form its web and woof. They carry on their force throughout

history and up to now. The present Pontiff is as directly involved in and responsible for those actions as were the individual Pontiffs who enacted them in detail. This follows obviously from the idea of an Infallible Chair, which must, if true now, have been true all along. How it is that passionate controversialists on both sides have overlooked this, is a question not easy to answer. It stands obviously quite apart from all questions of development of *credenda*, being simple, absolute and primary, and underlying the whole fabric of the Roman Church as an organised government.

When, therefore, our author says, "It would seem that it is the growth of this temper of fairness and sympathy on all sides, by mutual co-operation against our common foes, irreligion, vice, . . . which will eventually lead to a real reunion, if it is ever to be attained" (p. 98), it can only be replied with regret that to persecution on principle Rome stands pledged, and that with persecution on principle a "temper of fairness and sympathy" is incompatible.

The personal sketches of Lord Tennyson and Professor Huxley are characteristic and excellent. They have been presented before, but deserve fixedness and tangibility. The incidental jottings about Macaulay, Jowett, Carlyle and others give relief and variety. The anecdote of Huxley's behaviour as a dinner-guest with Manning when Cardinal, shows that he could be as rude as Dr. Johnson, who, said Goldsmith, "when his pistol misses fire, knocks you down with the butt-end"—such was the tenour of his reply; and the worst of it is that it appears not merely as an utterance in the argumentative irritation of the moment, but deliberately recited by himself to the narrator afterwards, and that with no trace of compunction or regret.

But while pointing out the *ignoratio elenchi* which vitiates the general argument underlying the whole trend of reflection, it is only fair to admit that there are many passages which breathe a noble and generous liberality—too long, unhappily, to quote in a review like this.

HENRY HAYMAN.

1. The Revelation of the Holy Spirit.

*By J. E. C. Welldon, D.D. London : Macmillan & Co., Ltd.
Pp. 384. Price 6s.*

2. The Pentecostal Gift.

*Scottish Church Society. Glasgow : J. Maclehose & Sons.
Pp. 248.*

3. Sacrificial Worship.

*By W. J. Gold, S.T.D. London : Longmans, Green & Co.
Pp. xiv. + 112. Price 3s. 6d. net.*

4. Some Old Stories Retold.

*By F. W. J. Daniels, M.A. London : Elliot Stock. Pp. 110.
Price 3s. net.*

5. The Goal of the Universe.

*By S. W. Koelle, Ph.D. London : Elliot Stock. Pp. x. + 399.
Price 7s. 6d.*

1. THE writer was happily led in making choice of the subject which he discusses in this book. For it need hardly be said that the most vital energy of religious experience is that of the Spirit of God ; nor can any subject be of more immediate value.

In the plan of the discussion it is the case of the intelligent Christian rather than the theological student that is kept in view ; and to win the Christian intelligence to a keen and educated interest in the practical bearings of this matter is a purpose worthy of earnest commendation. The hint let fall in the preface that the writer's mind is mainly concerned with the incidental apologetic value of the doctrine also predisposes us to a favourable attitude towards the work. For that reason one may doubt whether the immediate purpose would not have been better served by throwing forward into the very first chapter what is taken as the last. The revelation of the Holy Spirit in history and the energy

of that Spirit in human affairs, are subjects of fundamental importance. The treatment of the whole question, however, is unduly narrowed when His working is limited to "the Church". "It is the influence of the Holy Spirit upon human conduct that is now the interesting question" (pp. 9, 10). "The question, then, is: Has there been in Christian history such an operation of the Holy Spirit as corresponds with the teaching of our Lord and the experience of His Apostles? And, if so, what have been its various forms and moods; how has it shown itself; or, in fact, has the general law of the Holy Spirit's influence, as already set forth in this essay, been historically fulfilled?" (p. 271).

This is seriously to limit the compass of the Divine energy; and as seriously to weaken the force of the apologetic argument. God's Spirit walks abroad; and the recognition of this fact is of capital importance in apologetic statement. Dr. Welldon, in sharpening the contrast which obtains of course between Christians on the one hand and Mohammedans on the other, appears to shut his eyes on the deeper and wider problem involved. He is not indeed insensible to the problem. It is touched upon on pp. 284, 285. But we hold that this is integral to the subject itself and not to be taken as an incident outside the argument. We believe the omission of this more intricate and far-reaching issue of the subject to be a serious deduction from the value of the essay as a whole. Along the lines however of the ordinary Christian thought of the day, the work is as good as one could desire; but more is needed if Christian interest is to be vitalised and the intelligence of the Churches to be won. We have yet to wait for the work we need.

2. The volume is a selection of the papers read at a conference of the Scottish Church Society in Perth, 1902. The papers here included have much similarity in their themes. There is inequality in the treatment, while all aim at defending and maintaining "the reality of the Church's mission as a divine institution". This is the general point of view.

"The editorial committee," we are told in the preface, "venture to hope that the papers printed in this volume may be serviceable to the faith of those who desire a consistent apprehension of the divine basis, supernatural life, and heavenly calling of the Church." There is nothing remarkable in the discussions of the various topics to which our attention is directed in the book.

3. This is an attractive little volume. There is a tender memorial tribute to the author, who passed away as the proof-sheets were going through the press. A synopsis of the three lectures and a portrait are furnished by his literary executor. There are interesting notes appended to the lectures. The lectures themselves are characterised by simplicity of diction, restraint and directness. They are worthy of their themes. The most luminous is the first, where the author insists on the permanence in worship of the element of sacrifice. "All that is true and earnest in the worshipful attitude of the soul within is brought to a head, concentrated and exhibited through an outward rite, which contains, after the manner of a sacrament, the inward significance, embodies it, and carries it out to a certain completion."

4. These discourses are dedicated to men who go to no place of worship; and the sermons are quite in agreement as well in character as in aim. They are straight-spoken, unconventional and short. Directness, however, is often brusqueness; and the unconventional is sometimes secured at the cost both of dignity and of good taste. The silence of the great deep is seldom felt. As a rule one hears only the sounding surf of the rocky shore. This superficiality and an occasional vulgarity detract from the value of these manly utterances; and they labour under the further disadvantage, already hinted at, of a crude style. One would not be surprised to learn that they are the reproduction of the reporter's notebooks rather than of the direct work of the desk.

The thought of the sermons is bold and adventurous; the exegesis sometimes greatly daring: but if the test of discourses like these be the power to arrest attention, arouse inquiry, and even startle such as are at ease, then such justification they readily afford.

5. The author has been at great pains to go through the whole of the Scriptures, exploring history and prophecy in search of every verse that sustains his argument. Occasionally he scrutinises the text, as when he urges shellah for Shiloh (Gen. xlix. 10); but his standpoint appears to be that the order of the authorised version is the actual order of origin, and that a survey of the writings as they stand reveals the actual progress of the Revelation of God. Seemingly criticism has yielded no illuminating results, nor suggested any historical genesis for psalm or prophecy; so that each is indifferently pressed as the argument of prediction and fulfilment. The reasoning that overrides history is doubly precarious: it is unconvincing and it renders equivocal service to the orthodoxy the writer labours to set forth.

There is a largeness in the thought; and the author moves with a sense of ease and power. Within the province of his choice the author displays industry and conviction, convincing to those already convinced; but he will not speak with the enemy in the gate.

W. B. COOPER.

1. The Parables of Man and of God.

By *Harold B. Shepherd, M.A.* London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1903. Pp. viii. + 146. Price 3s. net.

2. Some Popular Philosophy.

By *George H. Long.* London : Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., 1903. Pp. vi. + 113. Price 2s. 6d.

3. The Fulness of Time and other Studies in Theology.

By *Rev. J. Conn, B.D.* Glasgow : J. Maclehose & Sons, 1903. Pp. 210.

4. From Behind the Veil, or Life Studies from Job.

By *H. E. Stone.* London : E. Marlborough & Co., 1903. Pp. viii. + 204. Price 2s. 6d. net.

5. Sermons to Britons Abroad.

Anon. Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood & Sons, 1903. Pp. 290. Price 3s. 6d. net.

6. Vocal and Literary Interpretation of the Bible.

By *S. S. Curry, Ph.D.* New York : The Macmillan Co., 1903. Pp. xx. + 367.

7. The Book of Jeremiah.

With Introduction and Notes. By *Rev. G. Douglas.* London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. Pp. vi. + 356. Price 6s.

8. By the River Chebar.

Some Applications of Ezekiel's Visions. By *Rev. H. Elvet Lewis.* London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. Pp. x. + 180. Price 3s. 6d.

1. THIS book will find a welcome everywhere and has already created interest and impression. It will not command universal assent, for it deals with the relativity of knowledge, and from Mansel down to the last Ritschlian, theories of knowledge have divided the theological world right and left.

But the question is as old as philosophy. Do we know "the thing in itself" or do we attain only "to parables of the truth and not to a knowledge of reality itself?"

The latter is the proposition—or, in the modest words of the preface, "the suggestion"—at the back of the book. It consists of three divisions: the Parable of Science, the Parable of Philosophy, and the Parables of Man and of God. In the first part there is a brief but careful review of the results and notions of science, including an excellent criticism of the categories, time and space, etc. "Science is shown by reason to be based on axioms contradictory in themselves," nevertheless science works. It gives good and true results. But science is "neither the truth in its reality, nor yet falsehood, or even half truth, but can only be named *Parable Truth*".

Following up his argument through the Parable of Philosophy, Mr. Shepherd has a concise statement of the difference between this *parable truth* and other interpretations of the meaning of the world. "Agnosticism is the arbour upon the hill Difficulty into which the Pilgrim turned and slept by the way. . . . Science turns back and is content to explore the field around the paths already traversed; Agnosticism declares the barrier impassable; Idealism strains to look over, and in the flying memories of the country left behind believes it sees the vision of what lies beyond." But in none of these interpretations is there a resting-place. They offer "no real knowledge but parables and symbols only".

The last part of the book is an application to theology of the results. Mr. Shepherd has now his method by its end, and he applies it to the parables man makes of God, and to the parable-truths God makes to man concerning Himself, and about Life and its Goal. "What parable is better than a perfect human life? . . . God might have so determined to teach man how best to hasten the fulfilment of His divine purpose by Himself living man's life in the right way. He might have taught him about reality in parables spoken while He lived among men; and He might have told man who He was and the sacrifice He had made to win man's unfailing and reverent love. All this God might

have done. Did He not also do it?" This is a book of great charm, fresh in thought, and written in a clear and reverent style. It discusses a living subject. Not a new subject but certainly one that presses for understanding. For on our theory of knowledge and the objective worth of value-judgments will depend our interpretation of God and the world-problem.

2. *Some Popular Philosophy* is a genial and wise little book, written with its eye upon the ubiquitous "Man in the Street". Its aim is neither construction nor destruction, but interpretation. "Certain heads of philosophy shall be paraphrased and certain lines of thought indicated." Taking the Psalmist's question, "What is Man?" Mr. Long gives the various answers—the solutions philosophy has found—that of Materialism, Pessimism, Hedonism, Stoicism and Christian Science.

The book is lively, perspicuous and well informed, though now and again the vivacity is apt to become a trifle smart. But it adequately fulfils its purpose and will be serviceable as a paraphrase of "certain conceptions of morality as entertained by certain thinkers".

3. The preparation for Christ and the connexion of Christianity with the antecedent course of man's spiritual life is the subject of this book. In the thirteen chapters that compose it Mr. Conn discusses the course of that development which issued in *The Fulness of Time*, and to this task he brings competent knowledge and a wide range of reading. The book is packed full of matter, and it is particularly praiseworthy for its apposite quotation and illustration. The chapters on the Incarnation and Christianity's answer to the nature and needs of man are models of exposition and of thoughtful evangelical teaching. Perhaps larger space might have been devoted to the Ethnic Preparation for Christ, otherwise this is an excellent and serviceable book.

4. This volume of sermons on the Book of Job has been published at the request of those who found them interesting and helpful. They are not critical at all ; some of the opinions would make a Higher Critic stare and gasp. The standpoint of the book is the common-sense application of the typical sufferer's experiences to the trials and problems of the life of to-day. A book rich in wisdom and wise in the consolations of God. Mr. Stone, though not obtruding the commentators, knows them and the literature that has gathered round Job. The book is at once devotional and thoughtful—a happy combination.

5. The next book on our list, *Sermons to Britons Abroad*, also owes its appearance to the favourable impression made on those who heard the sermons, and is published on the initiative of one of these. One might perhaps wish to hear more of the deep bell-note of preaching, *as a Gospel*, but the book is interesting right through with fresh and apt settings of truth. "Faith and Friendship for Christ" and "The Chambers of the Heart" quite justify the generous preface of the anonymous editor.

6. "To promote careful study, spiritual sympathy and interpretative power" in the public reading of the Bible—so Dr. Peabody of Harvard introduces this book in a sympathetic preface. It is certainly a pioneer in paths of its kind, for hitherto no book has approached the subject in such a rational way. No doubt we have often been told that correct expression is the outflow of correct thought, and that "the seer is always the sayer". But Dr. Curry takes us to the Bible itself, and by object lesson, exegesis and imaginative power, reproduces the situation and reads the chapter in the light of it. This is the method of the book. It has a feeling for order in the service, for impression, and, above all, for the contents of the Bible's message. There is nothing formal nor forced, nothing of the letter

that killeth, and killeth never so surely as in elocution. With this book a man can prepare himself both for writing his sermon and preaching it. The ample index gives an open door into many fresh interpretations of Scripture and to the expression of them. It is the most original and stimulating book on the conduct of public worship we have seen. May it bring in a new time in the ministry of the Word.

7. This is a book for students, and it will come with acceptance into the hands of all those who are working at the problems of the Book of Jeremiah. Its aim is to elucidate the history of the time and assign each utterance to its own period, for on that the interpretation of the prophet depends. Therefore the strength of the book is given to *Introduction*. This is thoroughly well done.

There is a clear and accurate sketch of the historical situation in which Jeremiah worked, and full chronological tables and synchronisms, with the relative authorities and references. The problems connected with the compilation of the book are then discussed, and the principles of this arrangement, *viz.*, by time and subject-matter. Mr. Douglas has done this skilfully and with admirable clearness, and the result is an orderly view of the component parts of the book. In dealing with the *Process* of compilation a much more intricate problem has to be faced, for the *complete* solution of which there hardly exist conditions of success. Mr. Douglas favours the view that the whole book was completed before Jeremiah's death with the exception of the appendix (lii. 28-34)—the work of a later hand, perhaps of more than one.

The first part of the book concludes with a discussion and appreciation of the value of the Hebrew and Greek texts—the difference between which is greater than anywhere else in the Old Testament, the LXX being one-eighth shorter than the Hebrew. Without going into the analysis, which is careful and sensitive to the differences, it is sufficient to

say that Mr. Douglas, like most critics, concludes for the Hebrew. "The LXX has not yet been discovered to be of great value" except for confirmation of disputed passages.

For this first part of the book one has nothing but praise. It is a work of great labour and learning, full value for which can only be given by students who have been working at the prophets. As Introduction the book is altogether capable. It is weakest on the side of exposition, and this takes up two-thirds of the book. The notes are neither sufficiently important nor illuminative to warrant the proportions between the two parts of the work. We looked also for some treatment of the *theological* contents of the prophecies. Jeremiah's concept of God, the topics of sin and the eschatological outlook of the prophet might reasonably be expected to find a place in the exposition of the text. And surely the book ought to have an index.

8. To preachers of the past, Ezekiel was, it is to be feared, a desert with an occasional oasis of wells and palms. But the commentary of the late Dr. A. B. Davidson has changed all that for the critical and exegetical interpretation of the book. It is not too much to say that Mr. Elvet Lewis has done a like service for the devotional and practical aspects of it. "The eye must be sunny that sees the sun," and there is here the mystic's sense and vision. A book of great spiritual apprehension with striking modern applications.

Mr. Lewis without hesitation reads the New Testament into the Old and brings out the implicit Christ in the earlier Revelation. It is the Method of the Master, who, on the Emmaus Road, "beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself". Withal, the book is scholarly. One admires the fulness of the exposition; the ground is thoroughly covered, and an index of chapters and verses makes every part of the book instantly available. It is not possible to quote, but the striking titles of some of the chapters give an indication of what is to be found in them—"The Man and His Task,"

“The Eternal in Time” and “The Individual”. This last topic is worthy of the place Ezekiel gives to the doctrine of the Individual. The book is full of apt characterizations, *e.g.*, “the Prophet of Ritualism,” “Truth and Patriotism,” “the Blight of the Idol,” etc. It was worth while to sit at the beautiful gate of Ezekiel's temple to see visions like these and to record them to *our* common day.

W. M. GRANT.

1. Exiles of Eternity: an Exposition of Dante's Inferno.

By Rev. John S. Carroll, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton,
1903. 8vo, pp. lxiii. + 510. Price 7s. 6d. net.

2. The Representative Men of the Bible.

By George Matheson, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E. London:
Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. Crown 8vo, pp. xi. + 351.
Price 6s.

3. Christ and Progress.

By David James Burrell, D.D., LL.D. London and Edin-
burgh: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1903. 12mo, pp. 267.
Price 3s. 6d. net.

4. Methodism in Canada.

By Alexander Sutherland, D.D. London: Charles H. Kelly
8vo, pp. 350. Price 4s. 6d.

5. Did Jesus Live 100 Years B.C.?

By G. R. S. Mead, B.A., M.R.A.S. London and Benares:
Theosophical Publishing Society, 1903. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 440.
Price 9s. net.

1. THE literature on Dante grows apace, but there is room for Mr. Carroll's able, painstaking, and original study. It is a pleasure, indeed, to read and handle this handsome volume, in which the matter throughout is clearly arranged and attractively printed. The excellence of the contents, the adequate knowledge of the poet's writings and of his history and time, the careful and minute interpretation of the text, the skill in unravelling the meaning and symbolism of an author who saw facts but had a most "tantalising genius for concealing them under a veil of allegory," and the acute and independent judgment in weighing motives and arriving at conclusions, all combine to give Mr. Carroll's book unusual value and to place him in the front rank as an authority on Dante and an expounder of his message. The aim of this

exposition is to bring out Dante's ethical teaching, and to show, in the various circles visited, the naturalness and impressiveness of the punishment of different sins. The world of the *Inferno* is a dark and forbidding scene, but the reaction we feel, as we descend with Virgil and Dante into its ever-increasing horrors, is a tribute to the truthfulness and power of the moral portraiture exhibited, and in no case are the penalties inflicted arbitrary or fantastic but the appropriate and inevitable expression of the Divine will and of spiritual law. The Hell or *Inferno* of Dante's imagination is one also of intense reality; for, in the final state of the wicked and impenitent, each guilty soul is made to feel "the awful recoil of its own evil on itself". This is the general moral principle that guides Mr. Carroll in his exposition, and he is thoroughly consistent and for the most part successful in working it out in detail.

The opening chapter gives a good and succinct biographical account of Dante Alighieri. From the facts stated in regard to the identity of Beatrice in the Introduction, and repeated in a following chapter, "The Three Blessed Ladies" (p. 42), Mr. Carroll rightly believes that the lady who swayed Dante's imagination and stirred his youthful passion was no mere spiritual abstraction but a real woman of flesh and blood. It was the nature of Dante's mind, it is well said, "to start from some concrete and literal fact," and this view of underlying fact and reality gives point and substance to the exposition that follows, and keeps the reader from being lost in a maze of allegory. Before the commencement of the actual exposition, a useful explanatory note is given on the structure of the *Inferno* and the accompanying diagram maps out clearly the various circles travelled by the poet in company with Virgil, his illustrious guide. The thirty chapters that follow of lucid and patient exposition are remarkable alike for broad moral insight and for minute grasp of details, and contain numerous interesting and practical reflections that show how rich and suggestive is the field of ethical inquiry opened up in the *Inferno*. Nowhere, not even in the two chapters (ix., x.) which deal with

"The City of Dis," where heretics are securely enclosed, and where we travel over one of the most obscure parts of the whole poem, are difficulties shirked. This thorough treatment of the subject makes Mr. Carroll's book useful and indispensable to beginners, while those who, like Mr. Gladstone, delight to take large draughts of Dante, will find themselves led on by the continuity and thoughtfulness of the exposition as a whole. In cases where Mr. Carroll differs from the ordinary line of interpretation, he gives good reasons for his opinion, as in choosing Pilate (Dr. Schaff's suggestion, p. 58) to represent the caitiff soul that was guilty of "the great refusal". Still more ingenious is his reasoning in explanation of "the fire on the feet" that represents the punishment of the Simoniacs (p. 287), and equally his interpretation of the sin and punishment of the alchemists who attempted to "ape nature" (p. 407 ff.).

Sometimes the elaborate and impersonal character of the exposition is relieved by touches of the author's individual quality, as in the terse and caustic comment on the cowards and time-servers who people the Ante-Hell of the Neutrals—"The breed has not died out yet" (p. 53). The explanation of the casting away of the cord that bound Dante's waist, as his definite breaking with the Franciscan order and the failure of that method of discipline, is a good specimen (chap. xv.) of the historical and moral insight that is applied to different passages and problems in the poem. Nor is there wanting a sense of the grim humour that lights up the Inferno, when we see how the Simoniacal popes, whom Dante is not afraid to treat justly, are placed in their fitting circle and have their heads laid on the *feet* of their predecessors in token and caricature "of that Apostolic succession which they had bought and sold" (p. 289). Mr. Carroll's admiration does not blind him to the limits of Dante, and his admissions of the poet's weakness—"a certain readiness to listen to quarrels" (p. 417), and of acts of savage passion and cold treachery on his way through the Inferno, towards one or two hapless mortals, are especially suggestive. In a word, we are instructively reminded that Dante's aim in the *Commedia* "is not simply

to reveal the sins of others but also to confess his own" (p. 441). The last chapter of the exposition, "The Conversion of Dante," is a fine piece of writing, and shows that Mr. Carroll in differing from an authority like Dean Plumptre has penetration and guidance to offer of his own. At the risk of resembling Wesley's friend who had "the greatest genius in little things," we may point out that "Fatterers" is a clear misprint (p. 274), and "bounds" in the quotation from Tennyson (p. 366) should be "bound". The wonder is that, in the numerous illustrative passages drawn from Aristotle and Aquinas, and the relevant modern writers, the errors are so few. We cordially congratulate Mr. Carroll on the appearance of his first and great book, and we hope he will be induced to continue and complete his masterly exposition.

2. Dr. Matheson's issue of a second series of Representative Biblical Characters will be welcomed by the numerous readers of the corresponding first instalment. The plan of this supplementary is the same as that of the preceding volume—to occupy the place of the original artist and, apart from historical and critical questions, to seize and elucidate the representative feature of the character and incident dealt with. The men of the Bible are thus taken to represent different phases of humanity, and the author seeks by a frequently felicitous title ("Melchisedek the uncanonical," "Aaron the vacillating," "Boaz the kind," "Jonah the narrow," etc.) to fix on the central feature of each character, and to make it the starting-point of a vivid, interesting, and suggestive study. This method again illustrates the author's brilliant qualities of style and imagination, but it is accompanied also with dangers and defects. We feel at times that the interpretations given are arbitrary and artificial, and the point of view too limited and absolute. In short, Dr. Matheson's gifts in these pictorial sketches are those of the impressionist, and a reference to the historical conditions is needed to supply a corrective. To call Lot "the Lingerer,"

and to say that "he never could be classed among the lapsed masses," seems neither exact nor appropriate. To say in this same study that the expression in Hebrews, "the spirits of just men made perfect," means "the spirits of just men made generous," and later (chap. xiii.) to single out Isaiah as "the Philanthropist," is enough to make the late Dr. A. B. Davidson turn in his grave! While some chapters, as on Aaron and Boaz, are full of fine insight and natural interpretation, others like those on Isaiah ("Isaiah had a great admiration for the nursery") and Jeremiah ("the Melancholy") strike us as paradoxical and one-sided, and not sufficiently influenced by the central truth. But, defects and exaggerations apart, this volume will find readers who will take pleasure in the author's suggestive and original treatment of familiar Bible characters. Though engaged in studying the figures in an old gallery, Dr. Matheson's eye is essentially modern—"If in the portrait of Boaz we saw the anticipation of a Girls' Friendly Society, we see in the portrait of Mephibosheth the anticipation of a Home for Incurables" (p. 201). It is part of the fascination of this volume that its author is everywhere as unconventional as Melchisedek and at times as daring as Daniel. We admire Dr. Matheson's fertility of mind, the variety of the portraits he presents, and the unfailing vigour and freshness of his style.

3. Dr. Burrell writes in a free and forcible fashion and offers his volume as "a discussion of problems of our time". His arguments and affirmations will hardly meet the demands of thoughtful and critical readers, but his influence may communicate to some a spirit of religious confidence and vigour. The outlook of the author is hopeful, and is expressed in such chapters as "The Unchangeable Christ," "Two Unchangeable Books" (The Bible and Nature), and "The Unchangeable Plan of Salvation". In answering the question "Are revivals out of date?" Dr. Burrell sensibly urges that future revivals will be less emotional and more

"distributive" in their character—each Christian, that is, must go forth and be an evangelist. A Scottish writer would not make "Sterling" the scene of Bruce's prowess, and the name of "Professor Delitsch," as given on p. 81, calls also for correction.

4. The history of Canadian Methodism was delivered by Dr. Sutherland as the Fernley Lecture in 1903, and is written in a clear, modest, and business-like way. The lecturer belongs to a Church that has been busy in making history and has allowed little time to write it. The pioneer days of the history traced go back to the period 1765-1780, and witnessed the rise of the Methodist Church in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Upper and Lower Canada. Union with the British Conference was effected in 1833, to be dissolved in 1840 and restored again in 1847. In 1873 a new era opened with the founding of a Foreign Mission in Japan, and ten years later the Unification of Canadian Methodism was, after much debating, happily carried through. Dr. Sutherland had an honourable share in these proceedings, and was well qualified to narrate the history of a Church which to-day includes a million of people, or nearly 20 per cent. of the population of Canada.

5. Mr. Mead has already issued various works under the auspices of the "Theosophical Publishing Society," and the present volume is an elaborate "Inquiry into the Talmud Jesus Stories," etc., and is meant to be "a contribution to the study of Christian origins". The author passes by prejudiced adherents of "Christianity" and "Judaism," and appeals to "men and women who have experience of life and human nature, who have the courage to face things as they are". In laying aside traditional views, Mr. Mead enters on a learned and intricate inquiry, showing an acquaintance with the Talmud literature and sources which few will pretend to share. We confess we have not "the courage to face things" as they are contained in this volume,

and we are the less ashamed and disappointed when we find the author making this candid confession in the closing sentence of his last page (436)—“ For my own part, I feel at present somewhat without an absolutely authoritative negative to the very strange question : ‘ Did Jesus live 100 B.C. ? ’ ” We can only wonder that Mr. Mead has written so many pages in view of such a result.

W. M. RANKIN.

Waiting upon God. By the late A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh. Edited by J. A. Paterson, D.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. + 378. Price 6s.

THE reception given to the volume of sermons published after the lamented scholar's decease under the title of *The Called of God* has been such as to do more than justify his executors in making a second selection out of the stores he left behind him. And this second volume is at least as remarkable as the first in the fine qualities of penetration, spiritual insight, striking expression, and rich and varied experience. Most readers probably will place it even higher than the other, if any comparison is thought of. Only four of the selected discourses deal with Old Testament subjects, "Waiting upon God," "The Servant of the Lord," "David Repentant," and "I know that my Redeemer liveth". But they are all on subjects on which few men could speak as Dr. Davidson, and they are memorable addresses. The remaining fifteen are all on New Testament subjects—"The Temptation," "The Transfiguration," "Christ's Authority," "The Power of His Resurrection," etc. The first two on the list are discourses to be read and read again. They are profound and suggestive, yet withal eminently simple and practical expositions of great and mysterious themes. And each of the discourses which follow these has its own character and exhibits some new aspect of the preacher's power and perception.

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II

A Short History of Ancient Peoples. By ROBINSON SOUTTAR M.A., D.C.L. With an Introduction by the Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A., D.D., Professor of Assyriology at Oxford. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. 8vo, pp. xxi. + 728. Price 12s.

This is a volume which should meet a widely felt want. Its object is to give the main facts of ancient history in clear outline and bring them within the reach of all readers. It makes no pretension to original research or first-hand knowledge. Its aim is the humbler one of giving a connected view of the results of the inquiries of others, and presenting this in popular form. Diligent use has been made of the writings of acknowledged masters in the various departments of the history of ancient nations, and every effort has been made to get at the most recent results of investigation. It is no light task to make all this good. The author, however, has succeeded on the whole in doing what he aimed at. There are differences indeed between different parts. The author's tread is firmer in some provinces of his study than in others. That is only what is to be looked for in so vast and various a territory. But the summaries are generally speaking well done, although there are inaccuracies and inadequacies here and there. Egypt gets the first place, a rapid sketch of its history from its earliest period down to Cleopatra being given within the compass of sixty-eight pages. Babylon, Assyria, the Medes and Persians are next dealt with. Then follows a summary of the history of the Hebrews, beginning with Abraham and ending with Herod. Brief statements regarding Phœnicia and Carthage next prepare the way for Greece and Rome. These latter get the lion's share of attention, and the account given of them is remarkably good. The writer is evidently much more at home here than he is with the story of the remote civilisations. The book has some good maps, and it is published at a very modest price. On the whole, though it is by no means of the same quality throughout and is felt sometimes to touch its subject with a rather light hand, it gives a good readable view of the main course of events, and fulfils the object with which it is written. It will be of much use to a large class.

Men of the Covenant. The Story of the Scottish Church in the years of the Persecution. By ALEXANDER SMELLIE, M.A. Author of *In the Hour of Silence*. London: Andrew Melrose, 1903. 8vo, pp. xii. + 440. Price 7s. 6d.

This is a very handsome book, admirably got up and furnished with thirty-seven illustrations which add much to its attractiveness. It is also well written—written indeed with a glow, for the author is an enthusiast in his subject. His heart and his intellect are both on the side of the men who did and suffered so much during twenty-eight years of persecution. Not professing to be a wholly dispassionate historian, he throws himself generously into their circumstances and their case, and writes as one who is their champion by conviction. And whatever shortcomings may be discovered in them, and whatever mistakes they may be judged to have made, they deserve all that Mr. Smellie says with so much fervour about them. “In the march of years,” as he happily puts it, “the heroisms of the past, its agonies and triumphs, fade very quickly into a mist of indistinctness. New events, new debates, and new achievements come crowding in; until their predecessors are well-nigh forgotten.” It is his object to “recall a noble past, and to summon from the shadows which begin to gather about them some stalwart and noble figures in whose fellowship it is good to linger”.

He has done his task well. No doubt objection will be taken to some of his estimates of men and judgments of events. But he has written a book that will go to the hearts of many readers and rekindle their pride in a strenuous past. Commencing his subject with a prologue which introduces us to the churchyard of the Greyfriars, Glasgow Cathedral, and St. Margaret's, Westminster, he gets speedily to the heart of his story, and gives vivid sketches of the Drunken Parliament, the great Argyle, James Guthrie, Sharp of that ilk, John Livingstone of Ancrum, Samuel Rutherford, Johnston of Wariston, William Guthrie, Robert Leighton, Claverhouse, Dalzell, and other figures who stand out most prominently in the bitter and long-during struggle. In point of style

these sketches are all well done. Some of them are quite felicitous and there are quieter bits of description, such as "Sabbath Morning in Fenwick," which are of great merit. It is a good book for Scotch people and others to read. The writer has done his best to be just to others while maintaining the rights of the Covenanters and upholding the heroism of the persecuted. "The twenty-eight years of the persecution," he says, "whilst they have an absorbing and manifold interest, are set with snares and pitfalls; and the pilgrim through them when he seeks to shun the ditch on the one hand, is ready to trip over into the mire on the other." He does not doubt that errors have crept into his recital, and he makes no claim to "the fulness and certitude of the expert". But he can rightly claim to have done all that he could to understand his theme.

The Gospels as Historical Documents. Part I. The Early Use of the Gospels. By VINCENT HENRY STANTON, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Ely Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge: University Press, 1903. 8vo, pp. xv. + 288. Price 7s. 6d. net.

The undertaking of which this volume is the first instalment is one of great importance. Professor Stanton is in many respects well qualified to carry it through. Students of the New Testament will receive the book with satisfaction and will look with expectation to the parts that are to follow it. We trust that the learned author may be enabled to bring his inquiry soon to a successful completion, and that we may speedily have the benefit of his studies on the origin, composition and relations of the Gospels in their completeness. In the second part of his work he promises to deal with the Synoptists, in the third with John, and in the fourth with questions which "can most conveniently be considered connectedly for all four Gospels".

In the present section the trustworthiness of the Gospels and the question of their dates are examined in the light of a careful study of external evidence. Early Christian literature is examined critically and historically with a view to ascer-

taining the references the various writings give to the existence of the Gospels and the indications they offer of the use which was made of these documents, the esteem in which they were held, etc. This inquiry is prosecuted in the most painstaking way, in a spirit detached as far as possible from preconceptions, and with a strict regard to objective historical testimony. Beginning with Clement of Rome, Ignatius and Polycarp, it leads us on through the Didache, Barnabas, Hermas, Aristides, Papias, Clement II., Marcion, Basilides and Valentinus to Justin Martyr, whose case is investigated at length, a whole chapter being given to it. The interval between Justin and Irenæus is next taken in hand. The closing chapters are devoted to the worth of the Asiatic tradition regarding the Apostle John and the position of the four Gospels at the end of the second century. Interspersed are a number of valuable notes on such subjects as the "form of ancient books as affecting habits of quotation," the "parallelisms with the Gospels in the Apostolic Fathers," and others, the "position of recent criticism in regard to Justin's use of our Gospels," the "apocryphal matter in Justin," etc.

The general conclusion reached by Dr. Stanton is of interest. He thinks there is ample historical testimony to the effect that "by the middle of the second century the chief Churches must have read all four Gospels and regarded them as authoritative". He admits it to be possible that even nearly as late as this there may have been "important Churches which did not possess all the four". But he lays stress upon the consideration, which he believes he has made good, that in the Church of Rome they "seem all to have been in use some thirty years earlier". He points out, too, that there were means of testing the claims of the Gospels, which make it difficult to suppose that they could have made their way as they did unless their credentials had been sufficient. Of the four he thinks the first has the most abundant signs of early use; that the testimony of Papias points to a connexion between this writing and a Hebrew document by the Apostle Matthew; and that the terms used in the report

of Papias' words suggest that Matthew's work has been incorporated in the Greek Gospel, though the latter is "not in any strict sense a translation of the former". As regards the position of the Second Gospel he calls attention to the fact that, while parallelisms and quotations in its case are scanty, there is stronger attestation for the author's name than is to be found for the others, and that this may be relied on all the more confidently because Mark was not a man of special eminence. The comparative obscurity of Luke is held in like manner to favour the ascription of the Third Gospel to him — that ascription itself going as far back as Irenæus and the use of the Gospel extending farther back still. As to the Fourth Gospel the differences between it and the Synoptists are thought to be in some respects a guarantee of authenticity; while there is at the same time strong evidence both for "the work of the Apostle John in Asia in the last part of his life and for his authorship of the Gospel".

These are cautious conclusions. They do not seem to us by any means to go beyond the objective evidence. Even these conclusions are not given without some qualification. It is admitted, for example, in the case of the Fourth Gospel, that the "idea of actual authorship might almost imperceptibly have been substituted for a more indirect part in the work, that of a witness and teacher whose utterances had been embodied in it and had inspired it". There are, of course, not a few points in so large and complicated an inquiry on which Professor Stanton's views may be open to question. The expressions, for example, in the Ignatian Epistles which seem to him to indicate acquaintance with the Fourth Gospel may not carry us quite so far, while they are good for proving at least the existence at the time of ideas like those embodied in the characteristic teaching of the Fourth Gospel. The testimony of Hermas, again, may not be construed as it is here, cautious as Professor Stanton is in his judgment of it. But one cannot read the book without feeling that the writer is generally very sure of foot. Those who wish to have the passing excitement of fine theorising and novel hypotheses need not go to Professor Stanton. But those who have any

liking for solid, sober and modest work in this important field of inquiry will not be disappointed with this book.

Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicae Praeparationis Libri XV. Ad codices manuscriptos denuo collatos recensuit, Anglice nunc primum reddidit, notis et indicibus instruxit E. H. GIFFORD, S.T.P., olim Archidiaconus Londinensis. Oxonii e Typographeo Academico, 1903. 8vo, pp. 2730. Price £5 5s.

This is a work which takes us back to the great days of English scholarship. Erudition at once extensive and precise, a patience that grudges no pains, a thoroughness that leaves nothing unconsidered which has any bearing on the subject in hand, are united here in the production of a book which will rank among the most solid achievements of our time in sacred learning. Nor has anything been lacking on the part of the delegates of the Clarendon Press to give the work distinction also in its form. A worthy edition of the *Praeparatio* has long been wanted. Dr. Gifford has splendidly supplied the lack and has given us what will long continue the standard edition.

The work consists of four volumes, or rather of five, as the third is in two parts. The first two volumes are occupied with the text and notes (mostly critical). There is an important Latin preface which enumerates the various manuscripts, editions and versions of Eusebius, discusses their worth, and provides a critical estimate of the trustworthiness of the author and the historical value of his statements. An *Index Scriptorum* and an *Index Rerum et Nominum* are added, which will be of great use. The third volume is taken up in the first instance with matters of introduction—the relation of Eusebius to Pamphilus, the date of the work, its occasion, its method, its style and its contents. A complete list is also given of classical fragments and quotations preserved only in Eusebius. Then comes the Translation in two parts—Part I. containing Books i.-ix., Part II. Books x.-xv. The fourth volume contains a great body of notes on the various questions of history, scholarship and interpretation that arise in the

text. The translation, it should be added, is sold separately at the price of 25s. net.

It is interesting to notice some of the conclusions to which so rare a scholar as Dr. Gifford has come. One of these is that the correct rendering of the title *Εὐσέβιος τοῦ Παμφίλου* can only be "Eusebius, son of Pamphilus," and that this means in all probability that Eusebius was the adopted son of Pamphilus. With regard to the plan of the *Praeparatio* his conclusion is that there is an orderly and appropriate scheme in the book, and that this is sufficiently indicated by Eusebius himself. The matter is carefully arranged and the subject dealt with in groups of three books. Dr. Gifford, therefore, dissents from Bishop Lightfoot's estimate, which finds a want of distinct divisions and a lack of a proper starting point or definite occasion for the various topics which emerge. Dr. Gifford also brings out very well the opportuneness of the work. It was undertaken at a time when Constantine had become fully alive to the power of the new religion and was considering whether the old worship was worthy to continue—when a reply also was greatly needed to the attack upon Christianity which Porphyry had left behind him. The date can be pretty clearly fixed as about A.D. 314, or a little later, on the basis of a statement which refers most naturally to the action of Licinius in A.D. 313. The date is significant. The reply which Eusebius undertook was wisely adapted to the circumstances, and it remains to this day a work of great importance in various respects.

We should naturally have been glad to find in the *Praeparatio* more of Eusebius' own mind on various things than we get. What we have, especially in his statements on fate and free-will, makes us wish to have more. But Eusebius chose another way, and it is of advantage to us that he did so. He adopted the plan of showing what Paganism was as it was set forth by its best men and ablest supporters. This he was careful to present in the very words of its advocates. Thus he gives us a vast collection of quotations from the leading philosophers. And these quotations are of great value to us. They throw light on many things bearing on

the condition of the heathen world, the position, growth, beliefs and practices of the Church, the text of the Platonic Dialogues and other philosophical works of the Greeks.

The volume of notes is a perfect mine of material. It is a book of reference to which students of many different departments of inquiry will find it profitable often to repair. But it is not necessary to say more of a work in which all English scholars will have a just pride. It goes far beyond all that has hitherto been done on the subject, in the *editio princeps* of Stephens, the editions of Viguier and Gaisford, the texts of Migne and Dindorf, the translations of Seguiet and Donato, the monograph of Haenell, the articles by Lightfoot and others.

St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. A Revised Text and Translation, with Exposition and Notes. By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., Dean of Westminster. London: Macmillan & Co., 1903. 8vo, pp. viii. + 314. Price 12s.

The plan followed in this commentary is somewhat unusual. We have the accustomed introduction, and we have the Greek text, with footnotes in the ordinary form. But between the two we get another handling of the subject in the form of a translation and exposition. The more strictly philological matter is given in the notes on the Greek text. This "Exposition" is one of a more popular kind, dealing only with the English text, but drawing out St. Paul's meaning in a freer and fuller fashion and putting the various statements made in the Epistle more in the form of a pulpit lecture or running interpretation. There are some obvious drawbacks to this method, especially an almost inevitable repetition now and again of the same statements in briefer and fuller forms. But it has also unmistakable advantages. It certainly makes the general tenor of the various paragraphs clearer and brings the thought nearer us.

The Introduction touches on some things which, while of great importance in themselves, are not very directly relevant here—the limits of our Lord's ministry, for example, the limitation also with which the Church started, the crisis

that came in connexion with Stephen's wider teaching, etc. These are but introductory, however, to a very good statement of the mission of Paul as the successor of Stephen, his special preparation to be the champion of a free Gospel, the course which his ministry ran, the problems he had to deal with, the places which he made the centres of his work, and the way in which the Epistle known as that to the Ephesians came to be written. With most scholars Dean Robinson regards the Epistle as a circular letter which was meant to "go the round of many Churches in Asia Minor," and which would naturally go first to the capital of the Roman province. He thinks it probable, therefore, that "the opening sentence contained a space into which the name of each Church in turn might be read". The introduction is brief and passes by a good many questions of interest or of difficulty. But it touches on what is most essential for one to know who is to profit by the popular exposition which follows, and it closes appropriately by calling attention to the special interest which this Epistle should have for the present time.

The notes on the Greek text are seldom very long but they are always helpful. They show on every page competent grammatical scholarship and the gift of historical interpretation. Read in connexion with the "Translation and Exposition" preceding them, they have a greater value, and they are always given in clear and pointed terms. Much important matter which might have found its way into the notes is transferred to the end and is given in the form of a series of longer notes or discussions. These deal with such subjects as the meaning of *χάρις* and *χαριτοῦν*, "The Beloved" as a Messianic title, the meaning of such terms as *μυστήριον*, *ἐνεργεῖν*, *ἐπίγνωσις*, *πλήρωμα*, *συναρμολογεῖν*, *πώρωσις* and *πήρωσις*. There are also two instructive dissertations on current epistolary phrases and on the more important various readings. These add greatly to the value of the book.

There is much both in the exegesis and in these more elaborate discussions at the end on which one is tempted to

linger. For one thing the aorists are generally handled in a somewhat free fashion. In the case of ἐξελέξατο, e.g. (i. 4), it is remarked that we may render it either "He hath chosen" or "He chose," and that this applies to all the aorists in the paragraph. But in this way it seems to us Paul's precise point is in several instances missed, and that his meaning becomes clearer and more impressive when the aorists get their definite historical sense. And this apart from any rigorous application of the genius of classical use to New Testament Greek. On terms like ἐσφραγίσθητε (i. 13) we miss any attempt to get at the real idea expressed by the word and to explain it. On the other hand the term ἀρραβών is dealt with in a full and instructive way. An interesting reference is introduced to the use of the word in the papyri, which gives a new turn to the idea. It is one, however, which it is difficult to believe to have been in Paul's mind. Too many of the great doctrinal terms receive inadequate treatment. One of these is ἀπολύτρωσις, with regard to which the very questionable remark is made that the idea of simple "emancipation" is dominant, and that that of "payment seems wholly to have disappeared". So is it with the statement of the Headship of Christ, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ (i. 22), the difficult phrase τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς (ii. 3), etc.

The term μυστήριον, on the other hand, is admirably handled. Its history is carefully traced; its various applications are noted; and the conclusion is reached that there is "no connexion between the New Testament use of the word 'mystery' and its popular religious signification as a sacred rite, which the initiated are pledged to preserve inviolably secret". The philological note on πλῆρωμα is also of great value, whether one agrees with the application made of it in the commentary or not. The ways in which nouns ending in -ις and -μα vary in their use and lose on occasion their distinctive meanings are noticed; Bishop Lightfoot's handling of the term πλῆρωμα is criticised with some point; and the applicability of the sense of "complement" or "full complement" is carefully argued. The result

is that in ii. 23 Dean Robinson understands Paul to mean that the Church is that without which Christ Himself would be incomplete. This is an idea for which undoubtedly something is to be said. It is perhaps the more attractive to some minds because it is at first sight startling and brings the sense of mysteriousness with it. Nevertheless we have our doubts whether the argument for linguistic use is so strong as it is made to appear, and whether the idea will fit in with the unmistakable tenor of Paul's thought here. For what his mind is filled with and what he brings home in many ways to his readers is not what they are to Christ but what Christ is to them, and what the grace of God has done for them in Him. The phrase τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι is treated as an adverbial phrase, a more emphatic form than πανταπασι. There is a suggestive note on the term ὑμεῖς τὰ ἔθνη, in which reference is made (in the light of Canon Hicks' article on "Some Political Terms Employed in the New Testament") to the contrast which came to be expressed after the time of Alexander the Great between πόλεις and ἔθνη. The commentary indeed is always particularly instructive when it has to deal with terms associated in any way with Greek or Roman custom, law, political order and the like.

The volume will take high rank among commentaries on this profound Epistle. In more than one respect it occupies a place of its own, and it is a thoroughly independent study. Its value will be increased, if the author sees his way to enlarge his introduction and give his views on the more important questions bearing on the origin, history and relations of the Epistle.

The Atonement and the Modern Mind. By the Rev. JAMES DENNEY, D.D., Professor of New Testament Language, Literature and Theology, United Free Church College, Glasgow. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 117. Price 2s. 6d.

This volume consists of three lectures which have already appeared in *The Expositor*. They are intended to make a supplement to the author's book on *The Death of Christ*.

They have all the qualities of clear, vigorous and incisive exposition for which the author's writings are so favourably known. Their object is in the first place to bring out the characteristics which mark off the mind of our own time from that of an earlier period, and in the second place to present the central truth of Christianity in a form really adapted to this condition of mind. This is a thing which requires to be done, and Dr. Denney has done it well so far as his limits allow. His analysis of the "Modern Mind," in respect of the new conceptions, scientific, philosophical and historical, which make it what it distinctively is, and his statement of the changed attitude which this implies to such truths as that of the atonement, are of great value. Nor is he less satisfactory, in our opinion, in his defence of the doctrinal expression which has been given by the Church of Christ generally to that truth. There are some points which we should put differently. There is more in the *unio mystica*, we believe, than Dr. Denney allows. There is more also in the great idea of representation than seems to be recognised. But we are at one with Dr. Denney in the general view which he takes of the teaching of the New Testament on the subject of Christ's sufferings and death, and we are persuaded that nothing short of the doctrine of substitution, correctly stated and cleared of certain extreme logical refinements which have been too much in favour with certain classes of theologians, but which do not belong to the essence of the question, will satisfy either the testimony of the New Testament or the cry of conscience.

Dr. Denney always sees his way clearly, and can state his case with complete precision. He has also the enviable gift, possessed by few, of being entirely certain that his way of looking at things is the right way. This gives force to his averments, although it may tend to make some minds less disposed to concur. The book will be felt by all to be a powerful presentation of a great subject and a notable contribution to the theology of the Christian doctrine of Atonement.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

IN the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* Dr. A. H. Japp gives an interesting series of papers on "Curious Jewish Customs". In the February issue he deals with "Salt and Salting" and "Jewish Marriage".

In the *Methodist Review* for March-April we notice articles by Professor Lockwood, of Allegheny College, on "The Critical Doctrines of Wordsworth and Coleridge," and President Little, of Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, on "Herder and Religious Thought"—both well worth reading. Professor Jacob Cooper writes forcibly on the theme that "Uniformity in Nature Disproves Agnosticism". Dr. G. P. Eckman contributes a good paper on "The Intellectual Life of Jesus," in which, among other things, he brings together the facts recorded in the Gospels bearing on the question of the Kenotic doctrine. He expresses the opinion that they "raise a strong presumption, to say the least, that Jesus did not possess absolute divine omniscience, and afford a singularly impressive interpretation of that inscrutable self-impoverishment and self-emptying of the Son of God which Paul describes in 2 Cor. viii. 9 and Phil. ii. 5-11, and which is known to theologians as the *Kenosis*".

The first issue of the *International Journal of Ethics* for the year opens with a brief paper on "The True Democratic Ideal," by W. Jethro Brown, of University College, Aberystwyth. This is followed by an able discussion of "Relativity and Finality in Ethics," by T. C. Hall, of Union Theological Seminary, New York, the point of which is that the only hope for "the ethical future of the race is the careful insistence on the one hand on the finality of our moral obligation, and, on the other, on the relativity of our ethical knowledge," and that it is the duty of "the moral man" to bring these together "in an ideal, which is an advancing one, but for him

embodies final obligation until a better ideal takes its place". There are very readable papers also by R. A. Duff, Glasgow University, on "Proverbial Morality"; Robert McCunn, University College, Liverpool, on "The Cynics"; Commissioner S. J. Barrows on "Crime in England"; W. A. Watt, Glasgow, on "The Individualism of Marcus Aurelius," and others. The question raised by the emperor's "Meditations" in the minds of all interested in Theism, as Mr. Watt puts it at the close of his able discussion, is "how far such patience and such faith in righteousness as he possessed are independent of a theistic basis, and whether his spiritual insight was in accordance with, or went beyond, his philosophy".

In the first issue of the *Revue de Théologie et des Questions Religieuses* for the year M. C. Bruston concludes his discussion of the Phœnician inscriptions of Sidon, and the editor his very careful and instructive examination of Harnack's views of the Person of Christ and the Gospel. M. Jean Friedel contributes some good reflections on the Vedantist philosophy, and there is a paper by M. Ménégos which explains the differences between his colleague, M. Vaucher, and himself on the question of the conditions of salvation, dealing specially with the distinction between salvation by *faith* and salvation by *beliefs*.

In the first quarter's issue of the *Princeton Theological Review* for the current year Principal Sheraton continues his studies in our Lord's teaching, taking up now His teaching concerning His mission, in connexion with which we get good discussions of revelation, redemption and judgment, and some severe words on the Kenotic doctrine. The feature of the number, however, is a series of four public addresses here printed—the inaugural lecture delivered by Professor W. P. Armstrong on the occasion of his induction into the Chair of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in Princeton Seminary, giving a good summary of the *Witness of the Gospels*; an address by Professor B. B. Warfield on "Spiritual Culture in the Theological Seminary," pressing upon students of Divinity the primary necessity for taking every item of their work as a religious duty; a lecture by Professor

John De Witt on "Jonathan Edwards"—a valuable study on the great New England theologian, in which he is compared and contrasted in an interesting way on the one hand with men like Augustine, Dante and Calvin, and on the other with Emerson, etc.; and an important exposition of what is meant by *Theological Encyclopædia* and what it covers, being the inaugural address delivered by Dr. Francis L. Patton on entering on the duties of President of the Theological Seminary at Princeton—in which position we wish him many years of useful work.

The *Revue de Philosophie*, ably conducted by É. Peillaube, in its February issue contains some good discussions, a number of careful reviews of books and three instructive articles—one by George Fonsegrive on the "Moral Problem," another by Paul Hermant on the "Nature of Emotion," and a third by N. Vaschide et Mlle. Pelletier on "Anthropology—the Physical Signs of Intelligence," in which last we get a report of laboratory work in experimental psychology in the Asylum of Villejuif.

In the first part of the fifth year of the *Teologisk Tidsskrift* Cand. Theol. L. Bergmann contributes an elaborate study of Leo XIII.

Among the articles of chief interest in the first issue of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1904 we may refer to those by President Charles Franklin Thwing on "The Teaching of Christ and the Modern Family"; Dr. James Lindsay on "The Development of Scientific Thought in the Nineteenth Century"; and Professor Julius A. Brewer on "The Psychological Study of Jesus' Words". Professor Frank Hugh Foster gives an excellent summary and criticism of "Professor Park's Theological System," and there is an interesting statement on "The Influence of the Russian Liturgy".

The *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 114, opens with a paper on "The Church in South Africa," which deals mainly with the position and prospects of the Anglican Church in that country. This is followed by a severe criticism of Dr. Fairbairn's "Philosophy of the Christian Religion," which is described as a "Philosophy of Phrases". The third article

is one of the kind in which the *Church Quarterly Review* so often shows itself at its best. It is a careful, scholarly statement on the "Criticism of the Synoptic Gospels" in respect of the "historical value" of these documents. This article, which is the second of a series, deals largely with the question of the credibility of the stories of the miracles as a part of the larger question of the historical character of the resurrection. It claims that the evidence of the records, when they have been critically sifted, must not be "set aside on *à priori* views of what is possible or impossible, because in connexion with the person of Christ we are not in a position to say that anything is impossible". The writer concludes that "for the miracles (including the resurrection) which are found in Mark and in the Logia source used by the writers of the first and third Gospels and in St. Luke's 'special source' the evidence is very good, and that there is no reason why it should not be accepted". The closing article, which has for its subject "The University of London," is also one of great interest. It comes at the proper time and deserves close attention.

The outstanding feature of the current number of the *American Journal of Theology* is the section headed "Recent Theological Literature," in which a number of very competent hands review a long list of books and minor publications belonging to all the different departments of theological study. This is done in a thoroughly well-informed, painstaking and informing fashion. The formal articles are also of much value and of varied interest. There is a popular sketch and estimate of "The Religious Situation in Paris" by a writer who gives only his initials. This is followed by a paper by Professor Frank C. Porter, of Yale, on "Inquiries concerning the Divinity of Christ," which puts very clearly some of the "problems of the historian with reference to the beginnings of this faith and some inferences that may be drawn from the history as to our own standpoint". Professor McFadyen writes on "Hellenism and Hebraism," expounding briefly, but with much perception, the spirit and temper of the two great peoples, the Greeks and the Hebrews.

Professor G. T. Knight, of Tufts College, gives a good statement on the subject of the "New Science in Relation to Theism," and Professor E. König, of Bonn, contributes a critical note on "The Problem of Job," in which he criticises Friedrich Delitzsch's recent book on *Job*, especially with regard to the restrictions put upon the extent of the "genuine Job" and the description of the main portions of the poem as "Pessimism's Song of Songs". The still more recent theory of Eugen Müller, expounded in his *Der echte Hiob*, is also subjected to searching examination.

In the current number of *Mind*, there are some admirable criticisms of books, including Dewey's *Studies in Logical Theory*, Flint's *Agnosticism*, Binet's *L'Étude Expérimentale de l'Intelligence*, and others. Mr. F. H. Bradley writes at length, and in a way that stimulates thought, on the old question of "The Definition of Will," his conclusion being that "we must suppose that special dispositions everywhere precede, and are the foundation of will". There is a shorter paper by W. H. Fairbrother on "The Relations of Ethics to Metaphysics," in which it is contended that the "subject-matter of Ethics is as much an integral portion of the real world as that of any other science". C. M. Walsh continues the discussion of "Kant's Transcendental Idealism and Empirical Realism"; and there is a paper also by G. D. Hicks on "Professor Adamson's Philosophical Lectures," which claims for these lectures a permanent place in philosophical literature.

We have pleasure in calling attention to a new series of historical publications for which there is room and which promises well—a series of "Texte und Untersuchungen," with the title of *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, undertaken in connexion with the "Verein für Reformationsgeschichte," and edited by Dr. Walter Friedensburg of Stettin. The first issue¹ contains two contributions of considerable interest, one by Dr. P. Kalkoff, of Breslau, on "Die Vermittlungspolitik des Erasmus und sein Anteil an

¹ Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn, 1903. 8vo, pp. 100. Price 1 M.4.40; to subscribers M.2.80.

den Flugschriften der ersten Reformationszeit," and another by Professor Paul Tschackert, of Göttingen, on "Antonius Corvinus ungedruckter Bericht vom Kolloquium zu Regensburg 1541". There are also some pages of "Mitteilungen" on questions of sources, biographical and other inquiries, etc.

The literary announcements of Messrs. T. & T. Clark for spring, 1904, include: *Selections from the Literature of Theism*. Some principal types of religious thought. With introductory and explanatory notes. By Professor Alfred Caldecott, M.A., D.D., King's College, London, and H. R. Mackintosh, M.A., D.Phil., Aberdeen. *The Theology of the Old Testament*. By the late Professor A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D. Edited by Principal Salmond, D.D. (International Theological Library.) *By Nile and Euphrates*. A record of discovery and adventure. By H. Valentine Geere. Illustrated by over thirty original photographs, new plan of the Niffer Mounds and several maps. *The Teaching of Jesus*. By Rev. D. M. Ross, D.D., Glasgow. (Bible-class Handbook series. Edited by Professor Marcus Dods, D.D., and Alexander Whyte, D.D.) *Outlines of Pastoral Theology for Young Ministers and Students*. Translated and edited by the late Professor W. Hastie, D.D. *Faith and Knowledge*. By the Rev. W. R. Inge, M.A., Hertford College, Oxford. *Christus in Ecclesia*. By the Rev. Hastings Rashdall, D.C.L., Fellow of New College, Oxford. *New Light on the Life of Jesus*. By Professor C. A. Briggs, D.D., D.Litt., New York. *Descartes, Spinoza, and the New Philosophy*. By Professor J. Iverach, D.D., Aberdeen. (The World's Epoch-Makers Series.) *The Principles of the Reformed Religions*. By the late Professor W. Hastie, D.D., Glasgow University. (Croall Lectures.) And the extra volume of Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

We notice also these—*Eternal Life, its Nature and Sustenance*,¹ by R. Somervell, M.A., in the main a restatement, done with much carefulness and sympathy, of the chief points in the late Dr. John McLeod Campbell's volume on *Christ, the Bread of Life*, written in an entirely fair

¹London: Elliot Stock, 1903. Small Cr. 8vo, pp. 53. Price 2s. 6d.

and charitable spirit, but designed to urge on the High Sacramentarian theologians a reconsideration of the position which represents Christ's person as sacramentally identified with the consecrated elements—a position which Mr. Somervell holds to be incongruous with our Lord's thoughts and words and inadequate to the "spiritual content of His language"; a second edition of Maynard Butler's *The First Year of Responsibility*¹—wise and sympathetic "talks with a boy"—the very book to put into the hands of a young man at school or college at the dawn of his intellectual life and in face of the temptations of youth; *Die heutige Auffassung und Behandlung der Kirchengeschichte, Fortschritte und Forderungen*,² by Hans von Schubert, Professor der Theologie und Consistorialrath in Kiel, an address delivered originally at a conference, and discoursing in a sensible way on the sources and the materials of Church history, the way in which the matter is most effectively arranged and presented, etc.; *Wie predigen wir dem modernen Menschen?*³ by Lic. Theol. F. Niedergall, an earnest and at times an eloquent discussion of what the New Testament is and what man is, how the former seeks to move and comfort, and how the latter is to be reached by its statements and appeals, and how the preaching of the Church is to fulfil its function better by a better attention to the message contained in the Bible and the subject to whom it is addressed; *Jesus und seine Predigt*,⁴ by Erich von Shrenck, a book consisting mainly of a series of addresses delivered to educated laymen in Riga, giving in clear, simple and forcible language a general outline of our Lord's preaching, its characteristics, its doctrines of God and man, its conceptions of the law, the moral ideal, and ethico-social problems, its disclosures of the Messianic consciousness, the

¹ London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1903. Pp. 117.

² Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902. 8vo, pp. 33. Price 9d. net.

³ Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902. 8vo, pp. iv. + 181. Price 3s. net.

⁴ Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 234. Price M.2.40.

things of the end, etc.—all which is done in a way wisely adapted to the audience in view; *Der pseudocyprianische Traktat "De Singularite Clericorum," die Hypotyposen des Theognost, der gefälschte Brief des Bischofs Theonas an den Oberkammerherrn Lucian*,¹ by Adolf Harnack, an elaborate investigation of the history of the Tractate falsely attributed to Cyprian and hereby shown to be the work of the Donatist Bishop Macrobius in Rome, accompanied by an exposition of its historical value as a Donatist production of the third quarter of the fourth century, and followed by a series of interesting fragments of the *Hypotyposes* of Theognostos of Alexandria, carefully edited with relevant testimonies, an estimate of their worth, etc.—and also by a discussion of the *Letters of Bishop Theonas to Lucian* which were given to the public in 1675 in d'Achery's *Spicilegium*, to which for a long time great importance was assigned by Church historians, but which are now shown by Harnack (in agreement with Batiffol and Mommsen) to be a fabrication made up in all probability not earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century; *Christian Socialism in England*,² by Arthur V. Woodworth, Ph.D., an instructive and vivid sketch of the history of the Christian Social movement in our land from the time of its inception under Maurice and Kingsley to the present date, with interesting statements of the different phases it has assumed, its influence on Trades Unionism, the weakness of its early economic theory, the rise and progress of the co-operative movement, the various economic and religious changes which took place between 1848 and 1880, the work of the Guild of St. Matthew, etc.—a useful and well-written treatise on questions of great importance; *Faith's Perplexities*,³ by Robert J. Drummond, D.D., Edinburgh, a volume well worth reading and fitted to be a real help to believing

¹ *Texte und Untersuchungen*, hrsg. von V. Gebhardt und Harnack. N. F., ix. 3. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 8vo, pp. 117. Price 3s. 6d. net.

² London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 208. Price 2s. 6d.

³ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. + 312. Price 5s.

minds disquieted by things in life and doctrine which are hard to understand, taking up such questions as the reasonableness of religion, the trustworthiness of the Gospels, the personality of Jesus, the permission of sin, the difficulties of prayer, miracle, etc., and handling them in a broad and popular way with a view to the reassurance of those who already believe; *Recollections of James Martineau, with some Letters from him and an Essay on his religion*,¹ by the Rev. Alexander H. Craufurd, M.A., formerly Exhibitioner of Oriel College, Oxford, a welcome addition to the literature we already possess on James Martineau, the work of a friend who could appreciate Martineau and value him at the highest, but who could also look critically into his theological position, who in these interesting and pleasantly written pages records the impressions which were gathered through many years, and gives us statements of Martineau's opinions, his likes and dislikes, his verdicts on men, books and public movements in Church and State—in which some extraordinary things are said on such subjects as *Calvinism*, betraying curious prejudices and misconceptions, but which make a considerable contribution to the better understanding of the man, his philosophy and his theology; *Luther's Ninety-five Theses samt seinen Resolutionen, sowie den Gegenschriften von Wimpina, Tetzl, Eck und Prierias und den Antworten Luthers darauf*,² by Lic. Dr. W. Köhler of the University of Giessen—a volume which carries out in an effective and scholarly way a happy idea, providing us in handy form with a critical edition of the famous Theses along with brief explanatory remarks and the chief replies and counter-replies made at the time, a useful piece of work, well worth the doing; *The Promise of Life*,³ by J. F. Tinling, M.A., second edition with some small alterations of a book published in 1881 in support of the doctrine of conditional immortality, following the usual non-historical exegesis and putting the argument more as it

¹ Edinburgh: George A. Morton; London: Simpkin Marshall & Co., 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 233. Price 3s. 6d. net.

² Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 211. Price 3s. net.

³ London: Elliot Stock, 1903. Pp. 139. Price 1s. net.

was a quarter of a century ago than it is now; *Schenute von Atripe und die Entstehung des national Aegyptischen Christentums*,¹ by Johannes Leopoldt, a laborious work of the kind that finds a fit place in the well-known *Texte und Untersuchungen*, the result to a very large extent of matter lying in manuscript hitherto unused by Church historians, which has been collected with much care from the great libraries of Berlin, Cairo, London, Naples, Paris, Vienna, etc., and on the basis of which the learned author constructs the story of the father of the national Egyptian Church, giving us also a very full account of the man himself, his character, his theological position, and his labours both within and without the monastery, his services to the Coptic Church, the religion and political condition of the Copts of Upper Egypt about 400 A.D., etc.; *Taufe und Abendmahl bei Paulus*,² by W. Heitmüller of the University of Göttingen, an examination of the various passages in the Pauline Epistles bearing on the questions of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the result of which is that the two sacraments are closely connected in these writings; that they are represented as means of grace; that they are related to the enthusiastic-mystical side of Pauline Christianity rather than to the ethical-personal side; that they have their roots not in the Gospels but in the soil of universal religion; and that their value is made none the less by the fact that they are to be carried back to religious ideas and practices which prevailed in the ethnic religions far away in primitive times; *The Church's Failures and the Work of Christ*,³ being the charge delivered by the Bishop of Rochester at his second visitation, written in a somewhat hard style, but making some frank acknowledgments, and giving some pungent counsels; the fourth part of Canon

¹ *Texte und Untersuchungen*, hrsg. von V. Gebhardt und Harnack, N. F., x i. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 8vo, pp. ix. + 213. Price M.7. net.

² Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. 56. Price 1s. 6d.

³ London: Macmillan, 1903. 8vo, pp. 48. Price 1s. net.

Cheyne's *Critica Biblica*,¹ dealing with 1 and 2 Kings, in a way that occasionally yields suggestive emendations, but oftener makes one wish that the versatile author would give us much less of his fantastic Jerahmeel notion (which meets us again in most pages, and in the strangest connexions), and return to the more profitable order of work by which he used to be known; *Israel und Babylonien*,² an essay by Professor Hermann Gunkel, which had its occasion in the "Bibel-Babel" controversy, and which claims for Babylonian ideas a large influence in the religion of Israel, tracing it in the narratives of the Creation, Paradise, the Deluge, the story of the Patriarchs, etc., but criticising in a very keen and informing way much that has been advanced by Delitzsch and others not only on these subjects, but on the Angelology of the Old Testament, the Hebrew Sabbath, the madness of Nebuchadnezzar, etc.; *Keilinschriften und Bibel*,³ by Professor Heinrich Zimmern, of Leipzig, another of the many publications called forth by the "Bibel-Babel" controversy, giving a concise statement of the relations in which the cuneiform inscriptions and the Bible stand to each other, as these are expounded by the author more at length in the third edition of Schrader's *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, and carrying the inquiry also to some extent into the field of the New Testament—a useful little book containing much in small space; the eighth volume of the sixth series of *The Expositor*,⁴ edited by Dr. W. Robertson Nicoll with his wonted ability and success, and containing among many other valuable articles, Dr. James Denney's series on "The Atonement and the Modern Mind," Professor Findlay's

¹ London: Adam and Charles Black, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 397. Price 3s. net.

² Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 48. Price 1s. 6d. net.

³ Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 54. Price 1s. net.

⁴ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

“Studies in the First Epistle of John,” Professor Garvie’s exposition of **“The Value-Judgments of Religion,”** Professor Bennett’s three papers on **“The Life of Christ according to St. Mark,”** and Professor Swete’s three studies of **“The Teaching of Christ”**.

Record of Select Literature.

I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

- FISCHER, J. Die chronologischen Fragen in den Büchern Esra-Nehemia. (Biblische Studien. Hrsg. v. O. Bardenhewer. 8. Bd. 3. Heft.) Freiburg: Herder. 8vo, pp. x. + 98. M.2.40.
- SCHELL, V. La Loi de Hammurabi (vers 2000 av. J. C.). Paris: Leroux. 18mo, pp. iii. + 77.
- BEARDSLEE, J. W. Outlines of an Introduction to the Old Testament. New York: Revell. 12mo, pp. 215. \$1.20.
- JEDLICKA, J. Der angebliche Turmbau zu Babel, die Erlebnisse der Familie Abrahams u. die Beschneidung. Leipzig: H. Seemann Nachf. in Komm. 8vo, pp. 373. M.4.
- GELBHAUS, S. Esra u. seine reformatorischen Bestrebungen. (Zur Geschichte u. Literatur des zweiten jüd. Staatswesens.) Wien: R. Löwit. 8vo, pp. 60. M.1.80.
- MARTI, K. Dodekapropheten, erklärt. 1. Hälfte. (Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament, hrsg. v. K. Marti. 20. Lfg. 1. Hälfte.) Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. 240. M.3.75.
- WESTPHAL, A. Jéhovah. Les Étapes de la Révélation dans l'histoire du peuple d'Israel. Cahors, impr.: Coueslant. 1-4, fasc. 8vo, pp. 258.
- SCHECHTER, S. Midrash hag-gadol, forming a collection of ancient rabbinic homilies to the Pentateuch. Genesis. Cambridge: University Press. 4to, pp. 468. 30s.
- D'EZRAGUES, M. B. Les Psaumes, traduits de l'Hébreu. Paris: V. Lecoffre. 8vo, pp. lxiv. + 427. Fr.4
- ANDRÉ, L. E. T. Les Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament. Florenz: O. Paggi. 8vo, pp. 350.

- PROTHERO, Rowland, E. *The Psalms in Human Life.* London: J. Murray. 8vo, pp. xi. + 415. 10s. 6d. net.
- KÜHULE, K. *Die Echtheit des biblischen Schöpfungsberichts.* 2. Vorträge. Berlin: F. Zillesen. 8vo, pp. 51. M.o.40.
- VALETON, Jr., J. J. P. *De Psalmen.* Dl. II. Psalm xlii.-lxxxix. Nijmegen: H. ten Hoet. 8vo, pp. ii. + 360. Fr.6.
- CALVIJN, J. *De Profetiën van Ezechiël verklaard.* Hoofdstuk i.-xx. Naar de uitgave van het Corpus reformatorum uit het Latijn vert. door J. Lugtigheid. Afl. I. Kampen: J. H. Kok. 8vo, pp. 1-40. Fr.o.20.

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- JENSEN, P. *Schriften zur sog. Babel- u. Bibelfrage.* *Lit. Centrbl.*, 50, Sep. 1903.

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- LOISY, A. *Le Discours sur la Montagne.* Paris: Picard et fils. 8vo, pp. 148.
- LOISY, A. *Le quatrième Evangile.* Paris: Picard et fils. 8vo, pp. 964.
- MICHAEL, J. O. *Die Gottesherrschaft als leitender Grundgedanke in der Offenbarung St. Johannis.* Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis derselben. Leipzig: F. Jansa. 8vo, pp. 74. M.1.
- BOLLAND, W. E. *St. Paul and his Churches.* London: S.P.C.K. 12mo, pp. 152. 2s.
- DOBSCHÜTZ, E. v. *Probleme des apostolischen Zeitalters.* Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. iv. + 138. M.2.70.
- WEINEL, H. *Die Gleichnisse Jesu.* Zugleich e. Anleitung zu e. quellenmäss. Verständnis der Evangelien. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 8vo, pp. vi. + 130. M.1.
- GUTJAHR, F. S. *Die Glaubwürdigkeit des irenäischen Zeugnisses üb. die Abfassung des vierten kanonischen Evangeliums.* Aufs Neue untersucht. Graz: Leuschner & Lubensky. 8vo, pp. vii. + 198. M.5.

CEULEMANS, F. C. *Commentarius in Actus Apostolorum.*
Malines: Dessain. 8vo, pp. 320. Fr.3.20.

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- HILGENFELD, A. *Das Johannesevangelium und seine neuesten Kritiker.* *Z. f. wiss. Th.*, I, 1904.
 LOMBARD, E. *Les extases et les souffrances de l'apôtre Paul; essai d'une interprétation de 2 Cor. xii. 1-10.*
Rev. d. Théol. et de Philos., 5, 6, 1903.
 ALBANI, J. *Hebr. 5. 11-6, 8. Ein Wort zur Verfasser-*
schaft des Apollos. *Z. f. wiss. Th.*, I, 1904.

III.—HISTORICAL.

- KALTHOFF. *Die Entstehung des Christentums. Neue Beiträge zum Christusproblem.* Leipzig: E. Diederichs. 8vo, pp. iv. + 155. M.3.
 FUETER, E. *Religion u. Kirche in England im 15. Jahrh.* Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. iii. + 78. M.2.
 SHAHAN, T. J. *The Beginnings of Christianity.* New York: Benziger Bros. 8vo, pp. iii. + 445. \$2.
 HAUCK, A. *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands.* IV. Tl. 2. Hälfte, 1. u. 2. (Doppel-) Aufl. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. x. + 417, 1016. M.17.50.
 BRUDERS, H. *Die Verfassung der Kirche von den ersten Jahrhunderten der apostolischen Wirksamkeit an bis zum J. 175 n. Chr.* Mainz: Kirchheim & Co. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 405, mit 1. Karte. M.15.
 SODEN, H. v. *Die Cyprianische Briefsammlung. Geschichte ihrer Entstehg. u. Überliefg. (Texte u. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur. Hrsg. v. C. v. Gebhardt u. A. Harnack. Neue Folge. X. Bd. 3. Heft.)* Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. viii. + 268, mit 2. Anlagen. M.10.50.

- ACHELIS, H., u. J. FLEMMING. Die syr. Didaskalia. Übers. u. erklärt. (Die ältesten Quellen des orientalischen Kirchenrechts, 2. Buchh.) Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. viii. + 388. M.12.50.
- REVILLE, Jean. Liberal Christianity. Its Origin, Nature and Mission. Trans. and edited by Victor Leuliette. (Crown Theological Library, vol. iv.) London: Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 205. 4s.
- VÖLTER, D. Die apostolischen Väter, neu untersucht. I. Tl. Clemens, Hermas, Barnabas. Leiden: Buchhandlung u. Drückerei vorm E. J. Brill. 8vo, pp. vi. + 472. M.8.
- DETMER, H. Bilder aus den religiösen u. socialen Unruhen in Münster während des 16 Jahrh. II. Bernhard Rothmann. Kirchliche u. soziale Wirren in Münster 1525-1535. Der täufer. Kommunismus. Münster: Copenhath. 8vo, pp. 146. M.1.75.

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- BERBIG. Nekundliches zur Reformationgeschichte. *Th. Stud. u. Krit.*, I, 1904.
- WURM, A. Cerinth—ein Gnostiker oder Judaist? *Th. Quartschr.*, I, 1904.

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Herbert Spencer.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

A SYSTEM must begin somewhere, and Mr. Spencer begins with an indefinite homogeneity. There is some difficulty in getting it to work. But the nebular theory is at hand and serviceable. His treatment of that hypothesis is admirable. Written as it was in 1858 it is wonderfully up-to-date. There is nothing in it incompatible with the new astronomy, nor with the new knowledge won through spectrum analysis, and with the new light cast on the ultimate constitution of matter by the results won by physical chemistry. The researches of such scientists as Crooks, Professor J. J. Thomson and others make it probable that the ultimate constitution of matter is homogeneous. So far his view has been justified. It was difficult to explain the aggregation of matter from the law of gravitation alone. It was not possible to explain the evolution of chemical matter from the homogeneous stuff, but now such an evolution is conceivable. Ions, electrons, and the discoveries of what they can do, have put a much more powerful instrument into the hands of the inquirer, and may enable us to read a more wonderful story of evolution. Pre-atomic evolution is possible, and the mode of it may be discovered. When he began his theory with homogeneous matter, endowed with forces of attraction and repulsion, Mr. Spencer did not think that he had explained the origin of things. In a powerful and remarkable passage he says: "It remains only to point out that while the genesis of the Solar System, and of countless other systems like it, is thus rendered comprehensible, the ultimate mystery remains as great as ever. The problem of existence is not solved: it is simply moved further back. The Nebular Hypothesis throws no light on the origin of diffused matter; and diffused

matter as much needs accounting for as concrete matter. The genesis of an atom is not easier to conceive than the genesis of a planet. Nay, indeed, so far from making the Universe a less mystery than before, it makes it a greater mystery. Creation by manufacture is a much lower thing than creation by Evolution. . . . That our harmonious Universe once existed potentially as formless diffused matter, and has slowly grown into its present organised state, is a far more astonishing fact than would have been its formation after the artificial method vulgarly supposed. Those who hold it legitimate to argue from phenomena to noumena, may rightly contend that the Nebular Hypothesis implies a First Cause as much transcending 'the mechanical God of Paley' as this does the fetish of the savage" (*Essays*, vol. i., pp. 302-303). One can agree with this statement, except with the reference to the God of Paley. Suppose that Evolution can tell us the story of the making of the world, we should be as thankful to the evolutionist as we are to any man of science who enables us to see how things grow. What we want from Mr. Spencer and other evolutionists is that they show us the process of the making of the world in such a way as to account for those factors which do not appear to be involved in the formless matter which they show us at the era in time at which they choose to start. We do not object to the formless matter as far as it goes. We are prepared to accept for the sake of investigation the existence of the indefinite incoherent homogeneity, and to accept provisionally the persistence of force, and other postulates of Mr. Spencer, which he names axioms. Let us take the formula of Evolution in its final shape as it stands in the *First Principles*: "Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion; during which the matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity; and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation" (p. 396). All Evolution then is in terms of matter and motion. Let us grant that it holds true of all change that it is in terms of matter and motion. But is that the only change or kind of change that is known

to man? Are we not acquainted with changes and evolving facts which cannot be expressed in terms of matter and motion? Are there not feelings, volitions, thoughts, and is there not an Evolution of these from the simple confused feeling of the Amœba to the highly evolved feelings of a Shakespeare? Does not Mr. Spencer himself deal with Evolution in the forms of Pre-organic, Organic, Super-organic Evolution? We follow him in his description of all of these, always with respect, sometimes with great admiration and assent, and sometimes with dissent, and we have tried to understand. But when we pass into Super-organic Evolution, while we may still retain the formula which speaks of the passage from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity, we have never been able to think of the Evolution of mind as an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion. Feelings, volitions, thoughts are real and have their own nature; they may have material movements as their accompaniment, but they themselves are not material. The formula of Evolution is not complete, as it makes no provision for Evolution in an immaterial sphere.

There is, however, an emphatic recognition of mind in the work of Mr. Spencer. For example, the *First Principles* concludes in this fashion: "The interpretation of all phenomena in terms of Matter, Motion, and Force, is nothing more than the reduction of our complex symbols of thought to the simplest symbols; and when the equation has been brought to its lowest terms the symbols remain symbols still. Hence the reasonings contained in the foregoing pages afford no support to either of the antagonist hypotheses respecting the ultimate nature of things. Their implications are no more materialistic than they are spiritualistic. . . . He who will rightly interpret the doctrine contained in this book will see that though the relation of subject and object renders necessary to us these antithetical conceptions of Spirit and Matter, the one is no less than the other to be regarded as but a sign of the Unknown Reality which underlies both." Again he says: "We can think of matter only in terms of

mind. We can think of mind only in terms of matter" (*Psychology*, vol. i., p. 627). It is exceedingly difficult to understand this statement, as well as the statements generally regarding the relation of subject and object. From them taken as they stand we would infer that they are on an equal footing. They are both modes of the Underlying Unity. We can think matter only in terms of mind, but are matter, motion and force terms of mind? True, they are only symbols, Mr. Spencer says, but symbols are expressive of the nature of the being to which they refer. Mind is expressed by Mr. Spencer in terms of matter, but matter is scarcely ever expressed in terms of mind.

In his system mind is later, secondary, derivative, ruled by matter. It is late in its appearance. Evolution has gone on indefinitely ere life appears, and life has to be evolved ere consciousness appears, and after mind appears it is ruled by matter until the uniformities of material action generate absolute uniformities of thought. We follow Mr. Spencer with great interest as he unfolds his system. He has not written that volume which ought to trace the processes of Evolution up to the stage when life appeared. He begins with biology. It is a great work and its influence has been very great. One reads it with admiration, for it is a great advantage to bring biology into relation with all the other sciences. The evolutionary point of view has led Mr. Spencer to many generalisations and to many suggestions not likely to occur to the specialist. Of quite remarkable interest are his chapters on morphological development, and on physiological development; and his chapters on the laws of multiplication are as rich in interest as they are in insight and in clear and logical statement. Here he is at his best, and the outcome is admirable. Other appreciations we might state were there time.

But he continues to apply his formula and the phenomena in terms of matter, motion and force. Nor is there much to be said in objection so long as the phenomena of life presents no inner side. True, there is some difficulty in representing the reactions of the animal against its environment in terms

of the formula. For there now appears in the world for the first time the phenomena of feeling, of want, of hunger. This appears as far down in the scale as the one-celled beings, and yet Mr. Spencer makes no change in the formula. He insensibly glides into the use of purposive language. True, the transition is gradual, we are occupied with the building up of the organism. That process proceeds according to the formula, from the simple to the complex, from the disconnected to the connected. But there is an unexplained complement that has somehow come in, and along with the increasing complexity of life feeling becomes more and more complex. The Evolution of feeling or of the mental life is never described in its own terms. It is always dependent on the Evolution of the nervous system. The psychological laws of mind are simply consequences of physiology. There is no application of the formula of Evolution to explain the growth of mind. What we ought to have from Mr. Spencer is an attempt to trace the Evolution of mind from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity, in which the possibility of cognition, feeling and volition, as it lay there at the outset, may be seen to evolve into the articulated equipment of mind as it is in the highest kind of mind we know. Instead of that we have an account of the Evolution of the nervous system, with the assumption that the Evolution of the mind is bound to follow.

It is not necessary to quote in support of the foregoing conclusion. In fact, the psychology is based on the supposition that mental development follows the Evolution of the nervous system. But a passage we may quote. "Continued differentiation and integration, thus concentrating the actions out of which psychical life is evolved, first on the surface of the organism, afterwards on certain regions of that surface, afterwards on those most specialised parts of it constituting the organs of the higher senses, and finally in minute parts of these parts, necessarily render the psychical life more and more distinct from the physical life by bringing its changes more and more into serial order. We have nothing to do with the progressive development of the

nervous system, and the actions that are carried on throughout its mass. These internal actions are initiated by the external ones to which the senses are subject. And just in proportion as the external ones tend towards the serial form, the consequent ones do the same" (*Psychology*, vol. i., p. 403).

Mr. Spencer tries to account on these terms for the rise of consciousness. It arises from the need of having some central mode of communication by which all the impressions received from all parts of the body may attain to a certain unity. It is necessary that these be brought into relation with each other, if an adjustment is to take place. "But this implies some centre of communication common to them all, through which they severally pass; and as they cannot pass through it simultaneously, they must pass through it in succession. So that as the external phenomena responded to become greater in number and more complicated in kind, the variety and rapidity of the changes to which this common centre of communication is subject must increase, there must result an unbroken series of these nervous changes, the subjective face of which is what we call a coherent consciousness" (p. 403). The last part of the last sentence was substituted in deference to a criticism of Professor Sidgwick, the part criticised being this: "There must arise a consciousness," on which much might be said were there space.

He is conscious of many difficulties, especially as he remembers how he had spoken in former sections of the *Psychology* on the impossibility of assimilating Mind and Motion. In the end he is forced to speak of Parallelism between a certain physical Evolution and the correlative psychical Evolution. But Parallelism does not do justice to the manner in which throughout his exposition he makes the psychical depend on the physical. Mr. Spencer fails in his psychology to do justice to the complexity of mental life. The psychology of feeling is almost neglected, for, with him, the primitive fact consists in a reflex mechanical act. Nor is the fact of volition adequately represented in his system.

In fact his explanations, such as they are, are directed towards the explanation of the Evolution of the intelligence. But Psychology has a more difficult task in hand, and it is setting itself to this work. It is endeavouring to trace the Evolution of mind directly, not as a mere resultant of the Evolution of a nervous system, but according to principles which belong to mental life itself. Thus it recognises in the life of those beings in which hardly any differentiation of organs and functions exists the beginning of psychic life. It recognises that in a very simple form there are there the fundamental elements of the highest psychical life, feelings, thought and will. It is not a result of biological Evolution, though it accompanies it. Its Evolution is according to mental, not according to physical laws. It is mind that evolves, not matter.

One of the most striking features of Mr. Spencer's system is the stress which he lays on the *a priori* element in our experience. He is as strenuous in insisting on the intuitions of the mind as if he were an adherent of the Scottish Philosophy. He had a long controversy with John Stuart Mill on the test of truth, in which he lays great stress on the Inconceivability of the Opposite. In fact, he lays stress on intuitions throughout his whole system. From one point of view he is an absolute empiricist; a realist in philosophy, a utilitarian in ethics, and an empiricist in psychology and science generally. From another point of view he is an intuitionist in all three. He is both, for he believes that he has found a method by which he may reconcile Stuart Mill and Kant, the intuitionist and the empiricist, the idealist and the realist, the anti-utilitarian and the utilitarian. It is a wonderful method of reconciliation, and it illustrates the fertility of Mr. Spencer's genius, and the greatness of his resources. Many have accepted it as satisfactory, and it will always remain as a specimen of the greatness of Mr. Spencer's powers of explanation.

Before we look at it directly, we note about it that it illustrates the dependence of mind on matter, for it shows that even the most characteristic of mental beliefs and mental

categories are, in Mr. Spencer's view, merely results of the action of matter. "If even to external relations that are often experienced during the life of a single organism, answering internal relations are established that become next to automatic—if such a combination of psychical changes as that which guides a savage in hitting a bird with an arrow, becomes, by constant repetition, so organised as to be performed almost without thought of the processes of the adjustment gone through—and if skill of this kind is so far transmissible that particular races of men become characterised by particular aptitudes, which are nothing else than partially organised psychical connections; then if there exist certain external relations which are experienced by all organisms at all instants of their waking lives—relations which are absolutely constant, absolutely universal—there will be established answering internal relations that are absolutely constant, absolutely universal. Such relations we have in Space and Time. The organisation of subjective relations adjusted to these objective relations has been cumulative, not in each race of creatures only, but throughout successive races of creatures, and such subjective relations have, therefore, become more consolidated than all others. Being experienced in every perception and in every action of each creature, these connections among outer existences must for this reason too, be responded to by connections among inner feelings, that are, above all others, indissoluble. As the substrata of all other relations in the Non-Ego, they must be responded to by conceptions that are the substrata of all other relations in the Ego. Being the constant and infinitely repeated elements of thought, they must become the automatic elements of thought—the elements of thought which it is impossible to get rid of, the 'forms of intuition'" (*Psychology*, vol. i., pp. 466-7).

As we read the sections of the *Psychology*, and follow the long account of the growth of the nervous system, and the "parallel" Evolution of consciousness, and when we regard the contrast of subject and object, which to Mr. Spencer is the greatest of all contrasts, we are unable to reconcile the

two. In the one kind of representation consciousness is derivative and dependent, in the other it is contrasted with matter as if it had a standing of its own. Further, when we look back to the *First Principles*, and have regard to the part which intuitions play in that volume, we are surprised that these intuitions should have a mere empirical origin. Intuitions have a larger part to play in Mr. Spencer's system than they have in any other philosophy. "By reality we mean persistence in consciousness," he says, and the Data of consciousness is his sole warrant in the *First Principles*, and yet we find here that consciousness is simply the subjective side of indissoluble elements of experience. Either the intuitions of the mind must have their warrant in the very nature of mind itself, or they are insufficient to bear the stress laid on them by Mr. Spencer. In virtue of these intuitions he ventures to make assertions that he regards as universal, necessary, the opposite of which he regards as inconceivable. But experience as such is always finite, contingent, limited, and from it no universal propositions can be made. We do make universal propositions, what is their warrant? From the nature of mind itself, most philosophies say, and in some moods Mr. Spencer says so too. But then he gives an account of mind which makes its right to speak of the universal and necessary very questionable.

We are aware of the method by which Mr. Spencer attempts to reconcile his absolute trust in intuitions with their empirical origin. It is one of the most characteristic positions in his whole system, and one which illustrates well his amazing fertility of resource. It occurred to him at an early date in his history, and he laid great stress on it to the last. We quote one passage, out of many which might be quoted, as it illustrates his view both of the origin of the intellectual and moral intuitions. "Just in the same way that I believe the intuitions of space, possessed by any living individual, to have arisen from organised and consolidated experiences of all antecedent individuals who bequeathed to him their slowly developed nervous organisations—just as I believe that this intuition, requiring only to be made definite and complete

by personal experiences has practically become a form of thought, apparently quite independent of experience; so do I believe that the experiences of utility organised and consolidated through all past generations of the human race have been producing corresponding nervous modifications, which, by continued transmission and accumulation, have become in us certain faculties of moral intuition" (*Data of Ethics*, sect. 45).

This method of reconciling different views is extensively used by him. "The data of intelligence is *a priori* to the individual, *a posteriori* to the race." Two remarks may be made regarding it. The first is, that even if we grant the possibility of accumulation and transmission from ancestors to successors, it will not avail to turn *a posteriori* truths into *a priori* ones. *A priori* truths are universal, and necessary, their truth is acknowledged as soon as they are understood. Mr. Spencer has shown that they cannot be accounted from the experience of the individual. But what is the race, what is the whole experience of life, but a finite experience after all? It is still particular, finite, limited, and can affirm nothing beyond its own experience. It may speak of what has been, never of what must be. In the second place the possibility of the transmission of acquired qualities has been strenuously denied. Perhaps the most strenuous of the many controversies waged by Mr. Spencer was that with Weissmann on this question. No controversy was so vital to him, none touched so nearly the very heart of his system. So he fought eagerly, passionately, and with all his strength, and notwithstanding all that he put forth, the opinion of his opponent is gaining the adhesion of those who know.

As for us, we think that another genesis of *a priori* truth must be found, if *a priori* truth is to have any validity for the minds of men. We had intended to follow him into the regions of ethical truth, and to speak of the scientific guide for conduct which he has provided for us in his *Ethics*. But space is exhausted. With many of his views we cannot agree. We think he has misread moral experience in many ways, but one is glad to recognise that his main conclusions.

are not unlike those which men had reached and had acted on ere Evolution was heard of. Nor is the goal he sets up as the final outcome one that arouses our admiration. But we must stop.

One curious reflection is forced on us as we conclude. It is this. Evolution is in the air, it is applied in all fields of inquiry, its phraseology has become part of popular speech. Our inquiries are all directed towards the knowledge of the becoming of things. The eighteenth century seemed to look at all things as fixed, defined, there and then set forth in unchangeable forms the same in all and for all generations. The nineteenth, especially in the latter half of it, is occupied with the flow of things, with inquiries into the possibility of change, of how things may become their opposites. The fixed boundaries of former ages have been cast down, and we are in the presence of a world in Evolution towards a goal. The strange thing is that while almost all are in agreement as to the fact of Evolution there is really no agreement as to the source of Evolution, as to its factors, or as to its goal. As to Mr. Spencer, his service and his great merit is that of an organiser of human knowledge in some aspects of it. His organising spirit is everywhere, his grasp is on all the sciences, and he has widened the view of man. He came when the sciences existed in isolation, he endeavoured to unify them, and the very thought was an inspiration. He did not succeed in unifying human knowledge, but even to attempt it was a merit. He seeks to bring to light oppositions in order to show that they are aspects of organic unity. He seeks to reconcile science and religion, empiricism and rationalism, Hume and Kant, egoism and altruism, mechanism and Evolution. But his categories are unequal to their task. The contrasts stand out in their naked simplicity, and they refuse to lose their antagonisms at the bidding of Mr. Spencer, and each in turn complain of injustice and misunderstanding of their nature and their claim. Then over all broods the dark shadow of the Unknowable. In the same breath he seems to know everything and nothing about the unified knowledge. We are in the presence of an infinite and eternal

energy, it has manifested itself to us, and yet it is an impenetrable mystery. Human thought can never reach reality, not because human thought has not yet reached its height, but because real knowledge of truth is in its very nature inconceivable, contradictory, unattainable. Yet it is curious that Mr. Spencer has all the while this universal formula at work governing all changes. It is a paradox of the most perplexing kind. The formula is held true about objective nature, about a real world, about something that persists through all time and space, though it does transcend consciousness. The ultimate truth he has told us is not to be reached, but he has decreed that unification of science, an empirical construction of a universally valid and objective law, shall be possible. It is strange.

JAMES IVERACH.

Bardenhewer's Altkirchliche Litteratur.

Geschichte der altkirchl. Litteratur. Von Otto Bardenhewer.
Bd. I. (1902), Bd. II. (1903). Freiburg im B.: Herder.
Pp. xii. + 592; xvi. + 665. Price M.10 and 11.40.

THESE substantial and moderately priced volumes form only a third part of the enormous task which this well-known Munich professor of Catholic theology has set himself. His plan is to cover the whole Patristic period, down to John of Damascus in the East and Isidore of Seville in the West, in six such volumes. The present instalment reaches to the beginning of the fourth century, and shows the scale of the whole. It may be said at once that the work promises to be indispensable to the full equipment of the theological library, not only of the Church historian but also of the student of exegesis and of doctrine. Nowhere else will each find in a unified form so complete and detailed an account of what the ancient Fathers and ecclesiastical writers (as well as those esteemed heretical) thought and wrote on everything connected with Christianity.

Perhaps one could not better characterise the place which, when finished, it is likely to fill, than by calling it a sort of Tillemont's *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclesiastique des six premiers siècles* adjusted to modern requirements. Such it is in effect, whatever it be in form. There is, moreover, a good deal common to both these authors in their candid attitude on matters of detail, where great learning and calm judgment enable each to shine conspicuously. In these respects it challenges comparison, for the ante-Nicene period, with Ehrhard's most useful *Altchristliche Litteratur u. ihre Erforschung von 1884-1900, Erste Abteilung* (1900). Each

gathers up the matter of more permanent value scattered throughout an immense modern literature, reviewed year by year in the *Theol. Jahresbericht*; while Bardenhewer of course goes far beyond this in regard to the sources of information which he utilises.

It is impossible to attempt detailed examination of such volumes. What readers of a review most need to know are its general outlines and the fulness and accuracy of its handling of each writer. This is all we can essay to give, along with some typical examples and a few criticisms in passing. Of the matters of principle dealt with in the prefaces and introduction we shall speak before closing. Besides these the Introduction contains a summary of the history of Christian literary history, beginning with Jerome's *De Viris illustribus* and continuing in Gennadius, Isidore of Seville and others, down through the Middle Ages, until the Reformation started a fresh treatment of the subject, which after a largely polemical period has issued in a more scientific conception and handling. Its last three sections are devoted to a descriptive bibliography of the materials and the aids to their study.

The work itself is divided into great Periods, the first of which, "From the Close of the First to the Beginning of the Fourth Century," occupies these two volumes. Under it come three divisions: (i.) The Primitive Literature; (ii.) The Church Literature of the Second Century from c. A.D. 120; (iii.) The Church Literature of the Third Century, or The Age of the Formation of a Theological Science. The first of these has no subdivisions, but after a general section (which stretches unduly the non-literary age of the Church's writings so as to include men like the Greek apologists) deals with the "Apostles' Creed or the Baptismal Confession of the Early Church," the *Didache*, "Barnabas," Clement of Rome, Ignatius and Polycarp—reserving the other "Apostolic Fathers" for other sections. The second division embraces (1) apologetic, (2) polemical, (3) *innerkirchliche* literature. Under (1) comes very properly the Epistle to Diognetus, also Hermias (*Διασυρμὸς τῶν ἑξω φιλοσόφων*), who is dated as

probably not later than the third century, since he makes no reference to Neoplatonism. Part (2) falls into two sections, (A) Heretical Literature and New Testament Apocrypha, (B) Anti-heretical. It is a weak point in his arrangement, as our author himself is conscious, that he classes Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles and Apocalypses—many of which, either originally or in their later forms, were not “heretical”—along with Gnostic, Judaistic and Montanist writings. How this is forced on him by his *Procrustean* conception of Christian literature will be seen in the sequel. In any case it is a serious blemish, and puts many things out of their true literary perspective. But as summaries of what is known about these obscure groups of writings these sections are of great utility. Their counterpart—as it is here represented, but is to only a limited extent—is set forth under the headings: Anti-Gnostics whose works have vanished, Irenæus, Anti-Montanists, Writings of Church Rulers touching Montanism and Gnosticism. Here, for all save Irenæus, Eusebius is our prime authority; but his evidence is helped out a good deal by scattered notices in later writers. Lastly, under the heading of *innerkirchliche Litteratur* we get a suggestively small group, its smallness being due to relegation to the categories of Heretical and Apocryphal of much that was really literature of the Christian life, written with a positive and edifying aim. This leaves only Papias, Melito, Hermas, and documents from the days of the Paschal Controversy¹ (which are surely as “polemical” as, *e.g.*, the Epistles of Dionysius of Corinth). Our author (like Funk) unduly belittles the evidence for the Presbyter John in Papias and elsewhere, and cites the common but mistaken “proof” that Papias alludes to Hadrian’s reign, though he stops at the hasty inference that Papias must have been writing after Hadrian’s death. But he handles Hermas well on the whole, seeing in the *Shepherd* the results of its author’s literary

¹ Why should he not add the Muratorian Fragment, which he dates *c.* A.D. 200? (its Roman origin seems to the present reviewer most doubtful).

activity during a considerable period; though surely it is doubtful whether he really has in mind even "the first beginnings of the Montanist movement". When dealing with the Synodal letter which the Palestinian Churches addressed to the Roman (as it seems, Eus. v. 23-25), Bardenhewer has one of his occasional "dogmatic" touches. From the words *τῆς δ' ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν πειράθητε κατὰ πᾶσαν παροικίαν ἀντίγραφα διαπέμψασθαι* (due simply to the fact that it was the Roman Church which was collecting world-wide tradition on the Paschal matter), he wrests a proof that it was already recognised that "to the bishop of Rome belonged the duty of being the medium of correspondence between the various national churches"—which he seems also to see hinted in *Hermas, Vis.*, ii., 4, 3. Nor is Victor's quiet "climb-down" in the matter of his unhappy excommunication of the Asian Churches, when he found himself isolated, a subject on which we can expect our author to contribute much to objective history.

The third division embraces the writers in whom a nascent "theological science" shows itself, including the earliest Alexandrine Fathers and Tertullian, but excluding Irenæus (another awkward result of the "polemical" section). The headings now become topographical, namely, Eastern and Western, with the subdivisions, Alexandrines, Syro-Palestinians, men of Asia Minor, on the one hand, and Africans, Romans, other Westerns, on the other. The accounts of the greater names are very full: thus Clement and Origen occupy respectively fifty and ninety large pages, of which a good deal is in small type. Yet the sections devoted to minor personages show equal thoroughness of knowledge, and form perhaps the most distinctive feature of such a book of reference. One has in mind names like Judas the Chronographer (c. A.D. 203), Ambrosius and Tryphon and other members of Origen's circle, Ammonius (two probable bearers of that name), Phileas of Thmuis, Hesychius, and the so-called letter of Theonas. There is even a discussion of the letter of the Presbyter Psenosiris to which Deissmann has directed special attention. This only makes the omis-

sion of any real notice of the Abercius inscription less defensible. In the comparatively obscure group of Syro-Palestinians we get, besides full accounts of Julius Africanus, Paul of Samosata, Lucian of Antioch, Pamphilus, and Adamantius' *De recta in Deum fide*—to name only the chief—discussions of the Apostolic *Didaskalia* (an important work to which the lately found Latin version has given added interest) and the Apostolic Church Order. It is, however, doubtful whether part of this last does not belong originally to Egypt. Asia Minor claims four names, *viz.*, Firmilian (whose embarrassing agreement with Cyprian in condemning the judgment of Rome on heretical baptism is referred to without comment), Gregory Thaumaturgus (to whom belong a number of suppositious writings, besides the few genuine ones), Anthimus of Nicomedia (martyred, *c.* A.D. 302, a possible work (epistle?) of whom *περὶ τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας*, recently brought to light by Mercati, is carefully discussed), and Methodius of Olympus. A "Retrospect of the Eastern Writers," dealing first with their general characteristics, then with the various classes of topic handled by them, and finally with the mutual literary relations of East and West, closes this half of the third division.

The second half deals with the West in similar fashion. The sections devoted to Tertullian (62 pages), Cyprian (70 pages), Hippolytus (60 pages), are wonderfully full and useful. The revived study of Novatian is duly represented, including a discussion of the *Tractatus de libris ss. scripturarum*, first assigned (by its discoverer Batiffol) to Origen, then to Novatian, but more recently to the second half of the fourth century at earliest, and most recently of all to the fifth century or even the sixth (Morin, Butler). Sections are also given to the Muratorian Fragment and the closely related ancient prologues to the Gospels, and to "Papal letters"—a convenient collection of notices touching certain genuine fragments belonging to Roman bishops of the third century. The "Other Occidentals" are Commodian, Victorinus of Pettau, and Reticus of Autun, who are handled with learning and judgment. A "Retrospect of Occidental

Writers" again affords a welcome summary of results and principles.

To the student of early *Acta Martyrum*, a field increasingly cultivated by the critical historian, a *Nachtrag* of thirty packed pages will be most useful. The *Anhang* on Christian recensions of Jewish and Pagan writings is less complete. The latter class is represented by brief allusions to the *Sexti Sententiæ* and the Hermesian writings, and a general reference to borrowings from Stoic literature (especially Seneca). Under the former very imperfect recognition is given to the work of English scholars, like Drs. Charles and James.

There remains the question of the title chosen by our author for his work and the reasons for his choice. He himself calls attention to the matter almost *ad nauseam*, especially in his introduction (pp. 18-34), and again in the preface to vol. ii. *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Litteratur* is, he explains, used by him in preference to *Patrologie*, only because he happens already to have published a shorter work under that title. Thus the difference between the two works is simply one of scale, not of conception. Even the larger one limits itself to setting forth "our present knowledge touching the *ecclesiastical* literature of antiquity". Such a limitation he feels bound to justify over against the chief modern writers in this field, who conceive their task to be the literary history of Early Christianity (*altchristliche Litteraturgeschichte*). Against this conception, which finds a place, as of right, for all literature prompted by a consciously Christian impulse, whether its interpretation of Christianity be or be not orthodox and "ecclesiastical" judged by later standards, Bardenhewer conducts a vigorous polemic. His chief opponent and critic is Krüger, whose *Gesch. der altchristlichen Litteratur* is the type of what he himself most deprecates. It may be true that Krüger's exposition presupposes a special view of the development of doctrine, akin to that set forth in Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*, while Bardenhewer's own presupposes the common ecclesiastical or traditional view of the matter, *viz.*, that "from the first

the Church possessed a definite sum of saving truths, as empowering commission (*Vermächtnis*) from her Divine founder, and preserved it, at any rate throughout Christian antiquity, in true and unadulterated form". How much ambiguity and confusion of thought may lie behind the term "antiquity," used to cover not only types of doctrine but also attitudes to doctrine as diverse as those marking the Church in the first and in the fifth century respectively! But waiving this for the moment, the point is: Which view admits of the more "scientific" presentation of all the data in question? Or to put it concretely: Is a scientifically adequate account of heretical or "non-ecclesiastical" Christian literature to be expected, when it is treated, not as representing a positive interpretation of the Christianity, but as a mere factor conditioning the development of "ecclesiastical" literature? Surely no historical phenomenon can come by its rights when treated as the foil or dark background of something else. It is this which has made the "Catholic" handling of Gnosticism in the past so unfruitful, from the earliest heresiologists down to our own day, until Protestants taught a larger and more charitable philosophy of history, through which alone such an account as Bardenhewer himself gives has been rendered possible. One has a right to ask him whether he accepts the old Catholic view of heresy, especially *gnosis*, that it was simply the joint issue of the devil and the sinful elements in human nature. This is the "ecclesiastical" history of heresy, and must in essence be so on its assumed premisses. Well may Krüger exclaim: "So long as a literary history proceeds from 'ecclesiastical' points of view, so long will the heretics do well to remain out of it".

The fact is, Bardenhewer tends to confuse two things, or at least to deny that they can be studied apart, *viz.*, the history of the literary forms utilised or created by the Christian leaven at work in society, and the history of the ideas thus embodied, as related to a stream of dogmatic truth supernaturally safeguarded by certain channels which may be formally defined. The former—a modern, scientific

or purely historical study—examines all literature that names the name of Christ in sincerity, and strives to show how the new Christian motive claimed the various available media of self-expression, and how it modified or was modified by what it used. The latter is in essence the history of doctrines or dogmas, as controlled by the “Catholic” consciousness. The method which Bardenhewer feels imposed on him in his *Patrologie* (as he confesses that it is) by the subjection of the literary aspect to the dogmatic, is one which may be necessary for the pedagogic needs of the seminary—where the faith must be formally guarded in every discussion; but is alien to the spirit and unfriendly to the objective results of strict literary history. Not that the latter means elimination of the inner motives at work in the literary product, but only the waiving of questions as to the adequacy of the motives or ideas as measured by the full-orbed truth of Christian revelation. With this distinction in mind, we need not scruple, as Bardenhewer does, to include the New Testament writings in such a history of Christian literature. For we do not thereby question their unique fulness of inspiration, which does not depend upon the literary forms in which their messages are embodied, but upon those messages themselves—though the very directness of religious interest inspiring these primitive writings tends to guarantee a certain natural proportion between the message and its form, and to exclude artificiality. To relegate these literary aspects of the Biblical literature for ever to a separate discipline called Introduction, is a mere formal make-believe. It only obscures the facts of the case in their real continuity (which is greatest on the literary or specifically human side), and prevents the intrinsic superiority of the New Testament writings from making their own impression on the candid mind, as placed in juxtaposition with the other members of the series to which they historically belong. To shun such comparison is obscurantism, not reverent faith.

On the whole, then, we may regret that our author has chosen, for dogmatic reasons, to write a history of early ecclesiastical literature, rather than of Christian literature

as such. It does scant historical justice to the "heretics," who pioneered the Church's way in literary activity, as in most other respects; for "the Gnostic sects were at first far more active than the Church, especially in the direction of Exegesis" (Swete, *Patristic Study*, p. 34). It also involves much unreality in substance as well as form. Many non-ecclesiastical writings were at least as orthodox in character as some of those by "ecclesiastical" men, like Justin, Melito, Clement, and others, who wrote books which the later Church "willingly let die" for what seemed to it very good reason.¹ Nay, from the Roman Catholic standpoint, the inclusion of the Fathers of the Greek Church is really *ultra vires*, save on the ludicrous assumption that they, unlike their successors, would have accepted Roman papal claims. On the other hand, Bardenhewer having made his choice, we may thankfully take his work for what it is, protesting only against his use of question-begging phrases like "Protestant Rationalism"—to which he traces the growth of a science of Christian literature as an independent historical study (though with more careful limitation in the preface to vol. ii., than marked his use of it in vol. i.). Evolutionary methods in the study of the forms found in the growth of Christian literature, are no more liable to such partisan epithets, than in the field of natural phenomena. If one were to be tempted into following our author in his prefatory polemic, it would be pertinent to point out that the "ecclesiastical" attitude formerly proved fatal to truly historic exegesis of, say, the "Apostolic Fathers," the best "Catholic" handling of which to-day is (once more) "conditioned by heretical literature," *i.e.*, modern Protestant scholarship. But we prefer to close with hearty recognition of this Patrology as a great achievement and a real service to serious patristic study in any and every Church.

¹ This "eloquence of silence" is well brought out in the essay *Grundzüge der Überlieferungsgeschichte der vornicänischen Litteratur in älterer Zeit*, prefixed to Harnack's *Gesch. der altchristl. Litt.*, vol. i., which deserves more notice than it seems to have received, at least in England.

VERNON BARTLET.

Assyriology and the Old Testament.

Die babylonisch-assyrischen Keilinschriften und ihre Bedeutung für das Alte Testament. Ein assyriologischer Beitrag zur Babel-Bibel Frage, von Dr. C. Bezold, o. ö. Professor der Orientalischen Philologie in Heidelberg. Mit 100 Anmerkungen und 12 Abbildungen. Tübingen: Mohr, 1904. Price M.1.50.

IN the Babel-Bibel controversy the theologian who has but a slight acquaintance with Assyriology can estimate the value of the theistic theories of Assyriologists whose theological knowledge is elementary. Much confusion of thought would have been avoided if specialists in Assyriology had been content to present their facts, unencumbered by inferences and hypotheses, to specialists in theology. Dr. Bezold is an expert in Oriental Philology who never wanders from the domain in which he has, for many years, been a successful explorer. His catalogue in five volumes of the *Cuneiform Tablets in the Koujunjik Collection of the British Museum* is a greatly valued book of reference, and his *Ninive und Babylon* (2nd edition, 1903) is one of the most popular of Heyck's *Monographien zur Weltgeschichte*. As long ago as 1886 Dr. Bezold published his *Kurzgefasster Ueberblick über die babylonisch-assyrische Literatur*; in the same year he became editor-in-chief of the new journal—*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*; he is also one of Schrader's most trusted helpers in the editing of the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*. With most of the questions which have recently been treated in some quarters as novelties he has long been familiar; in 1889 his researches enabled historians to fix the date of Hammurabi, for he first deciphered an inscription which stated that Hammurabi erected a temple to the Sun-God 700 years before Burnaburiyasch—a Babylonian ruler to whom reference is made on the Tel-el-Amarna tablets (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. xi., p. 87 f.).

The substance of Dr. Bezold's work consists of a lecture delivered last July, in Karlsruhe, before a scientific union of evangelical clergy, but the addition of a hundred notes greatly increases its value. These terse notes often reveal the writer's familiarity with the whole range of literature connected with his subject, and furnish the student with trustworthy and discriminating guidance. In his dedication Dr. Bezold has given an excellent description of himself: *opperto experto sacrum*; he has fulness of knowledge, but is never hasty in judgment. At the present juncture the scientific conclusions of a scholar who possesses this too rare combination of qualities have peculiar value. A brief statement of his position in regard to some leading questions will suffice to indicate his point of view.

The decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions is shown to have yielded great and manifold gains to the Old Testament student. On the cylinders and clay-tablets discovered in the plains of Mesopotamia references have been found to kings and countries mentioned in the Old Testament. The information thus brought to light has cleared up obscurities in biblical chronology and has furnished data for the writing of authentic history. For example, Sargon, the conqueror of Samaria (Isa. xx. 1), and "the great and noble Osnappar" (Ezra iv. 10) are no longer shadowy personages. A comparison of the biblical history with the Assyrian and Babylonian narratives has resulted in the confirmation of the general trustworthiness of both sources, though in both there is manifest a tendency to dwell on successful enterprises and to relate disasters with reserve. In this connexion, honourable mention is made of Dr. Nagel's monograph, *Der Zug des Sanherib gegen Jerusalem* (1902); in this writer's judgment "the biblical account is a thoroughly trustworthy historical source. . . . The authors do not disavow their Israelitish point of view; but this does not lead to any partisan manipulation of the facts, as in the case of an Assyrian court chronicler. Jahveh not only gives his people victory, but also permits them to be in need and distress." Agreement is expressed with Zimmern's identification of Jerusalem with

the *Urusalim* of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets ; Dr. Bezold also inclines to the view that the *Chabiri*, of whom the inscriptions speak as a nomad race migrating to Canaan, are the Hebrews.

In the famous address of Prof. Delitzsch, Canaan is described as "completely a domain of Babylonian culture," when the Israelites settled there. In Dr. Bezold's judgment the facts do not warrant such a statement ; the histories of Babylon and of Canaan are alike in revealing nothing more than an occasional political contact between the two nations. The histories cannot be compared to two concentric circles, but at the most to two circles whose circumferences intersect. The cuneiform inscriptions do not afford the least justification for the imaginative filling up of the gaps in Israel's early history from the astral mythology of the Babylonians. Assyriologists have always recognised the existence of a common legendary element ; as e.g., Nöldeke called attention in 1876 to a Persian parallel to the story of the rescue of the infant Moses. But in all such cases the basis of a sound judgment is a comprehensive acquaintance with the myths of various nations, and it is always essential that the agreement in the narratives should extend to details. Winckler has done well to lay his hypothesis before those who are competent to estimate their value, but his premature publishing in a popular form of theories which are unconfirmed is a "mistake harmful to science".

The identification of Hammurabi with Amraphel is strongly opposed on philological grounds ; also on account of its requiring "King of Shinar" (Gen. xiv. 1) to be interpreted "King of Babylon," contrary to invariable Scriptural usage. In the notes this subject is investigated in detail. Winckler's elaborate reconstruction of the history of Abraham in his *Abraham als Babylonier, Joseph als Aegypter* is said to fall to the ground and to derive no support from the cuneiform inscriptions. Theologians are warned of the danger of confusing "the absolutely certain results of Assyriology" with premature inferences and hastily formed hypotheses. The latest results of the study of the library of Sardanapulus has

made us acquainted with many of the gods of the Babylonian Pantheon, but the word *ilu* (God) never occurs as a proper name; Delitzsch is not justified in assuming the existence of a form *Jahve-ilu* with the significance "Jahveh is God". As regards Delitzsch's statement that "the gods are one in Marduk, the god of light," Prof. Oppert of Paris, the "Nestor of living Assyriologists," is said to have completely refuted this argument for the monotheism of the Babylonians. Dr. Bezold adds that parallel texts from the tablets might be cited to prove that sometimes the gods are said to be one in Bel, in Ea, in Ramman, etc., in the same sense in which they are said to be one in Marduk.

Of the direct dependence on Babylonian sources of some biblical narratives, as *e.g.*, that of the Flood, Dr. Bezold has no doubt; on the other hand he is of opinion that there is no sufficient ground for saying that the laws of Moses were derived from the laws of Hammurabi, or that the origin of the Sabbath can be traced to Babylon. In regard to all these questions Dr. Bezold repeatedly says that he speaks as an Assyriologist, not as a theologian. Gunkel's *Israel und Babylonien* he describes as favourably distinguished from many works, which discuss these important questions from a theological point of view, by its "familiarity with the cuneiform inscriptions".

Dr. Bezold thinks that "the modest, unprejudiced Assyriologist" has legitimate cause for pride as he contemplates the fruit which this "branch of the tree of Semitic Philology" has borne in the course of a few decades. But "thousands of texts have yet to be deciphered"; at present therefore "the construction of systems is a waste of time". What is needful is the acquisition by Assyriologists of that thorough philological knowledge, which cannot be gained to-day "except by a study of Arabic"; the inscriptions must then be translated utterly regardless of what they may say. "So far, the progress made in their decipherment has shown that knowledge of their contents is a help to the understanding of the Old Testament, that instead of causing obscurity it gives light, and instead of pulling down, it builds up."

J. G. TASKER.

Die Ethik Jesu.

Von Eduard Grimm. Hamburg: Verlag von Grefe und Tiedemann, 1903. Pp. 293. Price 4s.

Wissenschaftliche Ethik und moralische Gesetzgebung.

Grundgedanken einer Kritik der gegenwärtigen Ethik. Von Otto Ritschl. Tübingen und Leipzig: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1903. Pp. 43. Price 1s. net.

IN this most attractive volume Eduard Grimm has given us not a severely scientific text-book, but a series of more or less popular lectures on Christian Ethics. In the central chapters—some of the titles, for instance, are “Die Kennzeichen des Sittlichen,” “Der Wert der Persönlichkeit,” “Egoismus und Altruismus,” “Moral und Religion”—the deepest problems of ethics are wisely and adequately handled; yet the touch is not only sure but light, and the German is almost French in its simplicity and clearness, every other page being lit up by a happy phrase or a striking illustration. The strong point of the book is the endeavour—most apparent in the chapter entitled “Das Zeitgeschichtliche an der Person Jesu,” but carried out all through—to distinguish in Christ and His teaching between the merely temporal and the eternal, between the passing form and the abiding substance. Thus, speaking of the originality of Jesus, Grimm says that it lies not in the mere words, which may have been used before, but in the sense or content which His creative personality put into them, just as the greatness of a poet consists not in finding new material, but in taking old tales and filling them with new life. “Is Goethe’s *Faust* any the less original because so many before him had tried their hand upon the same story?” So a little later he suggests that Christ’s life and words are like old pictures; the setting and the dress

and the imagery are of a certain time and place, but the meaning or content is eternal and makes its appeal to age after age unfailingly. His whole treatment of the Gospels as sources is most sane and liberal, and the difficulties of the question, instead of being shirked, are brought out into the open and courageously faced. Very timely, by the way, is the remark that the conditions under which the history of the past is knowable at all, are not to be made more strict in the case of Jesus. In a book that makes so delightful reading it may seem ungracious to pick out faults, but perhaps it ought to be pointed out that in his anxiety not to put too much into Christ's sayings Grimm sometimes puts too little—for example, into those regarding His death, in which, after the manner of Wendt, he refuses to find the slightest hint of atonement. Does he not forget here that the Epistles were written before the Gospels, and that the atoning significance there given to Christ's death must have had, to say the least, some point of contact with His mind and teaching?

Otto Ritschl has in hand a large work in which he is to give us a critique of present-day Ethics, and, by way of preparing us for that, sets forth in this little book the principles on which he is to proceed. His great demand—is it not the demand of every German writer nowadays?—is for that which shall be scientific, “wissenschaftlich”. Just as theology ceases to be scientific whenever, as apologetic, it tries to be practical and bring succour to religious faith (which, of course, says the son of Ritschl, it never does), so whenever ethic poses as normative and proposes to deduce or establish moral rules, it sinks from the level of pure science. All that is normative or practical, all that has to do with moral precepts, belongs to the province of Morals: but Ethics has to do not at all with the contents but solely with the forms of the moral life. Hence even Kant went beyond the true scientific limit when he brought in the categorical imperative and suggested a practical formula. Science, as general, has

nothing to do with moral laws which are concrete and have always arisen in definite historical circumstances, but is concerned with the formal idea of moral law and with that alone. In explanation of the second part of the title it may be added that after marking off merely purposive action from the truly moral will, the essence of which he says is obedience to commands it feels bound in conscience to obey, and after arguing, in a way that recalls Bain, that true moral obedience is developed through obedience to rules imposed on us by parents, teachers and society, Ritschl asks us to draw a sharp distinction between these: "*Sittlich* nämlich ist die Gesetzgebung, deren Grund das eigene Gewissen, und derer Erscheinung die aus diesem hervorgehenden Pflichtgebote sind. *Moralisch* dagegen ist die Gesetzgebung, die anderen Menschen in der Absicht, sie zu erziehen und ihren Willen zu bilden, zum geringeren Theile auch aus sittlichen, zum grösseren Theile jedoch aus sittlich indifferenten Gründen, Gebote auferlegt und deren Befolgung durch Strenge oder Milde, durch physischen oder moralischen Zwang erreicht und durchsetzt."

The thought is not obscure, but the style is heavy and involved, and much that is said is not really new but only for a moment appears to be so, because it is unfamiliarly expressed or with uncommon clumsiness. But it is scarcely fair, even were it possible, to criticise what after all is only a preface: in which there are many good things—especially the closing pages on the nature and value of ideals—which whet the appetite for the larger work.

JOHN LENDRUM.

Reden und Aufsätze.

Von Adolf Harnack. Giessen: Ricker, 1903. 2 vols., 8vo, x. + 349 and viii. + 379. Price 10s.; bound 12s.

IN these volumes Professor Harnack has collected lectures and essays, delivered or published by him on various occasions during the last twenty years. They are selected with the special object of reaching a wider class of readers than theological students. The publication of his last popular work, *What is Christianity?* has made him widely known in this country, and those who can read German will find a perusal of this work well worth their while.

In each volume the first half contains lectures while the latter portion consists of essays. Naturally the lectures take a wider sweep than the essays, and are interesting as showing us that a close and minute study of Christian origins by no means cramps the professor's general outlook, but rather supplies him with that fuller sense of the drift of things which an exact knowledge of the historical evolution of religious ideas is calculated to impart to the mind. But Harnack's primary interest is in early Church history. As he truly remarks, when the study of early Christianity has once laid its spell upon a man, it never lets him go. It is therefore to the essays, which deal with the engrossing problems of early Church history, that we will first turn. The most recent is one published last year on the history of the origin of the New Testament (vol. ii., p. 237). The conclusion arrived at is the same as that which Harnack had reached as long ago as 1889, when he published a critique of the first volume of Th. Zahn's *History of the Canon of the New Testament*, entitled "The New Testament about the year 200". In it he contended that originally only Gospels and Apocalypses ranked with the Old Testament, and our present "Acts

of the Apostles" displaced a number of earlier "Acts," just as the fourfold Gospel a number of earlier Gospels. By the middle of the third century our New Testament had grown up as a canonical whole, with the exception of 2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, James, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and probably also the Apocalypse and Jude. This settlement of the canon was probably the work of the Roman Church, with the co-operation of the Church of Asia Minor. A natural process whereby a number of earlier Gospels were being gradually amalgamated into one harmonised Gospel was arrested in the second century *c.* A.D. 120-130, by Gnosticism. The Church fixed the text of the fourfold Gospel arrived at in Asia Minor as authentic. The professor does not say how the Church fixed it, but implies that the process of change suddenly stopped, because men were dismayed at the extravagant additions to the original text made by the Gnostics. He is almost certainly right, but there is evidence that this anti-gnostic process also involved interpolations and omissions in the evangelic texts made with the pious object of refuting certain of the more extreme Gnostic sects, such as the Cainites. The inclusion of the Epistles of St. Paul in the Canon was due, as Harnack ingeniously argues, to a similar anti-gnostic process. Marcion and the Gnostics gave St. Paul such a high place as the interpreter of Christ that the "great Church" could not appear to esteem him less highly. His Epistles did not, however, come to be regarded as Scripture till after A.D. 160. By A.D. 181 they are represented in the Acts of the Scillitan martyrs as sacred writings, and kept as such together with the Old Testament and the Gospels in the archives of the Church.

Harnack leaves the thorny question of the Acts on one side in this essay. If we follow his earlier book already referred to, we should have to suppose that a number of earlier "Acts" were gradually amalgamated into a canonical collection of Acts, just as a number of earlier Gospels were into a canonical fourfold Gospel. And research, as luminously sketched in the last essay of this volume, has already brought to light fragments of old Acts of John, and Peter, and a large

portion of the old Acts of Paul is on the eve of being published by Karl Schmidt.

In the essay on the Apostles' Creed (vol. i., p. 219) which called forth such a storm of protest, and brought the whole question of the Virgin birth into prominence, the most doubtful statement appears to me to be one on p. 249. Harnack is speaking of the old Roman form of the Creed, and of the additions which distinguish the present form of the Creed from it, and observes :—

“ It makes no difference in the practical content and sense of the ancient symbol that in our Creed ‘suffered’ has been added to ‘crucified,’ ‘dead’ inserted before ‘buried,’ and ‘eternal life’ added to ‘Resurrection of the flesh,’ or that ‘God the Father Almighty’ is expressly designated as ‘Creator of heaven and earth,’ or finally that for ‘born of Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin’ it is now said ‘conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.’ ”

The last instance, he holds, can at most only be regarded as a case in which the earlier Creed observes a wiser reserve than the later. Loofs (*Das Apostolikum*, 1895, p. 5), writing three years later than Harnack, says : “ The words ‘Creator of heaven and earth’ are an addition which was probably originally made because in the second century there were groups of half-Pagan, half-Christian people, who distinguished the highest God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, from the God who created the world, whom they held to be an inferior Being ”.

The term Almighty implies one, as he further explains, by whose will everything came into being and still comes into being, but there is no reference in this epithet to creation as the immediate work of God. It would be open to those who wished it, to say that God had delegated the work of creation to another, and this is exactly what is practically said by Ptolemæus, the disciple of Valentinus, in his letter to the Roman lady Flora. Harnack, on p. 283, remarks that views expressed in Valentinian circles may very well have been those of a party within the Church. If so, the old Roman Creed may have so framed the first article as not to exclude

a certain section of the Valentinians, and it seems to me that the same is true of the other omissions of the old Roman Creed. It would be strange indeed in view of the insistence of the Fourth Gospel on the reality of Christ's death, if the anti-Docetic party had not been anxious to insert an explicit reference in the Creed to the sufferings and death of Christ. Probably it was pointed out to them that the words "crucified" and "buried" really implied the sufferings and death, and that they would be wise to conciliate those earnest Christians who could not bring themselves to think that Christ had really suffered. We know that the author of the monarchian prologues makes use of the Acts of John, as if the Docetic views expressed in these Acts were still current in Church circles. We know also that the Gospel of Peter speaks of Christ as having been "taken up" at the beginning of the Passion. Perhaps this meant that his spirit, like St. Paul's, was "caught up" into Paradise, and so felt no suffering. There is certainly evidence that the words said in our Gospel to have been spoken from the Cross were, some of them, in earlier forms of the Gospel, represented as spoken on the way to the Cross. It would be natural then to conciliate a large body of Christians by the omission of the words in question. And it may be that the clause "born of Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin" was also a compromise between the parties in the Church. There were those who were ready to say that Christ's mother was the Holy Spirit (so the Gospel according to the Hebrews), inasmuch as He was the pre-existent Son of God, but who yet denied the Virgin birth. These were ready also to admit that He was "born of the Virgin" mentioned by the prophet Isaiah, and so was the promised "Son of David". They held the Adoptian view of the descent of Christ upon the man Jesus at His Baptism. This is explained by the view current in Valentinian circles that the soul and its angel were united in a spiritual *συνύψις* in Baptism. Clearly in the case of Jesus, His angel was conceived of as the angel of the Lord, *i.e.*, God. Thus the Adoptians did not deserve the reproach so freely poured out against them by later controversial writers that they took a purely

human view of Christ. It is true Justin Martyr was a contemporary; he speaks of them as Christians, but declares their view to mean that Christ was a "man born of men". Probably he did not understand Jewish angelology sufficiently to realise the Adoptian standpoint. Probably all the early Christians believed in the Divinity of Christ, only the Jews in those days denied it, simply because they did not believe Jesus to be the Messiah. For these reasons the old Roman Creed seems to me to have been a compromise.

While we are on this ground, we may perhaps turn to the first lecture in the second volume, in which Harnack deals with another burning question. It is entitled, "Christianity and History," but its main thesis is, "Is it true that historical criticism has either destroyed the historical basis of the Image of Christ current in Christianity, or rendered it insecure?" Harnack replies that the present continued influence of the Personality of Christ confirms the historic reality of His Person. In a fine passage he declares "only of one man do we know that He united the deepest humility and purity of will with the claim to be more than all prophets who were before Him—the Son of God. Only of Him do we know that those who ate and drank with Him valued Him not only as their Teacher, Prophet, and King, but as the Prince of Life, the Saviour and Judge of the World, the living power of their being—'It is not I that live, but Christ liveth in Me'—and that presently, in addition to them, a whole chorus of Jews and Heathen, of wise men and fools, confessed that out of the fulness of this One man they had received grace for grace." He insists on the pre-eminent fact of the influence of Christ on the personality of every Christian; "from Him the Life has streamed forth, which they now carry within them as their life"—and this as the first and last members of a series of personalities, reaching back from the individual Christian to the individual historical Christ.

At the same time, with his usual candour, he remarks that it is true that in some important respects modern research has invalidated the evidence for what had hitherto been reckoned amongst the prime facts of the history of Christ. "Shattered

is the tradition of the beginnings of the life history of Jesus Christ; shattered is the credibility of many a story related of Him, and criticism cannot set aside the old grievous doubts awakened by the narratives of the events of Easter morning."

It is one of the weak points in Harnack's position that he does not fall back upon the story of the Resurrection in 1 Cor. xv. as the great charter of Christianity: he treats the continued existence of Christ after death rather as a matter of faith, than as resting on the Revelation of the Risen Lord. And here surely he makes a grievous mistake. No one can doubt the historical fact that the early Christians saw the Risen Christ. Then why rob multitudes of a prop to their faith as to which there can be none of "those grievous doubts awakened by the narratives of the events of Easter morning"? I trust I do not misjudge Harnack in this matter, but that is the impression which his writings have left on my mind. It is with pleasure that one can quote another remark in this lecture. "Much which had hastily been given up, has been reaffirmed by a more searching inquiry and a wider experience. Who would to-day, *e.g.*, deal so hastily as earlier scholars with the wonderful miracles of healing in the evangelic narrative?" The following is also illustrative of his point of view—"In defending anything as historical fact, one may be taken to defend rather the spiritual thought therewith connected. In, and by, the statement 'conceived by the Holy Ghost' the divine sonship of Jesus Christ is the fact stated; in, and with, the message which told of His ascension, is stated the fact that He lives and reigns with the Father." In short, to use the quaint phrase of the first essay of the first volume, these are "true legends".

In the lecture on "Monasticism, its Ideals, and its History," both the strength and the weakness of mediæval monasticism is well brought out, and its very different history in East and West is contrasted. In the East it was a useless institution, but proved a great civilising force in the West. But when it is stated that monasticism is not as old as the Church, and Christ is said neither to have lived as an ascetic Himself, nor to have seen any holiness in asceticism as such, one does not

feel quite sure that this is exactly true. Did not Christ pronounce those who left all property and all the ties of home life, to take up their Cross and follow Him, blessed? Did He not say that some had made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of Heaven's sake? or are we to suppose that this is not of the essence of the Gospel? Did He not call on all men to "take up their Cross," which appears to have been equivalent to "live an ascetic life"? If all were called to take up their Cross, and those who would be perfect to give up all property, it is difficult not to see here something of the spirit of the triple monastic vow of poverty, chastity and humility. And was there not a historical connexion between the Essenes and Christian monasticism? Harnack admits that such a movement as the Encratite movement in Egypt in the second century was anticipatory of monasticism. The popularity of the Encratite Acts amongst the monks sufficiently demonstrates a connexion. And were not the Encratites an outgrowth from Essenism? It was Essene Judaisers who were rebuked by St. Paul for an overstrained asceticism—"Touch not, taste not, handle not"—and the Essene condemnation of all sacrifice is a strong point in the teaching of the Peter of the Encratite Acts. It may be that no Essene brotherhoods can be traced in Egypt. But was there not an order of Essenes which is described by Jewish writers as one of the Jewish sects, and which appears to have stood to the Essene brotherhoods as the third order of St. Francis did to the Friars? These "lay brethren" would spread the tenets of the Ebionites, or "poor men," far and wide. One suspects that "Ebionite" and "Essene" were practically identical, and that the Encratite movement was really Gnostic, springing from the doctrine of the inherent evil of matter, which caused this branch of the Essenes to discourage all marriage. Even if this be as yet too theoretical a point of view to be insisted upon, one cannot help thinking that Harnack, on the other hand, too completely ignores the possibility of such a view. It cannot be taken as axiomatic that monasticism is simply a later accretion. Of course the bands of enthusiastic men and women who believed the world

was almost immediately coming to an end, and that therefore those who had wives should be as though they had none, and that those who were unmarried should remain as they were, were not "monastic communities," but their ideal was that state of life, shortly, as they believed, to be realised, when there should be no more marrying nor giving in marriage; and as these Christian enthusiasts gradually settled down into communities, it was natural that those of them who were Essenes should approximate their mode of life to the well-known Essene brotherhoods, and that the Church, in general, should regard the celibate life as its ideal.

An interesting confirmation of such an original connexion between monasticism and these Christian Essenes, who were from a Pauline point of view inclined to heresy, is the fact to which Harnack incidentally draws attention on p. 113, that the monks c. A.D. 400 had no reputation for orthodoxy, but were rather regarded as tinged with Manichæism. It is known that Martin of Tours much resented the condemnation of Priscillian, the then representative of extreme Encratite views. A brief indication of the remaining essays and lectures must suffice. There are several which deal with Luther and the Reformation, a sympathetic study of St. Augustine's confessions, others again, full of stimulating thoughts on social and educational questions, and missionary problems, and two very interesting lectures on the Roman Church, one of these, in particular, on "The Testament of Leo XIII.," is well worth reading. One of the essays is reprinted in English from the *Contemporary Review* on "The Present State of Research in Early Church History," and together with the essay in vol. i. on "The Most Recent Discoveries in the Province of the Earliest Church History," presents a valuable conspectus of the progress in theological discovery during the last generation. The book, as a whole, is more interesting to German than to English readers, but those English readers who wish to find Harnack's point of view on the burning questions of theology clearly and forcibly stated, will be glad to read the essays and lectures above referred to.

J. H. WILKINSON.

Geschichte der Logosidee in der christlichen Litteratur.

Von Anathon Aall, Ph.D. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland.

8vo, pp. xvii. + 493.

THIS is the second volume of a treatise on the history of the Logos. In the first volume the author discussed the idea of the Logos as presented in Greek philosophy. In this volume he traces its Christian rendering as exhibited in some of the earlier New Testament books and the Fourth Gospel, in non-canonical letters and gospels, in the works of such notable apologists as Justin Martyr, Tatian and Theophilus, and finally in its Alexandrian finished form as developed by Clement, Origen and Plotinus.

The volume is more remarkable for assiduous investigation and patient exegesis than for original or bright writing. The sixth chapter on the Alexandrian treatment of the Logos doctrine is the strongest in the book, and probably reflects the author's inclinations most freely. There is a lack of power about the exegetical portions which disappears when the author begins to deal with the early Christian apologists, and is entirely outgrown when he comes to the Alexandrian theology. But while this unevenness affects the value of the book, the clearness of the style and the full discussion of the history of the doctrine command attention.

In his biblical review the author examines the Epistles to the Colossians and to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse, for the first traces of the Logos doctrine in the New Testament. Then he discusses fully the more complete contribution of the Fourth Gospel. In Colossians he finds a strongly Philonic tendency, especially in the first chapter. The phrase "image of God" is a Philonic term used to express the relation of the Logos to God. And the follow-

ing expressions occurring in the Epistle—*ἀρχή, κεφαλή, πρωτότοκος, πλήρωμα*—are keynotes in the Philonic exposition of the Logos. The function of Christ as giver of Light reveals Philonic influence. The Logos as the interpreter of the Invisible God is a Light-bringer.

Passing on to the Epistle to the Hebrews, the author finds in the Melchisedec analogy, in the teaching (iv. 12) about the Word of God, and in such phrases as "the express image of the Father's person," echoes of Philonic terminology current in Alexandria.

In the Apocalypse, which our author places considerably anterior to the Fourth Gospel, there are similar expressions as to the Word of God which seem Philonic.

But it is in the Fourth Gospel that the Logos doctrine is truly elucidated. The author attributes the Gospel to the Presbyter John, who drew his information from the son of Zebedee. He dates the Gospel about A.D. 110, and divides it into two main parts, thus: Prologue, i. 1-18; first part, i. 19 to xii. 36, containing the central teaching, and closing with an epilogue, xii. 37-50. Then comes the second part which deals with catastrophes of the end of Christ's ministry—xiii. to xx. In this Gospel we have an historian preaching, using historical materials for the purposes of theological doctrine or religious edification. In the prologue references to the Logos there are Philonic echoes and original touches. Representations of the Logos as life, truth, light, grace, are in keeping with Philo, but John's references to Christ's pre-existence with God are his own, according to our author. In the ethical region John agrees with Philo in teaching that the highest character is obtained by participation in the nature of the Logos. The Spirit's function is to apply the words and things of Christ, the Logos who spake as never man spake. The energy of the Logos in the sphere of Nature is taught both by John and Philo. So is the origin of the Logos from God as the medium of God's working in the creational sphere. But while Philo's Logos is pure Reason, John's Logos has a mediatorial function. In Philo the Logos is Reason educating men up to their

highest. In John the Logos is the Incarnate Son of God who comes to take away sin. Herein lies a great contrast.

So far the author has considered the Biblical data. He now proceeds to examine the extra-canonical writings. He finds in early Christian thinking the introduction of semi-supernatural forces—assistant Logoi, such as Spirit, Powers, Angels, Demons. He traces these to their respective sources, Spirit to the Old Testament, Powers to Babylonian astrological conceptions, Angels to Jewish writings, and Demons to Greek thought. The whole supernatural apparatus that intervenes between man and God is an Alexandrian addition to New Testament teaching. In Alexandria the tendencies of European and Asiatic thinking met: and they coloured the Christian idea of the Logos. The Stoic and the neo-Pythagorean schools were modified in Alexandria by Asiatic influences, and Christian doctrine had in its turn to be modified to meet these popular currents of thought. Heathen deities were regarded as demon forces working against the Logos, and requiring extermination by the power of light. The author passes in review the Epistles of Clement, Barnabas, the Ignatian Epistles, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Gospel of the Hebrews, and similar writings. The Logos of God is regarded as breaking the ethical silence of past ages, and bringing forth the certainty of revelation to teach men the higher life and convince them of sin. Our author thinks that the Christian doctrine of the Logos may be traced to Stoic influence as modified by Alexandrian teaching and developed by Philo. But though interesting as a speculation, and therefore bulking largely in early Christian discussions, it is not of the first importance theologically. It is more or less indefinitely taught in the New Testament, and yet it became the theological shibboleth of early Christianity.

The author then considers the manner in which Christian apologists such as Justin Martyr, Tatian and Theophilus of Antioch handled the doctrine of the Logos. Justin derived his Logos doctrine from his doctrine of God, in which he combined Platonic Theism with Stoic Pantheism. His Logos, a product of Philonised Stoicism is made to coincide

with the person of Jesus, as subordinate to God, and yet divine. Justin works chiefly in the ethical sphere, and finds the function of the Logos to consist in bringing men to God and to their highest development. The Incarnation took place for the redemption of man.

Tatian was the greatest Christian dialectician. He treats the Logos as an unfathomable philosophical symbol. The Logos, as the first-born work of the Father, creates the world and man and finally communicates to man the wisdom of God. Tatian recognises the Incarnation, but treats it rather on the religio-philosophical side than on the soteriological. The Logos has to lead man by knowledge and reason to the Father. The Christian is born again by the Logos.

Theophilus discriminating the Logos from Jesus, treats it as a philosophical abstraction representing the Reason of God working on the hearts of men. Its beneficent operation, however, is in its highest form reserved for Christians. Thus the Logos is not a mediator between God and man.

In the final chapters the author deals with the history of the Doctrine of the Logos during the heresy combats that divided the early Church, and exhibits the potent influence on the shaping of the doctrine exerted by the great Christian Alexandrian theologians, Clement, Origen and Plotinus, the last mentioned being reckoned among the Alexandrians although his activity was chiefly Roman.

This work is of unequal value, but is animated by a scholarly purpose, and succeeds in gathering together without undue condensation the history of the doctrine of the Logos. The historical treatment is more thorough than the exegetical.

ALEX. TOMORY.

1. La Sociologie Positiviste—Auguste Comte.

Par Maurice Defourny, Docteur en Philosophie. Paris: Felix Alcan; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. Large 8vo, pp. 370.

2. Das Vaterunser.

Von Otto Dibelius. Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 180. Price 5s. net.

3. Studien zu Eusebs Theophanie.

Von Lic. Dr. Hugo Gressmann, Privatdocent in Kiel. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 154 and 69. Price 8s.

4. Die nestorianische Taufliturgie.

Von Lic. Dr. G. Diettrich. Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 103. Price 4s.

5. Die Theologie der neuentdeckten Predigten Novatians.

Von Hermann Jordan. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. Large 8vo, pp. ix. + 224. Price 4s. 6d.

6. La Notion Johannique de l'Esprit.

Par Maurice Goguel. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. Large 8vo, pp. 171.

7. Die Moderne Weltanschauung und das apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss.

Von August Triümpelmann. Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 395. Price 7s. net.

8. Le Miracle.

Par Dr. Pierre. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. 12mo, pp. 111.

1. THIS work contains (a) a short life of Comte; (b) a synopsis of what may be called his sociological writings; (c) a critical estimate of Comte's system. The author is a sympathiser with that system, and considers the present

time opportune for the issue of a work on Comte, owing to the new-born interest in sociology considered as a science. But the growth of scientific sociology will only put out of date more than ever Comte's treatises, which, while eminently interesting, do not meet the complex problems of western civilisation, as these have been modified by democracy and industrial expansion in our day. Still as a distinct contribution to social philosophy, Comte's *Cours de Philosophie positive*, *Appendice générale de la Politique positive* and *Système de Politique Positive*, will always have historical value for the student. But Benjamin Kidd and Giddings and other recent writers have shown a far more sympathetic grasp of modern social phenomena than the formal method of Comte permitted. Comte's value is that he emancipated social philosophy from theological and metaphysical bias and laid the foundations for a positive or scientific study of the phenomena of society.

This treatise is a modest and clear statement of Comte's positions and a loyal attempt to preserve the master's fame from decay.

2. This book contains three distinct essays. The first examines the theory of prayer held by three Christian Fathers, *viz.*, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Gregory of Nyssa. The author concludes that Clement held the Platonic view that communion with God is the highest function of man and regarded prayer as a means of communion. But he also made room for extraordinary answers to prayer. Still he was essentially a Platonist, and as such had more faith in prayer as a means of communion than as petition for practical needs. Origen first threw his influence into the spiritualising of prayer. Later he came to see that the urgent needs of man and the desire for their satisfaction constituted an objective and practical motive more effective than that of communion with God. Gregory held that all prayer was petition for good things, temporal as well as spiritual. In the second essay the author considers the teaching of the above-named Fathers on the Lord's Prayer. And in the third essay, which covers 100 pages, he traces various renderings

of the Lord's Prayer from the fourth century down to the fifteenth, with special reference to the exposition of the same in Lutheran documents.

3. This book may be divided into two parts, (a) a critical summary of the teaching of Eusebius in his *Theophany* on the nature of God and the Logos, and the function of the Logos in the salvation of man; and (b) a textual discussion of the Syriac translation and comparison with the Greek text. An appendix of seventy pages is added containing a list of terms employed in the Syriac version with Greek equivalents.

4. This is a translation of the Syriac version of the baptismal liturgy of the Nestorian Church, the work of the Patriarch Isoyahb III. It is the oldest ritual for infant baptism, antedating by a thousand years any extant Western liturgy for infant baptism.

5. This is a very interesting and scholarly work on the so-called discourses of Novatian recently discovered. These twenty discourses were attributed to Origen, but as the result of the researches of various theologians they are now attributed to Novatian. He was an irregularly baptised priest in the third century who led the movement in favour of severity against those Christians who had lapsed under persecution, and who was made Bishop of Rome. The author in seeking to establish the Novatian authorship concludes that these discourses were written in Latin, that they belong to the era of the persecutions, and that the writer uses the arguments of Novatian. He criticises adversely the suggestion that they were compiled by a follower of Novatian from various writers and preachers as a synopsis of Novatian doctrine. After giving a summary of each of the twenty tractates the author discusses emendations of the text and compares these discourses with acknowledged writings of Novatian. Nearly half the book is devoted to a thorough exposition of their teaching on God the Father, on the Son in His subordination to God, in His work on earth and His

exaltation, and, finally, on the Holy Spirit. In the fifth chapter the author shows that the teaching of these discourses is not discordant with the ideas underlying the Novatian schism. This is a satisfying and fair-minded study in historical theology and may be heartily recommended.

6. This work is an exposition (*a*) of the non-Johannine teaching on the Holy Spirit, including Jewish teaching on the Spirit of God, Philonic conceptions, popular pre-Johannine conceptions of the Holy Spirit as shown in the Acts, the Apocalypse, the Pauline and Petrine Epistles and the Hebrews; and (*b*) of the Johannine teaching which our author finds in the Fourth Gospel. He discourses easily and popularly on the distinction between the two worlds of flesh and spirit and the function of the Spirit of Christ in saving men. The inspiration of Jesus by the Holy Spirit is an illustration of what the Spirit's power over men may become. The nature of the Spirit and the method of His operations are passed under review. There is nothing novel in the author's views. He is writing obviously for the general public rather than for theological students.

7. This is a popular and prolix work on the applicability of the various propositions of the so-called Apostles' Creed to the problems of modern thought. It is a homiletic work containing wholesome practical teaching, and on the whole maintaining the positions of the Creed, while allowing considerable latitude in interpretation. It is an interesting book for popular reading but it cannot be described as weighty or persuasive.

8. This book contains two discourses by Dr. Pierre on Miracles delivered at the People's University of Rouen. In the first the author deals with the doctrine of the miraculous, in the second with the facts. He believes in miracles, their possibility and their value. But he insists on scientific evidence for the occurrence of each alleged miracle.

ALEX. TOMORY.

The Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin. By
F. R. TENNANT, M.A., B.Sc., formerly Student of
Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Cambridge:
University Press, 1903. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 363. Price 9s.
net.

THIS volume is a sequel to the author's Hulsean Lectures on *The Origin and Propagation of Sin*. These lectures treated the question of the Fall and its consequences critically and inductively. This volume gives the results of a historical study of the sources and development of the doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin. Its argument is supplementary to that conducted in the earlier publication, and the author's hope is that it may be seen to sustain the view already stated of the validity of the doctrines under consideration. We cannot say that this hope is made good in all points. But there can be no hesitation in recognising the useful service which Mr. Tennant has done by bringing together so much matter taken from many different quarters, ancient and modern, bearing upon the origin and development of these doctrines.

The Old Testament narrative of the Fall is first examined in the light of criticism, ethnology and psychology. Here the value of the Jāhvist document, and the principles of exegesis applicable to the narrative in Genesis iii., come into view. The parallels in Phœnician, Egyptian, Babylonian, Greek, Iranian and Indian thought are also adduced. The conclusion reached is that the story is neither history, nor allegory, nor in the strict sense, myth, but that "its explanation ought to be nothing but its history," and that its "history is the history of its authors, not of its subjects"—that it is the record, in short, of certain stages of theological speculation. The preparation found in the Old Testament for a doctrine of the Fall and of Original Sin is

next unfolded, as it is seen in the use made of certain elements of the Fall-story, the ideas of the universality and inherence of sin, etc. Here it is denied that there is anything to show that "any connexion between human sinfulness and Adam's transgression had as yet occurred at all to the Hebrew mind". The teaching of the Apocryphal, Rabbinical and Pseudepigraphic literature is next exhibited, and the writer then proceeds to deal with St. Paul's doctrine. He concludes his history and argument by a careful induction of passages showing how the matters in question were regarded and expounded by the Christian Fathers before Augustine.

The reader will see that the book is one of large compass, and that not only has much toil been spent upon it, but that the toil has been with understanding. On a good many points we cannot accept the author's interpretations as adequate. We cannot follow him in saying it is doubtful whether in the Old Testament itself physical death is related to Adam's transgression. This rests on an imperfect apprehension of the penal character which death bears in the Old Testament, and there are facts enough, we believe, to make it a very strained view of things which only allows that the belief that "universal physical death was the outcome of the Fall is general from the time of Ben Sira". The great Pauline passages, again, are examined at considerable length, and much care is taken in stating the pros and cons for the competing explanations of Rom. v. 12-21. But we cannot accept this part of Mr. Tennant's argument as very satisfactory. An inadequate idea of the bearing of the paragraph indeed is indicated by the introductory remark that "it is not of much importance to ascertain here whether S. Paul, in Rom. v. 12 ff., uses *θάνατος* exclusively in the sense of physical death, as is maintained by most writers, or whether, after the example of the Book of Wisdom, and as in other places in his own Epistles, the word is endowed also with an ethical meaning". But, however it may be with these and other doubtful positions, Mr. Tennant's book will be of much use to theologians of all schools.

Neutestamentliche Apocryphen, in Verbindung mit Professor Dr. P. Drews, etc., in deutscher Uebersetzung und mit Einleitungen, herausgegeben von Lic. Dr. Edgar Hennecke, Pastor in Betheln (Hannover). Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904. 8vo, pp. xii. + 558. Price 6s. net.; bound, 7s. 6d. net.

Dr. Hennecke has done good service by the publication of this German translation of the New Testament Apocryphal books. He has secured the co-operation of a large body of scholars, each widely recognised as specially competent in his own line, including Drs. Drews, Ficker, Flemming, Geffcken, Knopf, Krüger, Meyer, Preuschen, Raabe, Rolfs, and others. The work has been well done, and the book is issued at a surprisingly low price. The editor's General Introduction discusses the questions relating to the distinctions between *canonical* and *apocryphal*, gives a summary historical statement of the origins of the primitive Christian literature and the Apocryphal writings, and a sketch of the history of inquiry on the subject, the various editions of the books, etc. Then follow the writings themselves in the order of Gospels, Epistles, didactic books and sermons, ecclesiastical books (*Didache* and *Didaskalia*), Apocalypses, and legendary Acts of Apostles. There are also good indices which greatly facilitate the use of the book. The undertaking was no easy one. It has been carried through with much success. The book should have a large circulation.

The Apocryphal and Legendary Life of Christ. By JAMES DE QUINCY DONEHOO, M.A., Rector of Grace Church, Monroe, La. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903. 8vo, pp. lix. + 531. Price 10s. 6d. net.

This also is a very useful publication. Its object is to "make accessible to the reader of English, in a form easily grasped, the whole body of that comparatively ancient extra-canonical literature which pretends to tell at first hand something of the life and words of Jesus Christ". In this

the author has succeeded, and it has cost him no small labour to do so. His book bears throughout the evidences of careful study and extensive investigation of authorities. And he has no illusions about the nature or value of his subject. He does not conceal from himself the fact that the literature in question "discloses to the investigator," as he puts it, "but few golden grains amidst an intolerable deal of chaff," and he knows well that it is impossible to resolve this literature into its constituent elements. Yet he thinks we may claim for it that, "weighed down, as it is, with the dreary verbosity of Gnostic madness, and the preposterous if lighter inventions of mediæval legend-mongers, it certainly bears across nearly nineteen centuries a few words from the divine Author of Christianity, and a few particulars as to His history upon which the four Gospels are silent". It is doubtful whether even this claim can be made good.

Mr. Donehoo begins with a pretty full statement of authorities, the main sources of the text, the lists of lost and fragmentary Gospels, the principal Church writers and anonymous documents. This is accompanied by useful notes and approximate dates. In taking up his main subject he follows the plan of letting the various writings speak for themselves, adding such explanations as can be given in a series of foot-notes. He arranges his matter historically in connexion with the successive stages in our Lord's life. Thus he gives his first chapter the title of "Christ's Grandparents according to the Flesh," and under this he brings together all that is said by the Prot-evangelium of James, the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, and the Sahidic Fragments of the Life of the Virgin, with regard to Joachim and Anna, their childlessness, their visit to the Temple, their visions, etc. The next three chapters are given to the legends about Mary, her birth and childhood, her betrothal, the annunciation, etc. Then follow the stories connected with the nativity, the visit of the wise men, etc., and so on till in the last three chapters we come to Pilate's inquiries, and the letters to

Cæsar, the embassy of Volusianus and Cæsar's Cure, and the correspondence of Pilate and Herod.

The author expresses his surprise that no such book has ever been produced before in English, and that indeed it has been attempted only once in any language. He thinks the work is worth doing and that it will have its use. He is right in this, and we owe him much for putting us in possession of such a collection of curious lore. He does not think there is much reliable tradition to be found in it. But he claims for the literature which he reviews some interest at least as a "monument of what many men of many centuries have thought, and dreamed, and romanced about that life of all-absorbing interest and unparalleled influence". This historical value at least it has, and it has also some Apologetic worth.

Passio S. Theclae Virginis: die Lateinischen Uebersetzungen der Acta Pauli et Theclae, nebst Fragmenten, Auszügen und Beilagen, herausgegeben von OSCAR VON GEBHARDT. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902. 8vo, pp. cxvi. + 188. Price M.9.50.

Dr. von Gebhardt's characteristic thoroughness is seen on every page of this work. It almost staggers one indeed by the minuteness and exhaustiveness of its investigations and discussions and the labour spent upon its details. The Greek text of these curious *Acts* is of no great length, but it is of sufficient importance, in Dr. Von Gebhardt's view, to make it worth while to endeavour by all means to get at its original form, and its proper intention, meaning and value. For these purposes the various translations, especially the Latin, are of importance, and the author has done his work so carefully and fully with regard to these that it is not likely to require to be done over again. It is a work which he was stimulated to undertake by a dissertation of Carl Schlau's which appeared in 1877, and he has had it in hand for nigh a quarter of a century.

The history of the Latin translations is given at length,

the manuscripts, the traditional account, the state of the texts, etc., being dealt with very fully. Nothing, in short, which has any bearing on the questions in hand seems to be overlooked. On a rigorously critical basis Dr. Von Gebhardt labours to restore the original form of the text, and to provide us with facilities for understanding a writing which has come to have much interest and importance in more than one line of inquiry. The number of versions in which it appeared in ancient and in mediæval times is a witness to the place which it had in popular acceptance. Dr. Von Gebhardt reminds us among other things of the freedom with which matter taken from it was introduced into the Bible-text. He refers to the fact that two cursives (46 and 109) introduce among the greetings in 2 Tim. iv. 19 these words, *Λέκτραν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ Σιμαίαν* (or *Σημαίαν*) *καὶ Ζήνωνα τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ*—words which Westcott and Hort regarded as taken “probably from an apocryphal source”. These words came from these “Acts of Paul and Thecla,” and were probably inserted first as a marginal addition.

Das Schriftprinzip der lutherischen Kirche. Von Dr. FRIEDRICH KROPATSCHEK, Lic. u. Prof. der Theol. in Greifswald. I. Band. Die Vorgeschichte. Das Erbe des Mittelalters. Leipzig: Deichert, 1904. 8vo, pp. vii. + 462. Price M.9.

This is the first part of what promises to be a large and instructive treatise. It is to deal both with the historical and with the dogmatic aspects of its subject, and that subject is an important one. The questions which Professor Kropatschek undertakes to handle are of great interest, specially of course to Lutheran theologians, but by no means to them alone. They concern the genesis and the foundations of Protestant theology as a whole. They lie at the basis of any just appreciation of the great Reformation movement of the sixteenth century, and they branch out into many lines of inquiry which are of value in addition to the main topic. An inquiry such as is here begun, therefore,

deserves to be cordially received. Much has been written on the central question by Rothe, Dorner, von Hofmann, Frank, Philippi, Harnack and other scholars of high repute. But the field is by no means exhausted.

Professor Kropatschek's work promises to be a valuable contribution to the question in hand. It is all the more welcome that it keeps steadily in view the new direction which has been given in these later times to the statement of what Scripture is, the effects of the critical movement and the various theories of the nature of Scripture, its authority, its relation to revelation, and its chief functions which have been constructed during the last century. The present volume is full of good matter, mainly historical. It gives a sketch of the preparations for the Lutheran doctrine of Scripture which are to be found at the close of the mediæval period. This it does in two distinct divisions, one occupied with the practical use of Scripture during the Middle Ages, and the other with the deliverances of theologians on the subject. In the first of these divisions, instructive statements are given on the position of the Waldenses and the Hussites, the critical attitude of the Cathari, the mystical use of the Bible, the operation of the Apocalyptical influence in Joachim of Floris, the Bohemians and others. Here there is much that will repay perusal, more particularly as regards the Waldensian use of Scripture and its relation to the authority of the Church, the question of the canon, etc. There is also an interesting and impartial inquiry into the extent to which, and the sense in which, there is historical justification for speaking of a prohibition on the part of the Church of the reading of the Bible.

In the second division we have excellent statements, well supported by evidence, of the views of Marsilius of Padua, William of Ockham, Gabriel Biel, and others. These are followed by chapters dealing specially with Wiclif, his forerunners, friends and opponents, the theologians of the Reforming Councils, and the particular views of Wesel, Wessel, and Goch. Here we may refer specially to what is said of Huss as a theologian, of John Gerson, and of Peter of

Ailli. The closing chapters gather up the results of the historical inquiry so far as they bear on the antecedents of the Protestant doctrines of Scripture, tradition, inspiration, and the like. There is also a brief statement on the exegesis of the Middle Ages, the application of the theory of a double or a manifold sense, and the dependence of the interpreter on the doctrine of the Church. The book, therefore, is one of large compass. It contains a mass of matter that will be of use to students in different departments of theology. We trust the author may be encouraged to proceed with his work, and that we may have it soon in its completeness.

Die Cyprianische Briefsammlung. Geschichte ihrer Entstehung und Ueberlieferung. VON HANS FREIHERR VON SODEN. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1904. 8vo, pp. viii. + 268. Price 10s. 6d. net.

This forms the third part of the tenth volume of the *Neue Folge* of Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*. It is an elaborate production. Few will think of reading it through. To a very select band of insatiable experts, however, it will be of interest. It owes its origin to the instigation and encouragement of Professor Adolf Harnack, and the author has been helped in many ways in his exhaustive study by the same scholar, as well as by Drs. von Gebhardt, Haussleiter, Omont, Ceriani and others, among whom are some English scholars. One main object of the work, the author tells us, is to show that a new edition of Cyprian's writings including the pseudepigraphic, is both a necessity and a possibility. In this at least he has amply succeeded.

The author begins his work with a strong statement of Cyprian's importance and of the extraordinary place assigned to his writings in ancient times. But there is a note of exaggeration in this. Herr von Soden boldly claims that the writings of Cyprian were regarded and used as of equal authority with Scripture. He refers with most decision to

the catalogue known as the Canon Mommsenianus or the Cheltenham List, in which the works of Cyprian are introduced immediately after the books of the Old and New Testaments. He appeals also to Lucifer of Calaris, Prudentius and Augustin. But in each case his inference goes beyond what the facts allow. In the case of the Cheltenham List there is nothing whatever to sustain so singular a claim beyond the bare fact that the notice of the Scriptures is followed by that of Cyprian's works. If we were sure that the List as we have it is complete and was followed by nothing else, it would point certainly to the high esteem in which these writings were held, but it would be rash to say that they were placed in the same rank with the Old and New Testaments. So, too, all that can be said of Lucifer is that in his Tractates he limits himself almost wholly to Scripture and Cyprian. Nor will the words of Prudentius, poetical as they are, warrant us to conclude that he recognised anything like a supplementary revelation in Cyprian's works. And as to Augustin, it is true that in the *De Civitate Dei* (viii., 27) he places Peter, Paul and Cyprian together. But there are many other things to take account of in Augustin. Barring this element of exaggeration and lack of discrimination, however, the author's strong assertion of the influence of Cyprian and the position won by his writings primarily in the interests of edification, but to some extent also in a doctrinal point of view, can be readily accepted.

Limiting his study to the Letters (for which he gives his reasons), he gives a list of these with their addresses and brief indications of their contents. He then proceeds to describe their general character, the circumstances that led to gathering them into a collection, and the main facts relating to their circulation, singly and in groups, soon after Cyprian's death. Then follows, in the second division of the book, an elaborate discussion of the manuscripts and the textual history of the Letters. The historical witnesses referring to the collection of Letters are enumerated and examined, and a full statement is given of the various editions in which they have appeared. A number of appendices are added, which

deal with various aspects of the literary tradition and give a record of the literature of the subject, lists of libraries possessing manuscripts, lists of lost codices, and other matters.

An immense amount of work has been spent on the book. Whether it will all repay itself is another question. One gets almost lost in the minutiae of the investigation. The volume has its own value, however, and it has traced out the history of these notable letters more completely than has been done before.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

A Discussion of the General Epistle of St. James.

*By R. St. John Parry, B.D., Fellow of Trinity College,
Cambridge. London: C. J. Clay. Price 5s. net.*

Die Stellung und Bedeutung des Jakobusbriefes in der Entwicklung des Urchristenthums.

*Von Dr. Grafe, Prof. an d. Universität, Bonn. Tübingen:
J. C. B. Mohr. Price M.1.20.*

MR. PARRY'S reference to the opposite views respecting St. James's Epistle, often founded upon the same set of facts, receives pointed illustration from a comparison of his own treatise with that of Dr. Grafe. They agree in very few of their conclusions. Mr. Parry's investigation is the more searching and thorough; Dr. Grafe's, as befits a popular lecture, is built on slighter lines. The former brief treatise, only 100 pages, is a remarkable example of condensed expression. In that respect, as also in the absence of formal connexion in the arrangement, it resembles the Epistle which is the subject of discussion. Dr. Grafe's lecture is more consecutive and flowing in style.

One point on which the two writers differ, is the systematic nature of the Epistle, Mr. Parry maintaining that it is one of the most orderly and logical of the New Testament writings, Dr. Grafe holding the opposite and more general view. The former argues acutely in favour of his position. The theme is the possibility and duty of overcoming temptation; faith and wisdom are the means for doing this. The abruptness with which the writer plunges into the subject is certainly an indication that this is a leading topic. As the discussion proceeds, secondary points inevitably emerge, but the clue is recovered and maintained. Mr. Parry also argues for the view that the

temptations treated of in chap. i. are throughout allurements to evil. This position seems to us more difficult to maintain.

Mr. Parry has several new and striking suggestions. One is, the taking of "glory" in chap. ii. 1, as in apposition with Lord, "the Lord our glory". If the word were "hope" or "life," it would be so understood at once. That the Lord Jesus is the glory of man, the realisation of the divine ideal of human character, is certain. It will be seen that the thought is attractive.

Mr. Parry's discussion of the famous passage in chap. ii. and its relation to St. Paul is altogether admirable (p. 49). He shows that the place of faith is just as fundamental in James as in Paul. "The positive teaching as to faith is identical in St. James and St. Paul. With both, it is the fundamental element of Christian character; with both, it necessarily involves activity, works of faith. The polemical object in the two writers is different: in St. Paul it is a rival religious principle; in St. James it is a false view and application of the principle of faith. In dealing with the case of Abraham, St. Paul lays the whole stress on the Scriptural declaration without inquiring into the nature of the belief which was the occasion for the imputation of righteousness. With St. James, the nature of that belief is the kernel of his argument, and to elucidate it he does not merely quote Scripture but interprets it. If these conclusions are justifiable, it is obvious that neither writer can be directing his polemic against the other. Such an intention would imply a misunderstanding which cannot reasonably be imputed."

Dr. Grafe's treatment of this point is far from satisfactory. He thinks it "almost discreditable" that any one should doubt that James is controverting Paul. His own solution that James did not really understand Paul's doctrine, while guarding against its abuse, is weak.

The two writers differ widely as to the date of the Epistle. Dr. Grafe argues elaborately for a comparatively late date in the second century, one of his chief grounds being the

pronounced worldliness of the Christians addressed. This, he thinks, is in keeping with the condition of the Church supposed in post-apostolic writers, when the Gospel was replaced by a new form of law. But it is altogether doubtful whether the faults rebuked in the Epistle are more serious than those rebuked in Paul's undisputed Epistles. The fresh reminiscences of the Sermon on the Mount are in favour of an early date. The prominence given to prayer harmonises with what tradition relates of James. The moral elevation of the Epistle is far above the level of the writers of the second century who are assigned as the compeers of James. Mr. Parry puts the Epistles towards the end of the apostolic age, along with the Ephesians. This view is supported by a careful analysis.

Mr. Parry makes an exhaustive comparison of the Epistle with Paul's to the Romans. The result is to bring out remarkable identity in substantive teaching and fundamental ideas without any clear evidence of literary connexion. The uncertainty of inferences drawn from internal characteristics is illustrated by the fact that while both writers call attention to the undoubted connexion between James and 1 Peter, Mr. Parry places the dependence on Peter's side, Dr. Grafe on the side of James. The explanation of the common features of James and the Shepherd of Hermas is matter of dispute. Dr. Grafe inclines to think with Zahn that the latter is the borrower.

Clement, in his letter to the Corinthians, puts James on a level with St. Paul's Epistles; Harnack and others depress it to the level of Clement, Hermas and Justin. To do this is to disregard its higher spirit and tone. Mr. Parry says: "There is nothing in Clement approaching James in depth of treatment or in general character. . . . There can hardly be a more convincing proof of the strictly apostolic character of the Epistle and its author, than to read it side by side with Clement's Epistle or any other sub-apostolic writing. It has the unmistakable note of originality and authority. If this writer and this writing are to be classed with the essentially secondary productions of sub-apostolic Christianity, then

indeed the attempt at literary criticism must be resigned in despair."

A common objection is the "moralistic" and "legalistic" tone of the Epistle. The morality inculcated is at least that of the other Epistles and the Gospels, and its background is evangelical doctrine. The difference is, that this background is suggested instead of being exhibited in detail. The reticence in regard to the Lord Jesus is admitted, and it is hard to explain. But if this is strange, it would be tenfold more strange in a writer of the sub-apostolic age, witness Clement, Ignatius, and even Hermas.

A strong point in Dr. Grafe's work is his refutation of Spitta's position that the Epistle was originally a Jewish production, which was then modified in the interest of Christianity.

J. S. BANKS.

Old Testament History.

By Henry Preserved Smith, D.D., Professor of Biblical History and Interpretation in Amherst College. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. Post 8vo, pp. xxv. + 512. Price 12s.

THE series of the "International Theological Library" receives in Dr. H. P. Smith's volume a noteworthy addition. We may say at once that Dr. Smith has succeeded in his purpose "to put into narrative form the results of recent Old Testament study," and he proceeds with characteristic boldness and thoroughness to apply these results in reconstructing the history of Israel and in tracing the growth of the literature of the Old Testament. In a full and frankly written Preface, the author explains his standpoint and vindicates the necessity "that every new advance in criticism involves a rewriting of history". The task of historical or the higher criticism is to estimate the worth of traditions preserved in documents or inscribed in monuments, and to avoid misapprehension as far as possible in interrogating or dating its material. To the objection that the reconstruction of the history should be delayed till the critical work is completed, Dr. Smith answers that while "history is based on criticism, criticism is tested by history," and thus the critic's analysis is checked by the historian's synthesis. There is undoubted truth in this practical view of the complex problem that has to be dealt with in the study of the Old Testament: the application of the twofold method of the critic and the historian will expose the errors of "subjectivity," and any glaring incongruity that results in the picture drawn by the historian will call for more careful and complete examination in the critical process. Equally sound is Dr. Smith's view of the qualifications of the historian. These are, as he states them, soundness of judgment, ability to distinguish between different hypotheses or degrees of probability, and the duty to tell what he knows. It is in

this last qualification that the author himself excels. For in dealing with the earlier portions of the history and with periods where the *data* are wanting or uncertain, we may often disagree with his conclusions, but we can hardly ever fail to see the distinctness of the outline he presents to us, and we admire throughout his disregard of qualifying and superfluous phrases and his ability to tell us what he knows. Towards the end of his interesting and suggestive Preface, Dr. Smith makes cordial acknowledgment of the value of the critical works of Wellhausen and Stade. These authorities are influential in forming opinions arrived at in the course of the twenty chapters that make up the present volume; but in most cases Dr. Smith exercises an independent judgment, and we are glad to notice (p. 60, note) that he is not able to follow Professor Cheyne in discovering references everywhere to the clan of Jerachmeel. The imaginations of this scholar call up the words that Dr. Smith thinks of, in connexion with the strange visions and actions of the prophet Ezekiel (p. 302)—“Great wit’s to madness near allied”!

We shall give some specimens of the critical views held by Dr. Smith in dealing with leading periods of the history and literature of the Old Testament.

I. In his opening chapters on “The Sources” and “The Origins,” our author emphasises the results of historical criticism, *viz.*, that most of the Books of the Old Testament are compilations and not homogeneous productions, and that Hebrew historians wrote for edification or to point the moral of events and, therefore, handled their material with unusual freedom. Hence the variety of the material, much of it legendary or mythological, found in the narratives of Genesis, and hence the different versions of events as recorded in books like Kings and Chronicles. In Genesis we see mythological stories and religious teaching side by side: one author leaves anthropomorphic features which a subsequent writer strips off. “A redactor, to whom we cannot be too grateful, thought it a pity to lose either story, and combined the two in a single narrative” (p. 34). So, in the narrative of Chronicles, the facts of the earlier historian are coloured

or set aside : we have to account for omissions that concern the declension of the nation and its rulers, and for insertions that introduce developments ("an elaborate ritual") only possible in a later time. The chronicler wrote in the spirit of religious patriotism, and with the purpose of casting a glamour over the past. "It would be better (he thought) to draw the veil of charity over the faults and misfortunes of Israel's great King. It would be more edifying to have the history without these shadows. And so the good man rewrote it without the shadows. He had no idea of casting doubt upon the older story, only he wanted a more edifying presentation."

2. Dr. Smith's thorough-going adherence to the critical standpoint comes out clearly in his treatment of the Patriarchs (chap. iii.). His analysis brings out variations and inconsistencies in the three main strands of the narrative, and by reference at this point, as again in dealing with the period of the conquest (chap. v.), to the El-Amarna tablets, he confronts us with the difficulty or the impossibility of getting at real history. As usual the priestly writer supplies us with a genealogical and religious framework, but the charm and power of the portraiture of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are due to the writers of the other documents. It is said that the evidence of the tablets referred to "leaves no place for the peaceable immigrant like Abraham". The patriarchs, as pictured in Genesis, move about freely and build altars, but the real state of things shows the country thickly peopled, nomad tribes pressing in from the desert, and the inhabitants of the fortified towns at chronic warfare. Likewise, the narrative of Abraham's battle with the kings (Gen. xiv.) is discredited as being out of harmony with the general picture. In dealing with the names of the patriarchs, as understood by the original authors, Dr. Smith holds to the view of the prophets Amos and Hosea, who "had little idea of the patriarchs as individual men". Names are commonly applied to tribes, and on the whole it is plain that the patriarchs are not to be taken as individuals, and that therefore Jacob, Isaac, and even Abraham, have no substantial

reality. "We have to do here with figures of the poetic or legend-building imagination" (p. 42), with heroes of *sagas* that tell admiringly of their character and adventures. In this somewhat light and airy fashion Dr. Smith waves his critical wand over Genesis, and all reliable historical knowledge of the patriarchal period disappears. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob become important as individual figures only "from the post-exilic or at least post-Deuteronomic period," and are no longer to be considered as ancestors of their people. Dr. Smith may well suggest that "these results seem meagre". He is too easily satisfied with the powers of the "legend-building imagination". By way of compensation, he adds that the creation of Abraham "reveals the religious faith of the author who drew his picture". This simply transports the great figures of one period to a later. It is *persons*, Harnack reminds us (*Das Wesen des Christentums*, p. 89), that form the saving element of history, and they are needed also to give movement and reality to the patriarchal age. Later colouring apart, and making allowance for the habit of merging the individual in the tribe or clan, it must be claimed for these narratives of the patriarchs that at least "they contain a substratum of actual personal history" (G. A. Smith).

3. The rise of the monarchy in Israel (chap. vii.), and the differing accounts of Saul and his successors, afford Dr. Smith another opportunity of pursuing his analysis and of piecing together the history. Here, again, motives are at work and divergencies have to be dropped out or reconciled. The ground of course was prepared for the kingship by slow and stubborn conquest of the land. Evidence for this extended invasion is pointed to in the El-Amarna tablets (p. 79 and note). The book of Joshua is a later effort of the literary imagination, which compresses the struggle revealed in the book of Judges into a short and sharp conflict. As regards the introduction of Saul and the origin of the kingdom, there are two narratives. "The narrative of the origin of the kingdom which has come down to us in the books of Samuel shows a strange confusion in the treatment of this subject"

(p. 107). The desire for a king is stigmatised there "as contrary to the will of Yahweh". This view is the effect of later reflection. The older and simpler view is that the king was the gift of God; and in the course of the actual history Saul became king by an act of prowess, and his election by lot, conferring on Samuel a false importance, is only "an imaginative construction of legend" (p. 119). The positive picture left of Saul, therefore, is limited, and it is doubted (p. 127) if either account of his death is accurate. In the same way the critical historian rejects much of the material that has gathered round the character and career of David, who prepared the way for "the more showy reign" of Solomon. It is the fault of the Hebrew narrator that he lacks interest in "political or constitutional history," and consequently we learn little of David's method of unifying his kingdom. The removal of the ark to Jerusalem is a later idea (p. 143), and should not be put alongside David's choice of a capital: he had "no idea of making a single central sanctuary for the whole country". Dr. Smith sees nothing in the picture of later times that made David "a saint after their own ideal, a nursing father of the Old Testament Church, an organiser of the Levitical system, and the author of the Psalter". He is content to admit that David's piety was real, but that his attainments in morality and ritual conformed to a simple and primitive type.

4. Passing by Dr. Smith's view of the subsequent history to the fall of the monarchy, and his rapid and vivid sketches of kings and prophets, we glance in closing at his treatment of the Exile and after. The opening of this period leads to a careful consideration of the ideas and influence of the prophet Ezekiel, who is judged to have been "in some respects the most remarkable of Israel's prophets" (p. 301). In the altered circumstances of the nation, the doctrine of the importance and responsibility of the individual came to the front, and it is as the exponent of this truth and of other new ideas fermenting in the minds of the exiles that Ezekiel now figures. His religious ideals and attention to ritual left their impression on the band of exiles to whom he ministered,

and suggested the fresh study and modification of their religious records. "The literature that arose was literature with a purpose." It was now, Dr. Smith supposes, that the book of Deuteronomy engaged fresh attention, and that the book of Joshua was in great part rewritten, and in the line of Ezekiel's regulations such collections of laws as the "Holiness Code" were formulated and incorporated. It is also noted that in various forms "the Messianic hope began to be a part of Israel's mental and spiritual support from the exile on" (p. 340). Dr. Smith's pen loses none of its bold and trenchant force in the chapters (xvi., xvii.) on "The Rebuilding of the Temple" and "Nehemiah and After". He sees difficulties "of the most serious character" in accepting the usual view of the book of Ezra and of the edict of Cyrus permitting the return of the Jews in Babylonia. The hope of restoration lay rather with the remnant of the community left in Judah. "If we had the testimony of Haggai and Zechariah alone, therefore we should not dream of a wholesale return such as the chronicler alleges" (p. 351).

The important fact that meets us in this period of trial and depression is the noble effort put forth by the little band of the faithful—"an Israel within Israel"—to keep alive their hopes and to ensure the future of their religion. The book of Job is dated here, as giving expression to the problems that were deeply felt, "one of the great works of the human spirit". If Ezra is effaced in the reconstructed history, Nehemiah has full justice done to him as an energetic and practical reformer, and here again another piece of Hebrew literature, the book of Ruth, appears in answer to the course of events and as a protest against Nehemiah's prohibition of intermarriage—"a powerful pamphlet on the side of the foreign wives". The three closing chapters of this volume deal with "The Greek Period," "The Heroic Maccabean Movement," and the reign of "The Priest Kings". Dr. Smith connects with this last period "the final redaction and publication of the book of Psalms" (p. 471). These chapters, like those that precede, are vigorous and rapid in their presentation of events, and end by pointing out how, as Judaism in Palestine

was ending, "the Judaism of the Dispersion was preparing to receive and propagate the new and expansive religion of Jesus Christ".

We have said enough to show the critical standpoint of Dr. Smith and some of the principal results he arrives at in constructing afresh the history of the Old Testament. His volume gives in sufficient compass, and in clear and serviceable form, the presentation of the subject that rests on the adoption of the new and sometimes startling conclusions or presuppositions of advanced criticism. We have no fault to find with the principles with which he sets out, but many of his inferences and of the applications of his method are open to question. We have sometimes felt as if the author were too intent on "getting along" with the processes of the critical workshop, and in danger of obscuring to himself and his readers the spiritual grandeur of Israel's religion and history. Here and there we come across colloquialisms and Americanisms that may be overlooked, but the remark (p. 255), following Isaiah's denunciation of the women of Jerusalem, that "the passage in our Bibles has been expanded by some ladies' tailor," is not worthy of a place even in a footnote. Happily this style of comment is rare; otherwise we might be tempted to use Dr. Smith's language of Antiochus IV. against himself—"a certain levity in his treatment of a grave problem distinguished him from his predecessors". We add that Dr. Smith's able and learned volume is creditably free from misprints, only on page 84 (note), "Steuernagle" has plainly been worked over by a later hand. Dr. Smith may fairly claim, in having before him a great body of literature, that he has "overlooked no work of real importance," with the exception, perhaps, of the writings of Dr. A. B. Davidson, an interpreter of the history of the Old Testament who cannot yet be dispensed with. The volume is completed by an index of subjects and of Scripture passages, and is well entitled to a place in an international and present-day series.

W. M. RANKIN.

Liberal Christianity: its Origin, Nature, and Mission.

By Jean Réville, Professor in the Protestant Theological Faculty of the University of Paris. Translated and edited by Victor Leuliette, B-ès-L. Paris: Williams & Norgate, 1903. Cr. 8vo. Price 4s.

LIBERAL Christianity is an elastic phrase, and a book bearing that title may cover anything, from the teaching of a declaratory act anent the Confession of Faith to eighteenth-century Deism. It need hardly be said that in this volume it comes nearer the latter than the former. M. Réville is a Protestant theological professor in Paris who delivered these lectures to the *Union Suisse du Christianisme Liberal* in Geneva about a year ago. As delivered there the subject of the lectures was "Liberal Protestantism," and that is a much more descriptive title. As might be expected, they mark, on the side of scholarship and a real interest in the ethics of Christianity, the Protestant reaction against Church teaching, as that is understood in France. It is only fair to the writer to bear this in mind. The book is a plea for the unfettered application to religion of the Reformation principle of the right of private judgment. An infallible Church gave way in post-Reformation times to an infallible Bible. Liberty of religious thought was enclosed in confessional forms and catechisms. An infallible Bible has gone in our day, shattered by the refutation of its claim to be inerrant. With the authority of the Bible has disappeared that of the creeds. Where therefore do we stand now? According to Professor Réville, on "the principle of the *freedom of inquiry* and of the *religious supremacy of the individual conscience*" (the italics are the author's). In this he claims the sanction of the French Calvinists and of Luther, to whom Holy Scripture was

authoritative by reason of "the witness and inner working of the Holy Spirit". Which is undoubtedly true. But if this is pushed to the point of view taken in these lectures, it leads to a position that can hardly be distinguished from Rationalism—that word being understood historically and strictly, and not in the vague sense in which it is freely used and hurled about as a handy weapon to-day. Professor Réville's attitude to Scripture is that of maintaining "its historical authority," which he contends "is as legitimate to-day as it was at the beginning of the sixteenth century". In this connexion his book is interesting because of the view he takes of the effect of criticism on Scripture. It has exploded the belief in an inerrant Bible, but it has not injured it as "the record of the noblest and holiest religious experiences which the human race has handed on to us—those, namely, of the prophets of Israel, and more especially of the greatest of them all, Jesus the Christ. This it is which constitutes the Bible for us." "It is further," he says, "at least in its best and most beautiful pages, a never-failing source of religious and moral education. According to the fine traditional expression it is the book of 'edification,' that is to say, of the building up of our moral being; it strengthens and fosters all that is good and healthy in us." Therefore, he would have children educated in the Bible. But they are not to be taught that it is inspired in any sense other than that in which all supremely beautiful and beneficent literature is inspired; and it is not to be invested, either for children or others, with any so-called supernatural sanctions. "The supremacy of reason and conscience in religious matters as in all the other departments of spiritual life, the historical authority of the Bible freely studied with all the resources furnished by science and apart from all sectarian prejudice—such are the fundamental principles of liberal Protestantism." How far do they carry M. Réville? To a warm appreciation of the moral and spiritual teachings of Jesus; for it is good to find such a thorough-going "free believer," as he calls himself repeatedly, taking the view that criticism has not made it impossible to know what Jesus taught, and believing

in the synoptic tradition. But he will have none of "the speculations of the Apostle Paul or the disciples of Jesus regarding Christ". The synoptics give us "the inner substance of the Gospel, the Spirit of Christ". We are not surprised to find that the "Liberal Christianity" of M. Réville throws off the Virgin birth, "because it is related in different ways"; the miracles of Jesus, which offer no guarantee of authenticity"; "the bodily resurrection of Jesus, the accounts of which are contradictory," etc. "On all these points nothing certain can be known, whereas the true substance of the teaching of Jesus transpires with striking clearness from a comparison of the Gospels." Even the sinlessness of Jesus is an accretion on Christianity, and cannot be proved, he thinks, because we know so little about Him, and what we do know shows that "there were errors in the mind of Christ, and that Jesus was no more infallible than any other creature of God".

Now it is needless to go further. This modern Protestant teacher of theology reaches these conclusions by abiding true, as he thinks, to "the historical authority" of the Gospels. We are glad that he thinks they are historically authoritative, and are inclined to think that it is the only safe kind of authority to claim for Scripture. But surely the historical authority of the Synoptic Gospels is not to be limited to the ethical teaching of Jesus. "The true substance of the teaching of Jesus" contains a great deal more than fine morals. It contains a self-testimony. And this is the fatal vice of teachers who take Réville's line, which is essentially that of Harnack and many more to-day. Their contention is that liberal Protestantism must be founded on religious experience, because metaphysics has destroyed theology. Yet they must have the "teaching of Jesus," and so far they accept the Gospels as its record. But these Gospels also record that He bore testimony to Himself, as one who claimed to be the representative of God on earth. Let them discard the Fourth Gospel, with the same contempt with which they discard St. Paul. They cannot discard such a testimony of Jesus to Himself as Matthew xi. 27. Why, then, do they shut out

the fact that Jesus was a part of His own Gospel? Simply because they will have nothing which they call "miraculous" or "supernatural". Such phrases belong to the age when men misunderstood nature, and in this respect Jesus was the child of His age. Now here is the point at which the ways diverge. With all that M. Réville says about the Protestant principle we agree most thoroughly. With much that he says about religious experience being the ultimate authority we agree too. But without protest we cannot allow a man who accepts the historical authority of the Gospels to throw out of these whatever is unsuitable for his preconceived idea of Christianity. We may have to lighten the load to let the ship sail on the troubled sea of doubt to-day; but the Incarnation, the claim of Christ to be God's representative on earth, and the Resurrection, are not make-weights. To throw them overboard is to give up the entire case. It is not, as M. Réville urges, a case of keeping decisions of œcumenical councils in spite of modern facts. It is a case of dealing honestly with the Gospels, which he accepts. If we have Gospels—and he insists that criticism has not taken them from us—then we have Christ; and the Christ we have is more than a fallible Jewish prophet, albeit the greatest of all prophets. Our Christ, and we get him from the Synoptic Gospels, is one who cannot be explained otherwise than in terms of what we still believe to be the two poles of Christianity—the Resurrection and the Incarnation. You can no more conserve what M. Réville holds to be "the spiritual supremacy of Jesus," without the pull of such a conception of Christ as takes Him out of the natural order, than you can hang Christianity in mid-air. A book like this is plausible and perilous, just because it is so interesting, and professes to be liberal. It is the sort of book laymen of a thinking type are devouring at present. It reduces Christianity to a mere ethic, and ignores the undoubted fact that Christianity cannot be understood apart from the teaching of the Apostles. It reduces the Church of Christ to the level of an association for the promulgation of the moral principles of the Gospel. It regards as mere "impedimenta" truths for which Chris-

tians must fight against the drift of our time as the Romans fought *pro aris et focis*. There is much that is appreciative of the ethic of Christ in M. Réville's pages ; but as a volume on Christianity it gives away the case. It throws away the baby with the bath.

DAVID PURVES.

A History of Mediæval Political Theory in the West.

(By R. W. Carlyle, C.I.E., and A. J. Carlyle, M.A.)

Vol. I. The Second Century to the Ninth. By A. J. Carlyle, Chaplain and Lecturer of University College, Oxford. Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood & Sons. 8vo, pp. xvii. + 314. Price 15s.

THIS is the first instalment of a work that promises to be of permanent value in the rather technical department to which it belongs. Mr. Carlyle has patiently gathered up the scattered contributions to the history of the theory of Law and the State found in Cicero, Seneca, Ulpian, Gaius, in the Digest of Justinian, and the Institutes of Justinian, and he sets forth clearly and judiciously the views of these Roman jurists and writers on law. In another part of the book the author examines the views of the Christian Fathers on equality and private property and the relations of Church and State.

This is eminently a book for the student. In the elaborate footnotes there are long citations in Latin to support the analysis of Mr. Carlyle, and copious references are given for the student's satisfaction. The writers cited include Gaius, Lactantius, Ambrosiaster, Ambrose, Augustine, St. Gregory the Great, Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, Gelasius, Alcuin, Hrabanus Maurus, Smaragdus, Hincmar; and the Digest and the Institutes are referred to. The method of the writer is to elucidate the political theory in respect of natural law, property, slavery, Government authority, and the relations of Church and State in the period under review. This method does not lend itself to descriptive writing in order to interest the general public. The student who wishes to ascertain for himself the growth of opinion on the topics mentioned will

be grateful for the grave judicial style of the author who has weighed the words of his authorities and gives the result of his investigations in deliberate utterances that indicate balanced judgment as well as patient research.

He works back to Aristotle, who asserted the natural inequality of men, a conception perpetuated to our time in Hindu caste, and shows the contrast in Cicero's proposition of the essential equality of men under the law of Eternal Justice. Between Aristotle and Cicero, it may be said, the separating line between the ancient and the modern views of man is to found.

Seneca, holding similar views to Cicero, anticipated the modern theory of the nature of man. The author rapidly descends the centuries. From Seneca he passes to Ulpian (end of second century), who made the fundamental distinction between *jus naturale* and *jus gentium*. The former is primitive and common to all animals, including man. It refers chiefly to instinctive functions; whereas the latter is developed by human intercourse into a body of conventions and compromises found suitable by men in society. This fundamental distinction runs through all social and political institutions, *e.g.*, slavery and government do not come under *jus naturale*. Indeed, they antagonise it: for nothing is more a natural right than freedom and equality. Slavery invades the right to freedom. And government invades the right of equality. These two institutions belong thus to *jus gentium*, but that does not affect their validity. The Roman jurists regarded these established institutions as conventions found by experience to be useful. But they pushed back the sanction of civil law to universal reason and justice, without which obedience cannot be exacted. Essentially unjust government breaks itself; so wedded is mankind to justice. Under the Roman Empire civil law was said to reside in the will of the Emperor: but inasmuch as the soldiers often chose the Emperor, the ultimate authority resided with the people or a section of them.

The other topic treated in this volume is the general conception of the Christian Fathers from Clement (in the first

century) to St. Isidore of Seville (in the seventh), as to slavery, government, and the relations of Church and State. The Fathers founded their arguments chiefly on the Pauline teaching of the solidarity of the race, "There is neither Jew nor Greek". But Paul accepted the institution of slavery which he found at work. Far from denouncing it he admonished slaves to be good slaves, and advised a runaway slave to return to his master. So did the Fathers. Further, Paul almost went out of his way to inculcate reverence to rulers, even though they were Pagans. The Fathers followed this teaching, which may originally have been dictated by prudential considerations, as Christians were accused, rightly or wrongly, of disloyalty and a tendency to anarchy.

There is nothing to show that early Christianity refused to consider private property valid. The communism recorded in the Acts was voluntary and infrequent. By the Fathers, slavery and government are regarded as part of the punishment of sin. In days of primeval bliss there was no slavery, nor was man lord of his brother, but only of the beasts. The Fall changed all that. And thus there is a moral sanction for slavery and government control as marks of our doom for sin.

The ruler for the time being is in the place of God, for government is a divine institution, said Gregory the Great. Others followed his line, and thus the Christian conception transferred the ultimate authority from the people to God.

In the fifth century the differentiation of the functions of Church and State began to crystallise. Gelasius especially affirmed the supremacy of the Church in spiritual matters. The opinion grew, until it became general, that the two authorities—civil and ecclesiastical—were co-ordinate in power, and, each in its own sphere, independent.

In the ninth century the conception of the King's divine authority is conspicuous. And yet the power behind the throne is also felt to be real. In the election of sovereigns, in the compacts made between electors and nominees, the power of the people is made manifest. There is a moral obligation on the King to rule justly, and the Church's

function is to admonish him to do so. Thus the Church has a certain superiority over the State in so far as it consecrates the Sovereign, and admonishes him, and may even depose him.

Such are some of the conceptions treated in this volume, which the student of political theory will value highly, and will consult with respect.

ALEX. TOMORY.

The World's Epoch-Makers.

Descartes, Spinoza, and the New Philosophy. By James Iverach,
D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Pp. 242.
Price 3s.

PROFESSOR IVERACH undertook a large order in trying to condense into one of the volumes of this series the exposition of Descartes and Spinoza, each of whom, in their philosophical systems, might fitly have had a volume to himself. The result is all the more creditable to the writer, who has given an account of the two great movements by which we pass from mediæval to modern philosophy. For fulness of detail, and certainly for lucidity and interest, it leaves nothing to be desired.

It begins with a good chapter on the mediæval attitude of mind to the problems with which these epoch-making thinkers had to deal. "The Middle Ages, themselves altogether unscientific, and only theological, prepared the world for that modern view of the world with which science has made us familiar." "In his doctrine of the certainty of inner experience Augustine anticipated the method of Descartes." Emancipation from Mediævalism came with the assertion of the right to look at the problems of philosophy and religion apart from the presuppositions of the system of the Church. This was the beginning, on the religious side, of the Reformation, and, on another side, of the New Philosophy, the father of which was René Descartes.

A very interesting sketch of his life precedes a competent discussion of the writings of the author of the *Meditations*. It is shown that ultimately the method of Descartes is really an inquiry into the nature and limits of human knowledge. The method was to apply to the problem of knowledge the

solvent of doubt, by which Descartes reached the maxim *Cogito, ergo sum*. The method failed for lack of any analysis of the Self or of self-consciousness. "Its first principle, reduced to impotence in the moment of its birth, remains a principle with no possibility of movement in it." There is, on Descartes' method, "no way of transition from the thinking substance to an extended substance which has no quality save extension". Descartes is therefore the father of modern science rather than of philosophy, for he left the doctrine of the Self in an inchoate state. Yet he set the Self problem for all subsequent philosophers and their schools. The Cartesian school never overcame the crux of the disparity of soul and body, of mind and matter.

While not asserting that Descartes contributed nothing to the argument for the being of God, Professor Iverach shows that the notion of Deity was simply postulated to "save the system from bankruptcy". The force of the argument lay in the strength with which Descartes insisted that "he himself, with the idea of God in him, could not exist if God in reality were not". The argument is good in so far as it is grounded in human experience. Yet when we inquire into what God is, "we find that his method and its results have not added anything to the illustration of the character of God". You cannot explain the world and God from the principle of cause and effect. Teleology must be reckoned with, and the exclusion of purpose had a vital effect on the Cartesian system, which shows a fatal dualism, "to wit, the dualism that subsists between the idealist and mechanical schools of thought".

Descartes is as much the father of modern materialism as of modern idealism. Huxley indeed claims him as the founder of modern physiology in a paper which Professor Iverach characterises as "illustrative not only of Descartes, but also of Huxley". This leads the writer into a long and interesting discussion of the relation between physics and metaphysics, by way of showing that the criteria of objective reality are not so easily determined as the physicists think. "The attitude of the physicist is precisely that of Descartes

so far as he deals with the physical world. That is his significance for modern physical thought." And it amounts to this, that the statement that the universe existed before there were any senses to perceive it, leaves the question of its relation to intelligence untouched. Here the despised metaphysician *must* be called in as a consultant! So it emerges, after very full discussion, that Descartes' system contains the germ of the mechanical theory of the universe, and Huxley is justified in claiming him, as its father.

It was given to Spinoza to take up the problems "the answers and the solutions of which Descartes did not see or foresee"—the relation of will and understanding, soul and body, and of God to both. Spinoza is described as "one of the most interesting of human figures and one of the most fascinating of thinkers". The biographical chapter is here again full and interesting. "Spinoza occupies the central position in the thought of the seventeenth century. All the tendencies of the time seem to meet in him. He has affinity with all of them. The scientific movement of the Renaissance is within him as a passion, and he responds to it in every fibre of his being: the mysticism of the Middle Ages and the mysticism of the Hebrew people are in him. All these diverse interests meet in him, and he seeks to bind them all into the organic unity of a logical system."

Spinoza and Descartes are effectively contrasted in the sentence: "Descartes was in search of certainty, and he seemed to find it in the *Cogito, ergo sum*. Spinoza has also his voyage of exploration: but he is in search of another goal, and has a different vision in his mind. Descartes sought a principle of certainty: Spinoza sought for the good." It is shown that, by his assumption that ideas represent reality, Spinoza avoided the ultimate question of philosophy. Spinoza assumed that our thoughts correspond to things. His tractate on the theory of knowledge, therefore, which was never completed, presents us with positions which remained unsifted, uncriticised, and as dogmatically assumed by him as they had been by former thinkers.

The originality of Spinoza, and the points at which he diverged from Descartes, are shown clearly in the review given by Dr. Iverach of the *Exposition of the Cartesian Philosophy*. "It is a fair and able exposition, and he departs as little as possible from the teaching of Descartes. But he does depart." The transition to his final positions in the *Ethics* is made in the *Cogitatio*, in which we see the personal character of God and His distinction from the world vanishing, and in the earlier part of the *Ethics* giving way to the $\tau\acute{o}\ \delta\upsilon$ of Aryan speculation, though in these writings "Spinoza is still the Hebrew, who feels the weight of the burden handed down to him from of old". In the full exposition which Professor Iverach gives of Spinoza's *Ethics*, it is shown that the proofs of the existence of God are valid if we grant his conception of God, which is void of ethical content. It is to be noted that Spinoza uses perfection in the sense of completeness of existence: it is not to be understood as if it implied moral or mental qualities. It is shown that he is only partially aware of the real problem of the critical philosophy as it presented itself to Kant, *viz.*: what is the source of the agreement between reason and things?

His defective account of the moral emotions, as, *e.g.*, repentance, which was due to his denial of the category of time, is the theme of the last chapter. "Ever and anon Spinoza places us in the timeless scheme of causation, and we are constrained to regard the evolution of our emotions, ideas and conduct as without significance in the intelligible scheme of things." He teaches "a kind of conditional immortality". It too is out of relation to time. The mind endures so far as it is active, and perishes so far as it is passive. "Only those attain to immortality who rise to the third kind of knowledge."

The conclusion of the writer is that "the main difficulty in the acceptance of his teaching, from an ethical point of view, is that it is an ethic for philosophers alone. It neglects the common man, it provides no way of making him a man worth saving. Still, after all drawbacks, Spinoza must be reckoned among the great thinkers of humanity."

The more theological parts of the teaching of Spinoza and the political side of his philosophy lie outwith the province of this volume, which, within its intended limits, and in an admirably condensed and lucid manner, furnishes a good guide to the student of the modern European Philo. It is an important addition to a series which has thoroughly justified itself.

DAVID PURVES.

Humanism : Philosophical Essays.

By F. C. S. Schiller, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford. London : Macmillan & Co., Limited. 8vo, pp. xxv. + 297. Price 8s. 6d. net.

THE name of Mr. Schiller became known to us first of all through the honourable mention of him and his work by Professor James of Harvard in his Ingersol Lecture on "Human Immortality". Honourable mention by Professor James, especially on a philosophical question, is a distinction indeed. It led us to be on the watch for any work of Mr. Schiller. *The Riddle of the Sphinx* was followed by the essay on Axioms as Postulates in the volume entitled *Personal Idealism*, and now we have these essays dedicated appropriately enough to Professor James. They are reprinted from various philosophical magazines, with some exceptions and additions which appear for the first time. They are rich in interest of many kinds. There is the personal interest, which is very manifest. It is difficult to express what this interest is. For it is exceedingly elusive. We obtain glimpses of an elusive personality that now flashes on us in a humour, now grim as fate, and again playful as a summer breeze. Mr. Schiller writes with exceeding grace; in fact, he writes a style which reminds us that style and philosophy have generally parted company, and have only a distant acquaintance with one another. Sometimes, indeed, Mr. Schiller allows in his playfulness phrases to flow from his pen, which fall on his opponent with vitriolic energy, and leave a wound and a blister. But these are rare, and are not so frequent as they once were.

Then there is the philosophic interest in the essays. They may from one point of view be taken as a protest against the Idealism which holds the field in most of the universities

of Britain and America, and a protest against the claims of recent philosophy of the Hegelian type. His view may be described as the return of Empiricism, in a new guise and with a new name. He calls it Humanism or Pragmatism. It will be well to let Mr. Schiller speak for himself. "In point of method, Humanism is fully able to vindicate itself, and so we can now define it as the philosophic attitude which, without wasting thought upon attempts to construct experience *à priori*, is content to take human experience as the clue to the world of human experience, to take Man on his own merit, just as he is to start with, without insisting that he must first be disembowelled of his interests, and have his individuality evaporated and translated into technical jargon, before he can be deemed deserving of scientific notice. To remember that man is the measure of things, *i.e.*, of his whole experience-world, and that if our standard measure be proved false all our measurements are vitiated; to remember that man is the maker of the sciences which subserve his human purposes; to remember that an ultimate philosophy which analyses us away is thereby merely exhibiting its failure to achieve its purpose, that, and more might be stated to the same effect, is the real root of Humanism, whence all its auxiliary doctrines spring" (Preface, pp. xix-xx.).

In defence of the name Humanism, Mr. Schiller reminds us of the old use of the word, when it was used as the anti-thesis to Barbarism, and he has no hesitation in making a charge against current methods of philosophy as exhibiting a barbarism of temper and a barbarism of style. "Both are human defects which to this day remain too common among philosophers. The former displays itself in the inveterate tendency to sectarianism and intolerance, in spite of the discredit which the history of philosophy heaps upon it. For what would be more ludicrous than to keep up the pretence that all must own the sway of some obsolete and unquestionable creed? Does not every page of every philosophic theory teem with illustrations that a philosophic system is an unique and personal achievement of which not even the servilest discipleship can transfer the full flavour into another's soul?

Why should we therefore blind ourselves to the invincible individuality of philosophy, and deny each other the precious right to behold reality each at the peculiar angle whence he sees it? Why, when others cannot see as we do, should we lose our tempers and the faith that the heavenly harmony can only be achieved by a multitudinous symphony in which each of the myriad centres of experience sounds its own concordant note?" (p. xxii.). As for barbarism of style, Mr. Schiller makes good his charge against philosophy. We do not quote it here, but it is worth reading.

As to the contents of the various essays which make up the book, we have found them to be rich in interest, racy in style, and provocative of thought. The antagonism to Naturalism and Absolutism is pronounced and incisive. The author will have none of them. Sometimes the antagonism is so determined that the author has lost sight of his own warning quoted above, and has become as one-sided and intolerant as those whom he has denounced. His exposition of his own view reminds us of the old saw, "If wishes were horses, then beggars would ride". In short, he seems to lose himself in subjectivity, and to lose all hold on adjectivity, whether of truth or of fact. Briefly, his position seems to be that all systems of philosophy, and all abstract systems whatsoever, are schemes drawn up by the subject for the satisfaction of its own wants. In short, that all our activities are dominated by our desires and wants. It is no doubt true that men only work at that in which they feel an interest, that their schemes are drawn up with a view towards obtaining an understanding of the world in which they live, and to make themselves at home in it. At the same time, it must be observed that the possibility of understanding the world presupposes that the world is intelligible, that it is a system, and that the system may be known. At times Mr. Schiller seems to forget this, and he speaks as if subjective wants, wishes, desires, were all that is relevant.

It is well that the protest is made against Absolutism and Naturalism, and made so effectively as it is made here, but Mr. Schiller has only succeeded in calling attention to some-

thing which philosophy will need to grapple with. The essays are on The Ethical Basis of Metaphysics, Useless Knowledge, Truth, Lotze's Monism, Non-Euclidean Geometry, Reality and "Idealism," Darwinism and Design, Pessimism in Philosophy, Concerning Mephistopheles, On Preserving Appearances, Activity and Substance, The Desire for Immortality, Ethics and Immortality, and Philosophy and a Future Life. At present we do not enter into an account or a criticism of the system of philosophy hinted at in these essays, nor do we dwell on the various interesting problems raised by the several essays. It will be well to wait for the systematic exposition promised by the author. At present we only say that these are essays of the deepest interest, written in the clearest language, in a most alluring style, and packed with thought. We find him most attractive when our dissent is clearest and most vehement. In fact, whether we agree or disagree, Mr. Schiller commands our attention, and for the time rules our thinking. It is pleasant to find out that philosophy may also be literature, and that grace of form and simplicity of expression are not alien to deep thought.

JAMES IVERACH.

Notices.

WE have to notice four parts of the *Bibliographie der theologischen Literatur für das Jahr 1902*¹—an admirable and most welcome compendium, prepared with much skill under the editorship of Professor G. Krüger, with the assistance of Drs. Baentsch, Beer, Christlieb, Clemen, and many other scholars; *Harnack and Loisy*,² a brief, pungent criticism by the Rev. T. A. Lacey, with an introductory letter by Viscount Halifax; a new edition, charming in form, of the valuable and suggestive *Lectures on Preaching*,³ delivered by the late Right Rev. Phillips Brooks, a book that should be in the hands of all theological students, making the second volume of the tasteful series known as the "Handy Theological Library"; the fifth part of Professor T. K. Cheyne's *Critica Biblica*,⁴ dealing with a number of difficulties in the books of Joshua and Judges—books in which, confessedly, much requires to be done both in textual criticism (so far as materials are available, which, however, are all too scanty) and in historical criticism, although most will hesitate to follow the ingenious canon in his most characteristic operations; *Herder's Theorie von der Religion und den religiösen Vorstellungen*,⁵ by Rudolf Wielandt, Stadtvicar in Heidelberg, a study of Herder, prepared in connexion with the hundredth anniversary of his death, giving an interesting character-sketch of Herder, and a careful

¹ Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn, 1903. 8vo, pp. 240.

² London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1904. 8vo, pp. 18. Price 1s. net.

³ London: H. R. Allenson, 1903. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 281. Price 3s. net.

⁴ London: Adam & Charles Black, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. 399-492. Price 3s. net.

⁵ Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate, 1904. 8vo, pp. vi. + 127. Price 3s.

statement of his relations to Leibnitz, the English Deists, Rousseau, Hume, Kant, Semler and others, to whom in various ways he was indebted, a criticism of his theory of religion, and an examination of its psychological presuppositions, the conception of dogma connected with it, the relativity of dogmatics, etc.; *The Other Room*,¹ a book by Dr. Lyman Abbott, on the great questions of the Future Life, beautiful in form, attractive in style, expounding in a clear, practical and sympathetic manner such subjects as "The First Fruits of Them that Slept," "God shall give it a Body," "How shall we think of the Dead?" the "Practice of Immortality," etc.—a volume containing many helpful suggestions, and concluding with a touching chapter on the various figures under which death is set forth in the New Testament; *Browning for Beginners*,² by the Rev. Thomas Rain, M.A., a book which answers its declared purpose well, and is likely to be of real service to those to whom Browning is yet a comparatively new study, giving as it does the results of notes suggested by the writer's own early difficulties, and embodying in a clear and intelligible form much that the beginner will be glad to have explained to him regarding Browning's mission as a poet, his surroundings, his choice of subjects, his religious teaching, his optimism, his style, etc.; *Who's Who*,³ the issue for 1904, bringing the statement of facts up to 15th Sept., 1903—a wonderful compendium of information collected with great care, and making a remarkable and useful Biographical Annual in the form of concise sketches of the lives and works of men in all departments of activity; *Grundzüge der Religionswissenschaft*,⁴ an authorised German translation, executed in very good form by Pastor G. Gehrich, of Professor C. P. Tiele's brief but very useful *Introduction to*

¹ London: Andrew Melrose, 1904. 8vo, pp. 120. Price 3s. 6d. net.

² London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. 227. Price 2s. 6d.

³ London: Adam & Charles Black. Cr. 8vo, pp. 1700.

⁴ Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1904. 8vo, pp. 70. Price 2s. net.

the Study of Religion and its History; another instalment, being half-vol. vi. of Professor J. R. Ainsworth Davis's *Natural History of Animals*,¹ an instructive and most interesting account of the animal life of the world, in its various aspects and relations; *Die Abfassungsverhältnisse der pseudo-justinischen Cohortatio ad Graecos*,² by Lic. theol. Willy Gaul, a criticism of previous explanations which have been given of the *Cohortatio* by Oudin, Semisch, Gutschmid, Donaldson, H. Diels, Harnack, Völter, Draeseke, Asmus, Funk and others, and a careful investigation of the historical testimony bearing on the question, leading to the conclusion that the treatise was written in the first fifth of the third century, that materials are not available for identifying the author by name, and that the most we can say is, that he had visited Cumae, and other parts of Italy, and also Alexandria, and that while it is possible he was of Jewish descent, the probability is, that he was of Christian birth and upbringing; the second part of the second volume of Professor K. Müller's *Kirchengeschichte*,³ one of the best sections of the excellent *Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften* series, embracing the period from the end of the thirteenth century to the second half of the sixteenth, giving a concise, vivid and instructive account of the movements of thought, action and belief preceding the Reformation, and telling the story of the Reformation itself, in the various parts of Europe, with power and pungency; *Symbolik oder christliche Confessions-Kunde*, by Dr. F. Loofs, Professor der Theologie in Halle,⁴ forming the sixteenth section of the *Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften*, and the first part of what will be a particularly useful treatise on Creeds,

¹ London: Gresham Publishing Company, 1904. Large 8vo, pp. xii. + 281-494. Price 7s. net.

² Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn, 1902. 8vo, pp. 110. Price 3s. 9d. net.

³ Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902. 8vo, pp. xv. + 571. Price 7s. net.

⁴ Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. xv. + 430. Price 6s. 9d. net.

furnishing in a clear and succinct form, on the basis of competent scholarship and wide acquaintance with authorities, all that it is most profitable to know regarding the primitive baptismal formula, the three great symbols of the Ancient Church, the special symbols of Lutheranism, the confessional character of the orthodox Church of the East, the position of dogma in that Church, the doctrinal authorities recognised by it, the story of the sects of the Russian Church, and, in like manner, the confessional genius of the Roman Catholic Church, the authorities recognised by it, the distinctive points in its dogmatic system, and the main points of its cultus—altogether an admirable compendium from which students will get much satisfaction; *The Doctrine of the Church*,¹ by Revere Franklin Weidner, D.D., LL.D., Professor and Doctor of Theology in the Chicago Lutheran Theology Seminary, a series of outline notes, based on the writings of Luthardt and Krauth, prepared with much care, the result, indeed, of long professional experience, and giving an excellent condensed discussion of the various intricate questions relating to the topic of the Church, as they have been understood and agitated from Ignatius and Irenæus downwards; *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur herausgegeben von Theodor Zahn*, vii. Teil, i. Heft,² an important section of the great undertaking of Professor Zahn, in which Arthur Hjelt prosecutes an exhaustive inquiry into the Old Syrian Version of the Gospels and the Diatessaron of Tatian, with the special object of defining the relations in which they stand to each other—a book full of details which require close attention, but bringing us to the general conclusion that the Gospels found their way to the Christians of Mesopotamia, not as a *εὐαγγέλιον τετράμορφον*, but separately, at different times, and in various ways, and that Tatian made up his Diatessaron out

¹ Chicago, New York, Toronto: Fleming H. Revel Company. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 120.

² Leipzig: Deichert, 1903. 8vo, pp. viii. + 166. Price M.6.

of the four canonical Gospels, which he found in circulation among his fellow-countrymen in a Syrian translation, subjecting the text at the same time to a critical version ; *Ménage : Polémiste, Philologue, Poète*, par M^{lle} Elvire Sam-fresco,¹ an elaborate, lively and somewhat discussive monograph on a man little known on this side of the Channel, but who made some stir in French circles in the seventeenth century, the founder of the *Mercuriales*, the Salon that opposed the Academy, the Vadius ridiculed by Molière in *Femmes Savantes*.

¹ Paris : Fontemoing. Large 8vo, pp. 558.

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**The Book of the Covenant in Moab : a Critical Inquiry
into the Original Form of Deuteronomy.**

*By John Cullen, M.A., D.Sc., Edinburgh. Glasgow : Maclehose
& Sons, 1903. 8vo, pp. x. + 244. Price 5s. net.*

The Book of Genesis.

*With Introduction and Notes by S. R. Driver, D.D. West-
minster Commentaries. London : Methuen & Co., 1904.
8vo, pp. xxii., lxxiv. + 420. Price 10s. 6d.*

(1.) THIS is an elaborate monograph, of a kind more frequent in German than in English, devoted to one particular thesis. The writer is dissatisfied with the commonly accepted view as to the kernel of Deuteronomy, which finds it in chapters v.-xxvi. and xxviii., of which v.-xi. forms the introduction, and xii.-xxvi. the laws, whilst xxviii. is regarded as the conclusion which moved Josiah to rend his garments. This has been attacked by Wellhausen on the ground of the unsuitability of the introduction to the laws, and he proposed to regard the laws only as the original. His theory has not found much acceptance, and now Dr. Cullen proposes to regard the "introduction" as the original, and the laws as a later addition. This is the point of his book, though modified by a wholesale rearrangement of the contents of Deuteronomy. The larger half of the work, in twelve sections, is devoted to this reconstruction of what he considers the original form of Deuteronomy ; the second portion, to the subsequent growth of Deuteronomy by the addition of the Law code, and other parts of the canonical work. An appendix, in three divisions, prints the result of the reconstructions in continuous form.

It is evident that this theory, which is novel, if nothing else, starts from the same point as Wellhausen's—the separation of the "introduction" from the laws. It is unfortunate

for the writer that he has practically nothing new to bring forward of any weight against the accepted theory, for unless readers are convinced of the necessity of this separation, they are not likely to read much further. Reference is made to the length, the didactic character, the want of special applicability in chapters v.-xi., as arguments against its introductory character. We find an ominous readiness to get rid of the phrase "statutes and judgments" as the work of a redactor. The presence of the Decalogue in chapter v. is considered an objection; if present, the writer thinks there would have been "an appeal to its authority" in the later portion. This ignores the fact that the whole work is written in the name of Moses, and rests on "a continuous Mosaic tradition"; "the Mosaic nucleus was expanded and developed in various directions, as national life became more complex, and religious ideas matured" (Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. lvii.). Further reference is made to an alleged difference of purpose between the two sections. It is said that the command of vii. 5, to destroy altars, pillars, Asherim, etc., does not involve destruction of the *places*, which are distinctly named in xii. 2. A difficulty is made of the absence of mention in the earlier portion of the centralisation of worship at Jerusalem, but one might as well object that Dr. Cullen's own Introduction was not written by the same hand as was the Appendix, because it does not contain his final results, but only prepares for them. Nor is the next stage of the argument any more convincing. We are asked to believe on *a priori* grounds that "a new law code is usually not the instrument but the outcome of a successful revolution". The writer sees the rock in his course—the distinct statement of the narrative of Josiah's reformation that this sprang from "the book of the law" found in the Temple. He tries to evade it by the supposition that the reforms did not take place at once; "it appears quite a reasonable supposition that in the narrative of 2 Kings xxiii., we have a telescoped account of a series of reforms, stretching, it may be, over a period of some years, a mixing together of things which were done at different times, and possibly in a different order"

(p. 17). Really, we ought not to be asked to give up definite statements in the interests of a mere theory, itself requiring to be proved.

The working out of the theory in detail is often ingenious, and shows a considerable amount of painstaking labour, but is quite unconvincing. Take, for example, the means by which a start at reconstruction is made. The well-known passage in Jeremiah (xi. 1-8), in which reference is supposed to be made to the Deuteronomic Reformation, is taken for a starting point. What passage in the present Deuteronomy resembles it most? The writer fixes on Deuteronomy xxviii. 69-xxix. 14, and concludes that this formed the introduction to iv. 10 ff., which resembles it in style and contents. In this manner, one link picks up another, and a quite plausible chain is the result. But suppose we were to start with some other "resemblance" between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy? The very passage in Jeremiah to which Dr. Cullen appeals is considered by Duhm to be based, not on chapter xxviii. 69 ff. but on chapter xxvii.; this is far more likely, on account of the reference to the "Curse," and the prophet's "Amen". But with such a start, we could make up an edition of Deuteronomy entirely different from that now offered to us—if it were worth while to spend the time on such an academic exercise.

It is disappointing to reader, as well as to author, to characterise in this manner a book which is so laborious in method and detail as this. We can only hope that Dr. Cullen will be more fortunate in the next thesis to which he devotes his energies. As it is, we cannot feel that he has added anything to our knowledge either of Deuteronomy or of the Reformation with which it is connected. Nor can we believe that such purely subjective methods of work are likely to win more acceptance when applied to the "higher," than they have found in the "lower" criticism.

(2.) A characterisation of Dr. Driver by his Oxford colleague in the work of Old Testament exegesis ascribes to him,

amongst other qualities, "a minute . . . attention to correctness of details" and "a sympathetic interest in the difficulties of the ordinary orthodox believer" (*Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, p. 250). The combination of these qualities in Dr. Driver's most recent book has given it a double importance. It will be indispensable to the student through its collection of facts and references to literature; it will do much, at the same time, to bridge the gulf existing between popular ideas of the Bible and its scientific exegesis. The book consists of (1) the commentary proper, very brief notes being printed underneath the text of the Revised Version; (2) longer detached notes dealing with points of special interest or difficulty, of which there are thirty-three, besides two Excursuses; (3) an introduction of considerable length. The general aim of the series to which it belongs is to supply something "less elementary than the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, less critical than the *International Critical Commentary*, less didactic than the *Expositor's Bible*". No scholar is likely to be more qualified to realise such an aim than Dr. Driver. As a text-book for older students of the English text the work is admirable; the necessary facts are given in the briefest possible form, and with that methodical and precise tabulation for which the student with limited time is so grateful. Dr. Driver remarked on one occasion to his Hebrew class at Christ Church, "If you want to learn Hebrew, you must make lists—make lists". The precept is most characteristic of the author's method, and is repeatedly exemplified in the present volume. Whether he is dealing with geological epochs or the names of God, with theories of the site of Paradise or the conditions of land tenure in Egypt, the emphasis falls on the necessity for making a complete collection of the data, with German thoroughness of detail. It is the natural result of such an emphasis that conjectural emendation of the text is reduced to the unavoidable minimum. This agrees, of course, with the plan of the series, but in any case, Dr. Driver has nothing to fear from that devotion to subjective emendation which is the Nemesis of so many critical commentaries. The plan of the Westminster

Series is considerably better than that of the International Critical for practical use and rapid reference. There is a growing opinion that the most useful form of commentary must give a continuous translation of the text, with condensed notes, such as these, on the same page—notes that make no attempt at continuity, but simply relate to particular words or phrases. We may reasonably expect that the commentary of the future will become more and more a compendium of brief statements, joined with copious references to the voluminous and ever-growing literature. Detailed discussion will be relegated to special monographs, or only retained, as here, in the form of detached notes. Every student of Scripture who can really appreciate more than a dogmatic statement of results is likely to have the principal literature either on his shelves, or at hand in some reference library. From this point of view, the two most recent Bible Dictionaries ought to have considerable influence on the future work of the commentator. Dr. Driver has made frequent reference to them, in order to secure brevity in the present volume. There cannot be much on any Biblical subject which has not been gathered into the capacious nets of *The Dictionary of the Bible* and the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. The very different attitudes of these two great works is a further guarantee of their united completeness. They make it possible for future commentaries to be considerably less in size and price. A well-known maker of commentaries once said to the writer of this review, "Commentaries are not much use". Presumably he meant that their discussion of detail is usually inadequate to the needs of the specialist, whilst serving only to bewilder and confuse the plain man who enters the maze. A commentary would discharge its true function for both classes of readers if it were made more in the nature of an index to literature and an analysis of results. The great usefulness of the present volume largely depends on the advance made in this direction. Here, for example, is a typical note (on Gen. iv. 23, 24) giving all that is needed in the most abbreviated form: "The Song of the Sword. Lamech, returning, we may suppose, from some

deed of blood, and brandishing his weapon in his hand, boasts before his wives—as an Arab chief, it is said, will do still—of what he has done; and expresses his delight at the means which he now possesses of avenging effectually bodily injuries.” The abundance of references, especially to archæological and anthropological detail, can only be realised by turning over the pages.

Together with these concise explanations of the text, verse by verse, and point by point, there are longer notes scattered through the volume, which deal with matters requiring detailed discussion. In such a book as Genesis, these naturally cover a great variety of subjects—persons and incidents, customs and institutions, geography and history, primitive theology. They exhibit in a marked degree that combination of qualities to which attention has been called above. The statements are scientifically frank; for example, “Enoch may thus be reasonably regarded as a Hebraised Enmeduranki, the converse with his god being divested of all superstitious adjuncts, and interpreted in a purely ethical sense” (p. 78). Yet ample sympathy is shown with those whose interest in the Bible is wholly religious and practical. Thus a note on stone-worship (Jacob at Bethel) concludes its survey of anthropological parallel by the words: “For us the religious value of the narrative lies not in what is said about the sacred stone, but in the truths which find expression . . . that heaven and earth are not spiritually parted from one another, that God’s protecting presence accompanies His worshippers, and that He is ever at their side, even when they are away from their accustomed place of worship, or are otherwise tempted by circumstances not to realise the fact” (p. 268). No better example of the kind of exegetical note required by the educated preacher or teacher could be given than the following restrained, yet suggestive analysis of Lot’s character. “He is selfish, weak, and worldly; he thinks of himself before his uncle, and chooses for the sake of luxury and ease, to dwell in the midst of temptation. . . . Lot is one of the many *τύποι ἡμῶν* in the Old Testament; and his history is a lesson of the danger of thinking too

exclusively of worldly advantage and present ease" (p. 205). Reference might have been made to Newman's *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, vol. iii., p. 1, where also Lot is considered as a type of worldliness. In some instances Dr. Driver has given such references, and more generously than is usual; compare the note on Jacob's struggle at Penuel (p. 297), where the names of Stanley, Charles Wesley, Robertson, Bright, and A. B. Davidson occur. This practice, if more generally adopted, would do much to reconcile Biblical scholarship with practical homiletics. Why should "practical" commentaries be written so exclusively by those who have no claim to first-rank scholarship? Why divorce the critical from the practical to the extent which at present prevails, by which both are losers? The ideal commentary would not only facilitate reference to the storehouses of scholarship, but would also form a practical handbook to the acknowledged masterpieces of exegetical discourse.

One of the marks of distinction between the ancient and the modern commentary is found in the use of anthropological data. The ancient Hebrew is no longer presented to us like Muhammed's coffin—suspended between earth and heaven. Ethnological parallels are no longer cited timorously, as a mere shadow of the true tabernacle. Hebrew rites and customs take their place in an organic development. A good example may be found in the note on Circumcision (p. 189). Dr. Driver explains it, in the light of comparative anthropology, as "a rite of initiation into manhood," though he is careful to point out the presence of a special significance in Israel. May we not carry the explanation one step further than this accepted point? It is clear that related rites, like the Australian sub-incision, cannot be accounted for on physiological grounds. But is not the mutilation of particular organs a product of that primitive psychology which distributed personality, as we may almost say, to special portions of the body? Take, for example, the tongue ordeal as practised in Arabia. A witness "was put to the test by a live coal being placed upon her tongue" (Blunt's *A Pilgrimage to Nejd*, vol. i., p. 10). With this compare the practice of

the Australian medicine-man whose professional equipment requires a hole bored through his tongue (*The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, Spencer and Gillen, p. 523). This cannot possibly serve a useful purpose. Is it not the partial devotion of an organ to unknown powers? Ought we not to explain circumcision before puberty and marriage as a similar sacrifice of part of an organ previous to the period of its use, in order to save the rest from invisible malignancies?

Other notes of special interest are those on the Deluge ("we must suppose that there was once an actual extraordinary overflow of the Euphrates," p. 108), and the sacrifice of Isaac (p. 221). It is instructive to compare the discussion of the latter with that in Mozley's *Ruling Ideas of Early Ages*, and to note the different aspect of the subject when approached from the standpoint of modern scholarship. We miss a detached note on one subject—that of primitive psychology. The references to man's creation from the dust (p. 55) would be likely to convey a false idea of the Hebrew conception of personality to any one not in touch with primitive thought. To say "This is obviously a pictorial or symbolical expression of the fact that there is a material side to his nature" implies a psychological discrimination foreign to Hebrew ideas. Is not Dr. Driver still influenced by unhistoric systemisation when he speaks of the soul as the "seat" of psychical phenomena? The term is rightly applied to the heart or the liver, but scarcely to the unlocalised *nephesh*, which is a *principle*, rather than a *seat* of life.

We have yet to notice the Introduction, the most interesting, and perhaps the most valuable portion of this work. It may possibly come to take the same place as a compendium of critical method, as the Introduction to *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Samuel* has taken in regard to Semitic Epigraphy. The seventy-four pages are allotted to four subjects. The first section goes over the familiar ground of the literary analysis of Genesis, but with a fulness of treatment that will make it useful even to the advanced student. (Ryle's article in Hastings' *Dictionary* is little more than half

the length, and Moore's in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* is less than half.) The second section deals with the chronology. We are reminded of the inconsistency between P and JE, and the conclusion is reached that "the chronology of the Book of Genesis—which is in effect P's chronology—in spite of the ostensible precision of its details, has *no historical value*". The third section discusses the historical value of the book. In regard to the pre-historic period, we are offered a patient and comprehensive survey of the evidence for the great antiquity of man. The evidence of Assyrian and Egyptian civilisation, of philology, ethnology and geology is shown to be overwhelmingly against the date for the creation of man implied by the statements of Genesis (Masoretic Text, B.C. 4157, LXX 5328). The writers of these early chapters "report faithfully what was currently believed among the Hebrews respecting the early history of mankind," but are ignorant of "the real beginnings either of the earth itself, or of man and human civilisation upon it" (p. xlii.). Nor is the conclusion so very different in regard to the patriarchal period. Full weight is given to such evidence for historicity as there is—tenacity of memory, twofold testimony of J and E, sobriety and moderation of the narratives, general credibility of incident, the work of Moses as implying such a past history as this. There is no contemporary monumental corroboration. As for the appeal to topography and Oriental atmosphere, we are reminded that "the narratives of Genesis are wonderful photographs of scenery and life; but they carry in themselves no proof that the scenery and life are those of the patriarchal age and not those of the age of the narrators" (p. liii.). On the other hand, the theory of Ewald and others that Genesis gives us merely tribal traditions cast into the form of individual biography is dismissed as a universal explanation on account of "the abundance of personal incident and detail in the patriarchal narratives as a whole" (p. lvii.). Dr. Driver's own acceptance of a residuum of historicity is stated with significant caution: "It is still, all things considered, difficult to believe that some foundation of actual personal history does

not underlie the patriarchal narratives" (p. lvii.). Three modifying factors of the "substantial historical nucleus" due to popular oral tradition are frankly admitted: (1) the desire to account for existing facts and institutions, such as the sanctity of Bethel; (2) the importation into the personal narratives of later tribal movements, etc. (Ishmael and Bedawin); (3) religious idealisation. These concessions practically reduce the historical element to an unknown quantity. Dr. Driver rightly emphasises the fact that this conclusion is reached apart from any prejudice against the supernatural and miraculous. This is a point of great importance in the present phase of thought. Exegetes, writing in the study, or speaking from the pulpit, owe it to the truth and to their hearers to make clear their personal attitude to a spiritual world, such as the Bible implies. Dr. Driver has done great service by showing critical scholarship in complete independence of naturalistic prepossessions. Consequently he will have the sympathy of his readers in the closing section of the Introduction, which argues for the unimpaired religious value of the book: "the religious value of the narratives of Genesis, while it must be placed upon a different basis from that on which it has hitherto been commonly considered to rest, remains in itself *essentially unchanged*" (p. lxviii.). Great ideas and spiritual types still remain ours. "Without any conscious moral purpose pervading the narrative, elementary lessons about right and wrong, and God and man, are taught through the simple experiences and vicissitudes of four generations in an Eastern home. In Genesis, more than in any other part of the Bible, God talks with men, as a father with his child" (p. lxxiii.). The section must be read as a whole for its admirable qualities to be appreciated. It is fortunate, indeed, for the interpretation of the Old Testament, that our foremost Hebrew scholar should be ready to devote his time and energy to such patient exposition as this. It is a rare gift to be able to explain the facts to the educated public in general, without irritation and annoyance to the special student, who will find in this book, taken in conjunction with Spurrell's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis*,

all that even he needs. To appreciate the high qualities of the work of Dr. Driver, one has only to turn to the Prefatory Note by the general editor of the series. It is meant to be a sop to Cerberus. How different from Dr. Driver's clear discrimination of the historic and the religious value of Genesis is the plausible, yet quite unscientific remark, "the fact of Inspiration, once admitted on the higher level of moral and spiritual tone, may well carry its influence over into details of fact, and turn the balance, when otherwise uncertain, on the side of trustworthiness"!

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things.

*By the Rev. H. A. A. Kennedy, M.A., D.Sc. London :
Hodder & Stoughton, 1904. 8vo, pp. xx. + 370. Price
7s. 6d. net.*

OUR study of Dr. Kennedy's work on "Philippians" in the Expositor's Greek Testament prepared us to expect much from his Cunningham Lectures on the eschatology of St. Paul, recently delivered in Edinburgh, and we have not been disappointed. This volume is announced as "a study in the history of early Christian thought. This description fixes the method and the limits of the investigation." Dr. Kennedy never outsteps the "limits," and he keeps absolutely faithful to the "method". His aim is to show that Paul's eschatological outlook has a vital bearing on his theology as a whole, and colours what are to him the normative aspects of Christianity—his doctrines of justification and the new life. Dr. Kennedy sets out with the paradoxical position that St. Paul has no eschatology—that is, he never approached the subject in a systematic fashion. And the necessary caveat is given that the problems concerning the last things which arise to us did not appeal to the apostle at all. Paul's thought transcended such questions as that of an intermediate state, and the interest of the question of a future life for Christian communities explains why the apostle has so little to say as to the destiny of the wicked, and the resurrection and punishment of unbelievers. Dr. Kennedy shows that Paul's scheme of thinking leaves room for a general resurrection, and that no exegetical juggling can get rid of his conception of an awful destiny for the impenitent. But "he was not possessed by any painful curiosity. He knew that he had found eternal life in Jesus

Christ. That fact gives its decisive basis to his eschatology." The attempts of Cox and Farrar to rid the adjective "aionios" of its natural and, apart from this controversy, invariably accepted sense, "eternal," in the writings of the New Testament, "reveal the difference between the early Christian and the modern standpoint". In fact, Dr. Kennedy never allows us to forget that theologians of all schools have sinned in not seeing that Paul's conceptions must be studied "in the context of his whole thought".

Although the view is taken that, in the strict sense, Paul had no eschatology, there are certain clear landmarks which come into view—*viz.*, the parousia or final advent of Christ, the resurrection from the dead, and the consummation of a redeemed and glorified humanity, in which the universe reaches the goal of the divine purpose.

These form, therefore, the divisions of the book, but they are preceded by discussions of the formative influences in Paul's conceptions of the last things, and of the sense in which he used the words life and death. The influences which moulded the apostle's eschatology are shown to have been (1) the Old Testament mediated by the teaching of Jesus; (2) Judaism, especially its doctrines of retribution and resurrection; (3) his own Christian experience; and (4) the eschatology of Jesus, between which and that of Paul there is shown to be a remarkable parallelism.

In this chapter there is a fine discussion of Paul's re-discovery of the Old Testament for himself as a Christian, on which Dr. Kennedy, in opposition to "current fashion," lays great emphasis. We cannot enlarge on the exceedingly fresh treatment given to Paul's conversion as the supreme factor in shaping the eschatological as well as every other element in his religious thought. It is particularly timely, in view of recent attempts by Professor James and others to correlate Paul's vision of Christ with forms of "sensory automatism," and rank it with Constantine's cross in the sky. Paul's whole life and aspirations were not transformed by a photism! The emphasis laid on the personal Christian experience of Paul as the genesis of his conceptions of the

last things is Dr. Kennedy's explanation of the fact that his utterances on these "are chiefly positive". Little help, therefore, can be got from Paul in regard to modern speculations on such subjects as the intermediate state, conditional immortality, and others. "St. Paul is often cited in modern books as an authority for views which he would not have understood, as a witness to theories foreign to his entire method of thought." As a true scholar must, Dr. Kennedy pins his reader to St. Paul's "point of view," and "the precise significance of his language". In the chapter on Paul's conceptions of life and death, it is shown that his religious outlook is dominated by the conception of "death as the ruin, and of life as the triumphant continuance of the whole personality". The chapter is full of the most competent and illuminating exegetical work.

In his treatment of the parousia, Dr. Kennedy shows that Paul has taken his stand on the teaching of Jesus Himself. His claim to be Judge is "the point at which the foundations of a distinctly Christian eschatology were laid". The lack of pictorial drapery, and the reticence of Paul as to the judgment, are remarked and accounted for by his specific conception of salvation.

Probably the part of this book which will be most interesting and fruitful to students of Paulinism in relation to the last things is the chapter on St. Paul's conception of the resurrection. To review it in detail is impossible. Suffice to say that it leaves nothing out, and is an exceedingly fresh treatment of a most perplexing subject. It starts from the position that "the new life which St. Paul knows he has received from the risen Christ is one which embraces the entire personality". Paul is therefore true to the genuine Hebrew tradition, and in no way content with the Hellenistic idea of immortality. We are glad to see Dr. Kennedy emphasising an important apologetic point—the correspondence between Paul's doctrine of a spiritual body and the narrated appearances of the risen Christ on earth. "They appear to us in not a few points to adjust themselves with remarkable accuracy to St. Paul's idea of the spiritual body."

The whole chapter is a new commentary on 1 Cor. xv., and forms a great contribution to the discussion of the problem of a future life.

In the chapter on St. Paul's conception of the consummation of the kingdom, full justice is done to the eschatological element in Christ's doctrine of the kingdom, which is a generally recognised fact now, and to the fact that, while Paul's conception of the kingdom is mainly eschatological, he also recognises the kingdom as a realised fact on earth. Dr. Kennedy thinks that "New Testament theology has been too apt to lay exclusive stress on the individualism of St. Paul". The broader sweep of his vision is therefore recognised in his conception of the consummation as a triumph of redeemed humanity. "We can discern what lofty heights of thought lie around St. Paul's conception of the future of redeemed humanity." "As the apostle pictures that future of redeemed believers, all transfigured into the likeness of their Redeemer and Head, the whole scene glows and quivers with radiant splendour." Of course there is an obverse side to this, for on Dr. Kennedy's reading of Paul, "the main outlines of his doctrinal teaching leave no place for and suggest no approximation to a theory of universal salvation". To Paul there are "proud and perverse wills which steadfastly refuse to bow to the divine purpose of mercy," albeit that purpose has a universal scope. Nor is this to be controverted by solitary proof texts of a universalistic scope which, as the author says, "have wrought more havoc in theology than all the heresies". But the fate of sinners is left by Paul, as by Jewish eschatology, "shrouded in darkness". In closing, Dr. Kennedy disposes in a sentence of the pre-millennialists in the words: "Thus in our judgment [he is speaking of the text "Then cometh the end"] the argument to be drawn from St. Paul's own words is decisive against a protracted struggle between Christ and His adversaries after the parousia".

Enough has been said to show that in Dr. Kennedy we have a new writer to be reckoned with, and to be thankful for. He has written an extremely able and scholarly book,
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in which there is not a dull page. And when we lay it down we feel that he may legitimately claim, as he does in the Preface, to have made plain Paul's indebtedness to the earlier revelation as illuminated by his Christian experience, and the decisiveness with which Paul grounds our Christian hope, not in speculations about personality, but in the fact of the relation of the individual soul to the risen Lord Jesus Christ.

DAVID PURVES.

**Acta Pauli aus der Heidelberger Koptischen Papyrus,
Handschrift No. 1 herausgegeben.**

*Von Carl Schmidt. Übersetzung, Untersuchungen und Koptischer
Text. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. 2 vols. Vol. I. Pp. viii.
+ 240 + 80. Vol. II. Tafelband. 80 Photographic
Plates. Price £2 2s.*

THIS important and long-expected work has at length appeared. The author begins by remarking that when in the autumn of 1897 he first announced his discovery of the original Acts of Paul, he had no idea that their publication would be so long deferred. But no one who examines the facsimiles of the Coptic fragments so beautifully reproduced in vol. ii. will wonder at the delay. Only one whole page has been preserved, and very many of the 2000 fragments consist of tiny pieces which could only be conjecturally deciphered and arranged. One cannot be too grateful to the learned Professor for having persevered with the laborious task, for although the quantitative result is not very great, most of the matter being already known to us, in a variety of ways most important light has been thrown on the real nature of this ancient work, more especially on the fact which now comes to light that it included three apocryphs already known to us, viz., the Acts of Paul and Thecla, the so-called third Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians and the letter to which that Epistle was supposed to be a reply, and the *Martyrium Pauli*.

The fragments were purchased by Dr. Reinhardt of Cairo from a dealer in Coptic antiquities in Achmim. Since Achmim is a centre for the sale of such antiquities, this does not of itself tell us where they were found. But some of the fragments show signs of having been preserved in the sand, and a number of linguistic peculiarities prove that they

are written in that special variety of Sahidic which is known as the dialect of Achmim.

The arrangement of the fragments in the Atlas which forms vol. ii. had been completed when a new and important clue was supplied by Dr. Gerhard of Heidelberg. He pointed out that the way in which the fibres of the papyrus ran in relation to the writing indicated whether the fragment belonged to the first or second half of the book. If Dr. Gerhard is right, this will furnish a valuable clue to all students of ancient papyri. The order of the translation, which follows this plan, seems as near the truth as without further discoveries it is possible to get.

It is a piece of great good fortune that amongst the fragments is the conclusion of the whole MS. together with the subscription, "The Acts of Paul according to the Apostle," *i.e.*, according to St. Paul himself. As the fragment which thus concludes is the story of St. Paul's martyrdom, we have a parallel here to the conclusion of the Pentateuch with the story of the death of Moses. Probably the good people of the second century found no more difficulty in attributing the account of his own death to St. Paul than many devout Christians have until recently in attributing Deut. xxxiv. to Moses.

The story opens with the tale of Anchaes whose son is raised from the dead by the Apostle. This occurs at Antioch in Pisidia. Then follows the first of the lemmata, or sections, into which the MS. is divided, "After the flight from Antioch when he wished to go up to Iconium". Under this heading we have the story of Paul and Thecla, the greater part of which is preserved. The next lemma is, "When he had left Antioch and taught in Myrrha". Here at Myrrha is recounted the story of Hermocrates, the ὑδρωπικός. At St. Paul's command the sufferer's complaint is suddenly eased, and the patient left for dead, till the Apostle at a word restores him. The narrative is crude and fabulous to a degree. Probably more educated readers, such as Origen, attached an allegorical meaning to this and the other miraculous episodes of the work. An illustration

of a mediæval Psalter representing David "sinking in the deep waters" occurs to me, in which the King is represented in the last stage of dropsy. A similar allegorical explanation might be suggested for the story of Hermippus being struck with sudden blindness as he rushes sword in hand on the Apostle. He was angry because he wanted his father to die so that he might succeed to the inheritance! The blindness may be taken to signify a soul in the darkness of sin. St. Paul, on his true repentance, restores his sight. The discovery of this section about Hermocrates harmonises with the evidence supplied by the "*Cæna Cypriani*" (Harnack, *T. u. U. N. F.*, iv. 3 b). This tractate contains about 470 headings, of which the majority relate to the canonical Scriptures, but the last fifteen are taken from the Acts of Paul and Thecla, and, as now becomes clear, from other parts of the Acts of Paul. For amongst them are these four: 1. *ventrem aperuit Hermocrates*; 2. *panem petebat Hermocrates*; 3. *murmurabat Hermippus*; 4. *effudit Hermocrates*, which are evidently from these Acts.

The next lemma is, "When he left Myrrha and wished to go up to Sidon". Here the Apostle and his companions are imprisoned in a temple, but one half of the temple at the Apostle's prayer falls down, while the other in which he stands remains intact. Next we have a fourth lemma, "When he left Sidon and wished to go up to Tyre". Here St. Paul casts out some devils. After this come a series of mutilated fragments, but the Apostle is supposed by Dr. Schmidt to travel on to Jerusalem, since we come to a fragment belonging to the first half which runs as follows: "Thou findest thyself in view of Jerusalem. But I trust in the Lord that thou wilt . . . (*hiatus of four lines*) . . . Saul . . . (*further hiatus*)."

The author seems fairly certain that he is right in here reading "Saul". This seems to me to render it more probable that this fragment represents some companion, possibly Barnabas, bringing Saul to Jerusalem before his name was changed to Paul, and while he was yet suffering from partial blindness.

Further fragments in the first half follow, amongst which

may be noted a story in which St. Paul raises Phrontina from the dead. This concludes the first half, and we now come to a fifth lemma, "When he left . . . and wished to go up to Philippi". Here, as presently appears, St. Paul was put in prison because of Stratonike the wife of Apollophanes. Does this mean that she had left her husband in consequence of the Apostle's preaching? The canonical story of the Pythia occurred in these Acts in connexion with Lystra, as appears from a Catena on 2 Tim. iii. 11 (quoted from Cramer by Schmidt, p. 150). In this we find the following gloss on the words "Afflictions which came to me at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra," viz., "at Iconium some say on account of Thecla; at Lystra, whence Timothy came; and some again say on account of the woman that had the spirit of the Python".

In this connexion we may notice an ivory carving (c. 292, in Dalton's *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum*) of the late fourth or early fifth century. One of the three panels represents two scenes in St. Paul's life. In the first scene Thecla appears leaning her left elbow on a wall. On the right St. Paul is seated and holds an open roll in both hands. In the second scene a man stands in the act of throwing a large stone and St. Paul has fallen to the ground, and raises his right hand in self-defence. This seems to me to be an illustration of two scenes in the Acts of Paul, which would thus appear to have contained the story of the stoning of the Apostle at Lystra.

While St. Paul was at Philippi messengers came with a letter from Corinth complaining of the teaching of Simon and Cleobius. Here follows the apocryphal correspondence. The Corinthians complained of these false teachers who held that "God is not the Almighty, and that there will be no resurrection of the flesh, that the Creation of man was not God's work, and that the Lord did not come in the flesh, and was not born of Mary, and that the world was not made by God but by angels". This was the teaching of the extreme Docetic school of Gnostics to which at a later period Marcion belonged. St. Paul in his reply asserts

"that our Lord Jesus Christ was born of Mary, of the seed of David, a holy Spirit being sent down from heaven into her from the Father, that He might descend into this world, and redeem all flesh from the dead by his own flesh, as an earnest whereof He gave Himself to us". And the Creed of these teachers is further described thus: "They say that God has not made heaven and earth and all that is in them. Behold it is the faith of the accursed snake which they hold." Possibly this is a reference to the Naassenes or Ophites, who are said to have used the fourth Gospel. We learn from Hippolytus (*Hær.*, v. 3) that the Naassenes explained away St. John i. 3, "nothing was made without Him," so that they appear to have considered their views Scriptural and to have claimed to be within the Church. It is noticeable that Simon and Cleobius are described as "perverting Christ's words," and rather as false teachers within the Church than open heretics. Schmidt doubts this, but one recalls the passage 1 Cor. xv. 12. "How say some *among you*, etc.," *i.e.*, there was a section within the Church which took this view even in St. Paul's day. And the writer of these Acts appears to refer to them, for he makes St. Paul say, "They understand not the sowing of wheat and other plants," which recalls 1 Cor. xv. 37.

Other fragments refer to prophecies of St. Paul's sufferings and triumphs in Jerusalem and Rome, and finally we come to the concluding fragment from the *Martyrium Pauli*.

In addition to the text both in Coptic and German, Schmidt's work is divided into a number of sections in which he examines into the whole question of these Acts. First, we have a history of the Acts in the ancient Church; next a discussion of the question of authorship, and time, and place of composition, and finally sections on the character and historical value of the Acts, and the integrity of the text. This is all done in a most lucid and satisfactory manner, even if one does not always accept the results arrived at. The book will at once take its place as the best authority on the subject.

Origen's reference to the Acts of Paul is laudatory. He

quotes from it, "Hic est verbum animal vivens," which he remarks is rightly put, though not expressed so well as in the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel. One is reminded of Aristotle's definition of God as τὸ πρῶτον ζῶον. We see from this fragment that, had we the whole work (which contained 3,560 στίχοι, or according to Schmidt's reckoning, some 84 double sheets of papyrus), we should probably find it to contain philosophical reflections akin to those which follow the well-known story of St. Peter's crucifixion in the Acta Petri. Curiously enough this very story is also quoted by Origen as occurring in the Acts of Paul. "If any one likes to receive that which is written in the Acts of Paul, as said of the Saviour, 'I go to be crucified again'." Harnack may very well be right in supposing that the old Acts of Peter did not contain an account of St. Peter's martyrdom, but that this originally occurred in the Acts of Paul. One notices identical phrases in the two Martyria of Peter and Paul, as, e.g., when both Apostles decline to save their lives, saying, "Would you have me a runaway slave (δραπένης)?" The original Acts of Peter appear to have been exclusively confined to the reign of Claudius. Agrippa, who is angry with St. Peter because he persuades his concubines to leave him, is said to have been so furious "because of his disease". Clearly then he was the Agrippa of Acts xii. The dénouement of those Acts was the attempt of Simon Magus to fly and his fall, not St. Peter's death. Their title is "Actus Petri cum Simone Mago". And when Simon disappears, the story properly ends. Not improbably the author of these "Acts of Paul," a thoroughly orthodox but encratite writer, wished to do for St. Paul what the writer of the Acts of Peter had done for Peter, i.e., glorify him as the Apostle of continency. More especially would this motive be in place if in the original Acts of Peter, Simon Magus was really a mask for St. Paul. Waitz, in his study on Simon Magus (*Zeitschrift f. n. Wiss.*, 1904, 2), considers that the undoubted cases in the Clementines in which Simon is an impersonation of St. Paul are but one instance among others of the kaleidoscopic changes of his

personality. It is to his mind simply a literary device. The Clementine writer is not, so he thinks, in this picture of "Simon qui et Paulus" leaving an awkward trace of an earlier Anti-Pauline romance, but is simply, as Dr. Hort puts it, making a sly hit at the Pauline party in the Church of his own day. But the invincible objection to this is, that at that later period all parties honoured St. Paul as much as St. Peter. Now, supposing that the author of our Acts had before him a work in which St. Paul was satirised in the person of a Samaritan Christian who claimed that the "Christ" dwelt in him in all his fulness, and attempted to ratify that claim by magical arts, it would be natural for him to correct that wrong impression by introducing Simon as the false teacher whom St. Paul wishes to suppress, and St. Peter as the friend of St. Paul who is present at, and relates the story of, his martyrdom. Amongst the Coptic fragments is one which represents St. Paul as one of the "Twelve Shepherds," and his teaching as what he has derived "from the Apostles": How different from the statements of the Apostle himself in Gal. i., but it harmonises very well with the motive of a writer whose object was to prove that St. Paul was at one with St. Peter and the other Apostles.

Eusebius places these Acts amongst the Antilegomena, under the heading of *νόθα*, or spurious, but ranks them with the Shepherd of Hermas, the Apocalypse of Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Didache, and even the Apocalypse of John, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. Thus they occur, as Schmidt says, in that group of five writings which were frequently bound up in one Codex with the New Testament. This of itself goes to show that they were regarded as a work of St. Paul himself. On the other hand, Eusebius regards the other four ancient apocryphal Acts (those of Andrew, John, Peter, and Thomas) as *ἄτοπα πάντη καὶ δυσσεβῆ*. But the strange thing is that the Acts of Paul appear together with these four in the Manichæan Corpus of Acts, and were recognised by the Priscillianists. And even the Coptic text was found in the same MS. as a fragment of a Gnostic and heretical Gospel. Schmidt treats this as no

proof that it circulated in heretical circles. But here most readers will probably disagree with him. The explanation may be that these Acts, like the Fourth Gospel, were accepted by Monarchian Gnostics, such as the Naassenes were, and such as Ptolemæus and Heracleon were. They were willing to accept the statements of this writer about the world being made by God only; for this visible world was really a nonentity. The Manichæans, in the Middle Ages, included such Monarchian Gnostics as well as those who believed that good and evil were eternally opposed and independent powers. These latter may be termed dualistic Gnostics. They certainly could not have accepted the Acts of Paul. The Monarchian Gnostics, again, would have been ready to accept the doctrine of the Resurrection as expressed in this work, especially if the *Martyrium Petri* formed part of it. For in it we read that when his friend Marcellus prepared to embalm his body, St. Peter appeared to him and said, "Marcellus, didst thou not hear the Lord say, 'Let the dead bury their dead'?" And Marcellus answered, "Yes". Then St. Peter said to him, "It is but lost labour that thou hast prepared those spices to embalm the dead".

It is true that the doctrine of these Acts is the same as that of II. Clement, ix. 1 f. "And let no one of you say that this flesh is not judged or raised." But even II. Clement takes a spiritual view of the term "flesh". Thus in ch. xiv. 3 a mystical explanation is given to the effect that our present flesh is only the antitype of a spiritual reality in heaven, "no one, therefore, who corrupts the antitype will receive the reality (*τὸ ἀόθεντικόν*)".

Harnack's view that these Acts contained the *Martyrium Petri* seems to fit in better with Chrysostom's statement that St. Paul had induced a concubine of Nero to leave him, and this, as well as the conversion of Patroclus, led to his martyrdom. The shorter Greek *Martyrium*, which corresponds to the Coptic text, contains the story of Patroclus only with a preface which must have been specially written for it when, at a later time, it was separated from its original context, and when that separation was made the story of

the concubine would be almost certain to be omitted as a matter of taste. St. Chrysostom, therefore, quotes from the original Acts of Paul.

Zahn had already conjectured that this Martyrium and the apocryphal correspondence with the Corinthians must have formed part of these Acts. This is not the first occasion on which Zahn has distinguished himself by the correctness of what has turned out to be a "scientific hypothesis". One remembers his brilliant reconstruction of the Diatessaron and its subsequent verification.

But the discovery that the Acts of Paul and Thecla formed part of the larger work, the Acts of Paul, seems to have surprised everybody. The most interesting question with regard to this portion of the Acts is: Is Corssen right in believing the Latin fragment, discovered at Brescia, and published by Gebhardt, to represent an older form of text than the Coptic? Schmidt discusses this at some length in the chapter on the integrity of the text. In the Brescia fragment Thecla is represented as the wife of Thamyras, and not, as in the other texts, his betrothed. She is also described as going home with him when he comes for her, but escaping again in her eagerness to see St. Paul. Schmidt wishes to prove that this is a later development of the legend, but considering the fact that Thecla from the earliest times became the heroine of all virgins, the probabilities seem to be all the other way. But this does not invalidate the fact that substantially the Coptic text is original. Doubtless details have been altered, and amongst others the fact that Thecla was originally represented as a wife has been suppressed.

Schmidt is probably right in contending that the new setting in which these Acts of Paul and Thecla are now found once for all dissipates the notion that Thecla really existed. The fact that Tryphæna is a historical character does not prove the tale to be a true one any more than the fact that Agrippa really lived in Rome in the time of Claudius proves that the story of his relations with St. Peter is historical. But, in other respects, Schmidt appears to me to dismiss too lightly the striking facts to which Professor

Ramsay has drawn attention in regard to these Acts. Mr. Conybeare enumerates in the Preface to his Armenian text a number of ways in which the Armenian text confirmed Ramsay's position. It does not contain any reference to a Roman proconsul Castelius (Coptic "Kessilus"); it does not call Alexander a Syriarch (Coptic "Syrian"); it does not use the name Falconilla, which Ramsay shows did not come into vogue till A.D. 130; it does not contain the name Lectra, which, again, is probably an anachronism; it gives Meru, or Mero, which probably refers to Merus, a place near the Pisidian Antioch, instead of Myra (in Lycia). Now all these anachronisms are found in the Coptic, which is thereby proved a later recension of the text, in these details also. Moreover the really remarkable confirmation of Ramsay's point about the road to Lystra in the Armenian text, "He stood at the crossways of the high road which ran to the city of Lystra," should surely have been referred to by Schmidt in his discussion of this point. It proves that the writer of these Acts was familiar with the fact that in St. Paul's day the new road made about a quarter of a century later did not exist. It proves that he must have either made very careful local inquiries, or have been for some other reason familiar with the locality. Now if the Acts were written as Schmidt supposes (c. A.D. 180), it is extremely improbable that the writer could have been so exact in his reference to a road which had been disused for more than 100 years! This improbability is considerably lessened if we take what Harnack considers the earliest possible date for these Acts, *viz.*, A.D. 120. For the change of road might in that case have been within his own memory. Harnack's reason for preferring a date subsequent to A.D. 160 is probably the fact that he attributes II. Clement, which is clearly a product of the same period as these Acts, to the Roman Bishop Soter. But Soter is only said to have sent this homily to Dionysius, and not to have written it himself. Lightfoot dated it from A.D. 120-140. But there is another very cogent reason for assigning as early a date as possible to these Acts. Hippolytus thus refers to them:

"For if we believe that when Paul was condemned to the wild beasts, the lion that was loosed upon him lay down at his feet and licked him, why should we not believe what happened in the case of Daniel?" That this is really from the Acts of Paul is clear from the statement of Nicephorus that this incident was related in the *περίοδοι Παύλου*. How could Hippolytus have believed such a story if it had only appeared a quarter of a century, or less, before he wrote? And how could Origen have so highly regarded these Acts if they had first appeared only five years before he was born?

As to the authorship of the Acts of Paul, we have the definite statement of Jerome (*De vir. ill.*, 7), "Therefore we reckon the *περίοδοι* of Paul and Thecla, and the whole fable of the baptised lion, amongst apocryphal Scriptures. For how is it that a personal companion of the Apostle, in recounting the rest of his history, should have been ignorant of this episode alone? But Tertullian also, who was not far removed from those times, relates that a certain presbyter in Asia, who was zealous (*σπουδαστήν*) for the Apostle Paul, was convicted before John of being the author of the book, and having confessed that he had produced it out of love for St. Paul, was deposed from his office." Schmidt, following Rolffs, holds that Jerome's reference to the baptised lion is simply a misunderstanding of the text of Tertullian (*De bapt.*, 17). But in the *Zeitschrift f. d. Neut. Wissenschaft*, 1904, 2, G. Krüger shows that both Schmidt and Rolffs themselves misunderstand the passage in Tertullian, and Jerome's reference to the baptised lion still remains to be explained. It can hardly be doubted that Jerome's statement that the Acts of Paul contained such a ridiculous incident is correct. We learn from Commodian, *Carm. Apol.*, 627 f., that they contained a story of a lion speaking, and we know that the Acts of Peter contain a story of a speaking dog.

The passage quoted from Tertullian does not mention John, but it is supposed that Jerome quotes from the original Greek version of this treatise (*De bapt.*). Tertullian.

himself says, "De isto plenius jam nobis in Graeco digestum est". Schmidt seems to me to go out of his way to evade this passage when he says that Jerome could not have found "John" in the Greek of Tertullian. As it turns out that Jerome is after all likely to be correct in his reference to the baptised lion, we may take it that he is also trustworthy in his reference to St. John. Even if the mention of St. John carries us back to the beginning of the second century, surely that period might still be said to be not very far distant from the time of Tertullian.

As to the relation of these Acts to the Canonical Acts, it is perhaps the wiser course to reserve one's final judgment. Dr. Schmidt prefers to regard the Acts of Paul as a wilful perversion of the narrative of St. Luke.

J. H. WILKINSON.

Politics and Religion in Ancient Israel.

An Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament. By the Rev.
J. C. Todd, M.A., B.Sc., Canon of S. Saviour's Cathedral,
Natal. London: Macmillan & Co., 1904. Pp. xviii.
+ 334. 6s.

An Introductory Study of Ethics.

By Warner Fite. Longmans, Green & Co., 1903. Pp. xi. + 383.
6s. 6d.

The Silesian Horseherd.

*Questions of the Hour answered by F. Max Müller. Translated
from the German by Oscar A. Fechter. With a Preface by
J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A.* Longmans, Green & Co., 1903.
Pp. vii. + 220. 5s.

WE have been trying to content ourselves with saying that whether the Old Testament narratives are true or not, they at least contain the very highest moral lessons and spiritual principles. Canon Todd, who not only as a Cambridge man and a Church dignitary in Natal, but also in his fearless frankness reminds one irresistibly of Bishop Colenso, declares that this will no longer suffice. The man in the pew will doubtless find it hard to believe that what he has before him in the so-called historical books of the Old Testament is not history but history re-written with a motive, and still less easily will he be taught to distinguish such reconstruction from fraud. But if the Bible is to remain a real book to him and a spiritual guide, he must be told the truth. And the reason is that it is only through the history of Israel that its morality and its religion can be understood. New religious or ethical truth is not self-evolved or discovered *in vacuo*, but dawns on men or is forced upon them through the circumstances of their life. In short—and this explains the title

of this book—politics and religion are but two sides of the same thing. As the author puts it in his fresh, concrete way, "Religion is a spirit in which we live our daily life, but that life must be lived whether we are religious or not. No more in ancient Israel than elsewhere can we suppose that propositions in divinity *took the place* of bread-and-butter".

What is needed therefore by way of introduction to the study of the Old Testament, and what is offered in this book, is an attempt, in the light of modern research, to trace the political history of Israel together with the development in religion which was its counterpart. Thus "the theological value of the kingship was enormous". When under Saul the league of the tribes became a nation—a unit in peace as well as in war—the political change led to larger and nobler ideas of Yahweh: "the genuine recognition that he is the god of many men, and *helps* them all in spite of their often divided interests is a notable step". The glory of Solomon, again, led men to think of God as a great king holding court in the heavenly palace. With less likelihood it is suggested that the conception of Yahweh as the god of all nations arose through the international position attained by Elisha. One of the most striking chapters is that entitled "The Synoecismus of Judah," in which it is argued that the Deuteronomic legislation was the work of the nobles in the days of Josiah. "The object of the legislation as a whole was to substitute a constitutional for an absolute monarchy. . . . Primitive Israelite was simply the way in which *Genuine* Israelite presented itself to their mind. . . . The primary intention of the Deuteronomic code is political. . . . By a most masterly political device the whole code was assigned in the first place to Moses."

It is plain from these sentences that the Canon accepts unreservedly the conclusions of modern criticism. Of course his book is only a sketch. No authorities are cited, nor is there any discussion of points still in dispute; and one would very much like to know sometimes the steps by which certain positions were reached. Writing, too, as the Canon professes to do, for lay readers who have long

looked at things in a very different way, he is at times, for instance in the matter of the kodesh harlots, unwisely flippant and impatient of old-fashioned views. But he writes out of wide knowledge. He has a distinct gift of historical insight and sympathy. And he is never dull. Of all the smaller books we have had recently on Old Testament history this is the freshest and most suggestive. It consists of twenty-eight chapters mostly brief, but it is a unity, and this is due to its architectonic idea that the history of Israel is not, as is too commonly thought, the story of an empire like that of Egypt or Assyria, but like that of Athens and of Rome the record of a city-state in the making. The first sentence of the first chapter at once arrests attention: "The Old Testament is the epos of the Fall of Jerusalem".

Mr. Warner Fite's volume is no common text-book. The author is a philosopher, but he writes almost as a man of the world. He declines to be called either a Hedonist or an Idealist. His appeal is to common-sense, his interest is in the problems that meet us in the life of to-day, his object is to give "a plain statement of the existing ethical situation". Nor could there be any better proof of the clearness of his thought than the clearness of his style. The exposition never leaves the track. It never lingers on purple patches by the wayside, or soars into the clouds. It simply goes on its way, plain, smooth and easy, and yet it is never common, and contrives to be interesting all the time. There is not a single literary allusion, but the examples are plentiful and they are perfect, for they are not made in the study but taken from real life, and though they are often fully worked out they never divert attention from the matter in hand. Another thing too that makes this book a pleasure to read is that it is a model of method. In two brief chapters of an introductory sort (pp. 1-33) Mr. Fite starts off with the statement that moral problems—he gives examples from the professional and commercial life of to-day—all involve a conflict between the ideal and the practical, between aspiration and desire,

between progress and happiness. Hence result, according as men lean to the one side or the other, two great ethical theories—Hedonism, which stands for happiness, and Idealism, which stands for progress. Then follows the main body of the book in three parts. In the first Mr. Fite explains the point of view of Hedonism and weighs it from the standpoint of common-sense (pp. 37-157). In the second he does the same for Idealism (pp. 161-284). And in the third (pp. 287-373), which is entitled "Hedonism and Idealism: the Moral Situation," he endeavours "to discover how far and in what sense there lies behind the antagonism of ethical theories a deeper basis of agreement, and to what degree we may combine them for purposes of practical guidance".

The exposition of the two theories, especially in the matter of their philosophical presuppositions—for each is simply the intellectual expression of a certain temperament, or attitude, or view of the world as a whole—is uncommonly clear and marvellously judicial. In regard to Hedonism, Mr. Fite strongly repudiates its resolving of all spiritual values into material, and while admitting that self-interest and duty coincide in the lower and middle ranges of life, contends that in the higher reaches of moral effort the Hedonistic standard fails to answer: but, though thus unsatisfactory, Hedonism has its practical value, standing as it does for a genuine and practical morality as opposed to one that is merely sentimental. Idealism on the other hand, though less clear and definite, is truer to the complex facts of human life in being more comprehensive. It insists on regarding man as a person, as an end and not merely a means, and as a self in which besides pleasure there are other ends (knowledge, for example, and beauty) that call out for realisation. But, if comprehensive, it is vague. It tells us that life has a great and high purpose, but yet cannot say clearly what that purpose is. It holds up ideals, but it ignores conditions. In an ideal world we could all afford to be idealists, absolutely sincere, absolutely honest: but the world being as it is first of all a place where we must make

a living, we cannot do business or carry on the world's work without in some degree making sacrifice of our ideals. "Idealism offers a more comprehensive conception of moral value, but fails to define its conception in concrete detail or to show its application to existing conditions: Hedonism offers a system of computation, which may be applied to existing conditions, but whose unit of value is inadequate for the computation of all the factors of the moral life" (p. 262).

What then? Mr. Fite gives his answer in the third part of his book, and it is a very interesting and ingenious one. The two theories correspond to two different aspects of the world and must, we are bound to believe, be really complementary: but to fit them completely into one another is beyond the power of minds like ours, which can be clear only if they are narrow, and when they try to be comprehensive are certain to be vague. Are we then to choose the Hedonistic clearness and act only where we can be sure of results or the idealistic comprehensiveness and aim at an ideal existence? We are to choose neither but to combine both. "Both alternatives must be used as regulative hypotheses. In the absence of an exact co-ordination we may still effect an adjustment or compromise by which we may obtain guidance from both" (p. 305). And, as is shown in a final chapter of examples, "this use of alternatives is, in fact, the method commonly used in the solution of practical problems". Hedonism stands for the real, idealism for the ideal, and the conflict at every stage is a conflict between ideals to be realised and conditions to be observed. The practical moral attitude must therefore be a constant endeavour to secure an effective adjustment between progress and happiness, something of both being sacrificed so as to secure the maximum of sustained progress. "We find ourselves in the position of the quarter-master of a steamship, who is instructed to keep his ship headed for a given point on the compass. He finds his compass constantly shifting to one side or the other, and he is constantly correcting the variation by an appropriate turn of the wheel. We face a similar situation in our moral

life. At one time we are outrunning our capacities, at another time not living up to them : and the emphasis required for correction will vary with the situation of the moment. The successful moral life will then be that in which the agent is constantly alive to his situation and in which the variations from the ideal course are kept constantly at a minimum."

Our only criticism may attach to this last sentence. We are, Mr. Fite says, to keep as near to the ideal course as possible—are, that is, to be as generous, as honest as we can. But why are we so bound? Why should we lean to the ideal rather than to comfort? Why should we seek progress at all? After all, it would seem Hedonism and Idealism cannot be put on a level. Sidgwick tried a compromise and came out a Hedonist: Mr. Fite has tried one and comes out an Idealist.

Asked one day what he should most like to turn up among the Egyptian papyri, Max Müller declared for the *Sermo Verus* of Celsus, and then finding people were puzzled, wrote an article for the *Deutsche Rundschau* (July, 1895), in which after telling who Celsus was, and showing how much light a book like his, written by a philosophical outsider, might throw on early Christian thought and especially on the doctrine of the Logos—"The bridge which led across from Greek philosophy to Christianity"—he gave a full exposition of that doctrine and claimed that, instead of being neglected as it mostly was in modern times, it ought to be brought more and more forward as being at once the nucleus of Christianity and the key of the universe. "Why then turn back to the stone age of human thinking?" he asks, having his eye on the Darwinians, who "seek to explain species, kinds, *i.e.* the Logoi, the divine ideas, as the products not of the originating Mind, but of natural selection, of environment or circumstance, of the survival of the fittest". "Why again turn nature into wood, when for thousands of years Greek philosophers and Christian thinkers have recognised her as something spiritual, as a world of eternal ideas?"

Among the many letters which this article brought to its author was one from a German emigrant to Pennsylvania who signed himself by the very picturesque name of "Pferdebürla," a Silesian word which means "Horseherd". This letter, though somewhat familiar, was fresh and vigorous, and as it was plainly the utterance of an honest doubter, and spoke out in the name of many who were silent, the Professor decided to answer it. Receiving no reply he published the correspondence in a second article in the same magazine, and as this second article produced another crop of letters and criticisms, he expanded his answer to the Horseherd in three articles more. The five articles were then made into a little book, published in Berlin, 1899, and entitled "Das Pferdebürla," of which the present volume is a translation.

A few sentences from the Horseherd's letter (pp. 43-49) will show where he stood, and will indicate better than anything else the contents of this interesting though by no means important book. "Has there ever been anything in the history of the world more humiliating to the human understanding than this false and lying tale of the Christian religion? . . . Max, can you too still cling to the God-fable? . . . Max, all German savants, or if you please the majority of them, still labour under the delusion that the mind is a *prius*. By no means, Max. Mind is a development, an evolving phenomenon. . . . Mind is a function of living organisms, which belongs also to a goose and a chicken."

In that inimitable style and with that wide range of knowledge of which he was master, Max Müller states the other side. First, he shows that the world is not crazy but rational, and as against the Darwinians—of whom he remarks that they resemble the Roman emperors "who waited till the combat was ended and then applauded the survival of the fittest"—contends that every species corresponds to a thought or logos in the Divine Mind, each individual springing from its own cell, so that a human cell, however like in appearance to that of an ape, could never come from it. Secondly, he shows that, spite of the Horseherd, mind is a *prius*, and lays down once more his

favourite argument that the mind of man is different in kind from what we call mind in animals, because man alone can speak, that is, he alone can grasp the many in the one and frame concepts. "Mind is language and language is mind, the one the *sine quâ non* of the other, and so far no goose has yet spoken but only cackled." Lastly, he controverts the Horseherd's rash words about "this false and lying tale of the Christian religion". But unhappily this last article on "The Reasonableness of Religion" is exceedingly weak and flimsy, and reduces Christianity to a mere scrap of idealistic philosophy. The Synoptic Gospels, though veracious and without intent to deceive, are quite untrustworthy as history: the facts have passed through "the colloquial process": the miracles are simply materialised versions of spiritual changes wrought through the influence of Jesus. The only thing we can be sure of is that the life of Jesus by its holiness and moral elevation made such an impression on the first disciples that they came to believe and to insist that "Jesus in His life, conduct and death demonstrated that human nature could rise no higher than in Him, and that He *was* all and *fulfilled* all that God had comprised in the Logos 'man'." Jesus is the ideal man—that is all. But this is very much less than what we mean by Christianity, and it is much less than the Johannine doctrine of the Logos, of which at the outset our author was fain to make so much. This book indeed is only another proof that, with all his vast learning, Max Müller was far too apt to be carried away by the merely picturesque.

JOHN LENDRUM.

The Theology of the Old Testament.

By the late A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, New College, Edinburgh. Edited from the Author's Manuscripts, by S. D. F. Salmond, D.D., F.E.I.S., Principal of the United Free Church College, Aberdeen. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. 8vo, pp. 553. Price 12s.

How significant is the fact that this is the fifth, and probably not the last, posthumous work of the great teacher who, though by nature and habit he always loved to live in the shade, yet exercised such an immense influence over the religious life of his country. His numerous tasks were proceeding *ohne Hast, ohne Rast*, when suddenly his labour had an end.

This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
Dies ere he knows it.

Dr. Davidson was by no means a slow worker. There was a fierce energy latent beneath his quiet exterior. But he had the scientific conscience, and the brooding spirit of a true thinker, and he would not give the world anything but his best. We cannot but thank God that his life was prolonged till he had practically finished the work which Principal Salmond has so admirably edited. Here at length is the *magnum opus* which we had long expected, and which we began to fear we might never see. We confess to have opened it with a certain trepidation. In what state had the manuscript been left? Was the work a torso? Would it be necessary to apologise for imperfect work? Beginning to read with such questions in our mind, we are quickly reassured, and indeed beyond measure delighted, and we finish the book with the firm conviction that this is the greatest work on Old Testament Theology ever produced in Britain.

Dr. Davidson has been singularly fortunate in having his work edited by a lifelong friend, who understood all his habits of thought, and who indeed possesses many of those very qualities for which our teacher was so greatly honoured and loved. The editorial work has been done to perfection. It must have been a difficult task, probably even more laborious than the preface would lead us to suppose. But it has evidently also been a labour of love. The felicitous page-headings are an immense help to the reader; the notes on literature, the index of Scripture passages, and the index of matters are all most carefully executed. There are a few footnotes, but they do not cumber the text, and none of them are superfluous. Perhaps it might have been well to indicate by a note the passages which are almost duplicates, as for example pages 186 and 420. The only errata which we have marked are some very slight and pardonable printer's slips in the troublesome matter of Hebrew punctuation (*e.g.*, three on page 65). The editor's preface, admirably succinct and pointed, closes with words so beautiful that we cannot refrain from quoting them here. "My work," says Dr. Salmond, "is ended. During the course of it the mist has been often in my eyes. The sense of loss has been revived. A voice has spoken to me out of the past. A face which was darkened has seemed to be turned upon me again with its old light. I have felt how long art is and how short is life." Surely the old *desiderium tam cari capitis* never found more fitting or more touching expression.

To speak of Dr. Davidson's unerring and apparently instinctive insight into the meaning of Scripture is unnecessary. But it is interesting to hear him tell how such insight is to be won by the Bible student. He calls it simply "familiarity," but he admits that "the acquiring of this familiarity is not an easy thing. It takes, I might say, the labour and experience of a lifetime. For Scripture is a literary work written in the language of life, and not in that of the schools, whether of Philosophy or Theology or Science; and whatever ways of thinking and speaking men have, will appear in it. All forms of human composition that the genial, subtle,

various, calculating, enraptured human mind may employ to express itself, may be looked for in it. The ways of reaching its sense are a thousand. One must lay bare all his sensibilities, and bring himself *en rapport* with it on every side, and weigh general statements, and make the necessary deduction from a hyperbole, and calculate the moral value of a metaphor, and estimate and generalise upon sentiments which are never themselves general, but always the outcome of an intense life in very particular conditions, and even take up with his dumb heart 'the groanings that cannot be uttered'."¹

This volume may be described as a historical critic's *defensio fidei*. It is the most important argument for supernatural religion that has been published for a long time. It is precisely the book which the Church needs at the present juncture. Dr. Davidson's conviction of the uniqueness of the religion of Israel and of the reality of revelation is evident on almost every page. After stating, in a very striking passage, what is true in the naturalistic account of the evolution of the Hebrew faith, he adds: "But this is what is false in the representation above given, that the struggle was carried on in the field of natural religion. What natural religion contributed was the idolatry. The worship of the spiritual God came from revelation."² And again: "The new elevation given by Moses to the idea of God cannot be regarded as anything but the result of a special revelation. God appeared to him. He did not reach a purer conception of God by study or thought. God showed Himself to him."³

Dr. Davidson's attitude towards Historical Criticism is frankly expressed. His whole work is, of course, based on a general acceptance, cheerful and unhesitating, of the results of this discipline. But he guards himself against dangers and extravagances. "These processes," he says, "are, in principle, quite legitimate. No other method is open. But, at the same time, a door is opened to subjective and individual judgment, and the operation is necessarily a

¹ P. 514.

² P. 88.

³ P. 110.

precarious one. . . . The effect of the criticism referred to is to cut up the writings, particularly the prophecies, into a multitude of fragments, and to introduce the greatest uncertainty into the exegesis. I cannot help thinking that this kind of criticism has gone to extremes in recent times, and has had the effect of discrediting the criticism which is legitimate."¹

Here are some of his dicta on controverted points, and they are all the more impressive as coming from one who was so accustomed to say "perhaps". "David was certainly a monotheist."² The eighteenth Psalm was "the undoubted composition of David".³ The Decalogue "beyond doubt is Mosaic".⁴ "There is no reason to deny that some elements of truth, or many elements, may have been found in the primeval Shemitic religion held by the ancestors of Abraham, or by himself before his call—fragments of a primitive knowledge of God more or less pure, generalisations more or less profound regarding God and morality, hopes and aspirations more or less exalted, like those of Job."⁵ "Without committing ourselves to the opinion that the abstract conceptions of Monotheism or spirituality were in the mind of the worshippers in the patriarchal age, we can perceive that their conception of God at least did not differ greatly from those which we now have."⁶

Every reader will feel that this is a profoundly religious book. We breathe a more spiritual atmosphere than we do when we are reading Schultz's great work. The writer's intense personal interest in the problem of the being and character of God is everywhere apparent. It is never for a moment obscured by his very careful critical and exegetical work. He writes as a believer. His mind is at home in the kingdom of God, "the fellowship of men with God and with one another in love".⁷ For all his scientific rigour, we feel that we might almost apply to him his own words regarding Jeremiah: "To know God . . . was enough. His teaching

¹ P. 30.² P. 84.³ P. 64.⁶ P. 43.⁵ P. 66.⁷ P. 2.⁴ P. 80.

is little else than an expression, a transcription of his own pious life, of his intimate fellowship with God." His spiritual as well as æsthetic enjoyment of the Book of the Second Isaiah is indicated by such a passage as this: "The doctrine of Jehovah is stated . . . with such religious fervour, and in a way so brilliant with all the hues of a poetical imagination, that to state the several points in that doctrine in cold and naked propositions of the mere intellect, seems to desecrate them".¹ And we are not disappointed in our expectation to find him at his best in his exposition of the book which fascinated him in his youth, and which never ceased to astonish him—the Book of Job. His last word regarding its teaching is, "This is a very profound faith".²

If Dr. Davidson makes some excursions into the "New Testament region, which is always so fascinating,"³ he quickly reins himself in. But we are everywhere made to feel the forward movement and pressure towards Christ. Mechanical types of Christ are of course abjured. In their place we have the living aspirations of faith. And "in Christ these subjective hopes and demands of faith and man's heart became outward facts. In His life they passed into history."⁴ "In the Old Testament, Messianic truth runs in many streams, far apart, all pursuing their own way, and regarding which one far up the stream would be unable to say that they would yet meet in the same sea."⁵ The same truth, under a different figure, is expressed in the magnificent sentence, too long to quote, with which the book closes. The impression left upon one mind by the reading of this volume may be stated in the words:

Christ is the end, for Christ is the beginning,
Christ the beginning, for the end is Christ.

¹ P. 103.

² P. 495.

³ P. 437.

⁴ P. 417.

⁵ P. 373.

JAMES STRACHAN.

1. The Growth of the Soul.

*By Amory H. Bradford, D.D. London : Andrew Melrose, 1903.
Pp. xi. + 319. Price 5s.*

2. The Maid of Shulam.

*By Rev. Hugh Falconer, B.D. London : Hodder & Stoughton,
1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 155. Price 3s. 6d.*

3. The Bible from the Standpoint of the Higher Criticism (Old Testament).

*By Ramsden Balmforth. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co.
Ltd., 1904. Crown 8vo, pp. x. + 262. Price 3s. 6d.*

4. Religion and Science.

*By P. N. Waggett, M.A. (of the Society of S. John the Evangelist).
London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1904. Crown
8vo, pp. xii. + 174. Price 2s. 6d. net.*

5. "Clarion" Fallacies.

*By Frank Ballard, M.A., B.D., B.Sc., etc. London : Hodder
& Stoughton, 1904. Pp. viii. + 196. Price 1s. net.*

1. DR. BRADFORD is favourably known in this country as a preacher of distinction and ability, and this volume of religious essays and discourses is 'in keeping with his reputation. His purpose is to trace 'The Ascent of the Soul'—the title originally intended by the author—and to deal with his subject in a practical rather than a speculative manner. He is therefore "more interested in helping the ascent of the soul than in accounting for its origin". In twelve interesting and suggestive, though not specially weighty or original chapters, Dr. Bradford considers "The awakening of the Soul" to its relations and responsibility,

the progress and hindrances reached ere its "Re-awakening," and "The place of Jesus Christ" in aiding and perfecting man's spiritual development. Jesus in His Person and His teaching, it is admitted, gives a unique revelation, but His method too was practical—"not to solve problems but to improve conditions". Much that is said by the author on the practical aspects of his subject—"Nurture and Culture"—will meet with general acceptance, but his plea for "Prayers for the dead" does not strike us as particularly relevant or forcible. On this point the author seems to follow the speculative rather than the practical method chosen at the outset. Dr. Bradford writes in a modern spirit on themes of universal interest, and shows by his allusions equal familiarity with writers like Hawthorne and George Macdonald. The tone of the volume, which views the soul in the light of its growth and immortality, is that of Christian optimism, and it may be read as a whole with sympathy and spirit. The spelling of the name of Dr. George 'Matthewson,' in the text (p. 245) and index, is more than can be allowed even to an American author!

2. Mr. Falconer has produced a charming if not a convincing volume, in defence of a part of the Old Testament "now generally neglected". His treatment of the "Song" or "Canticle" is sympathetic and scholarly, and his argument is that this book of the Bible, as being part of God's word and of divine inspiration, must be capable of an allegorical or spiritual interpretation, and of being used as a witness to Christ and a picture, in matchless language, of the soul's union with its divine Lover and Redeemer. The author states with moderation his view of the 'typical' meanings found in the poem, and while objecting to Budde's view that here is only a "collection of popular wedding songs," he candidly admits that the theory he has returned to is met by the difficulty "that there is no certain reference to the Song in Scripture" (Appendix III.). Mr. Falconer's style and sympathies are seen at their best in his treatment

(chap. iii.) of "The Song and Nature," and he may be congratulated on having produced a book that abounds in touches of healthy realism, and that may be enjoyed independently of the theory that he applies to this fascinating fragment of the Old Testament.

3. Mr. Balmforth's volume is another of those attempts to popularise the methods and results of the "Higher Criticism". He does not write as an independent investigator but as one who has made use of the recognised scholars and authorities on the Old Testament and is in full sympathy with the particular view announced by Matthew Arnold. The fourteen chapters that make up the volume were delivered as Sunday evening discourses, and do not profess to be more than "a fair summary" of the main results arrived at by the scholars referred to. A programme of this sort may prove too dry and didactic for some classes of hearers, but if "a further series of discourses on the books of the New Testament is wanted," Mr. Balmforth hopes to supply it.

4. This is a fresh and independent study of "Religion and Science," and of the relations that should hold between them. We think Mr. Waggett has performed a real service in providing a thoughtful and well-informed volume like this as one of the "Handbooks for the Clergy," and we regard it as the ablest and most useful of the books that we are now passing under notice. Mr. Waggett shows knowledge on a subject which comparatively few handle or are competent to discuss with sufficient care and discrimination. There is no trace of unwarranted dogmatism or assumption in his pages, and he is well aware of the complexity of his material and that scientific doctrine is often "hard to master," and that accordingly "the scale of certainty" in the mind of the student and interpreter varies greatly. The book is valuable not so much for its positive results, as for its

method of wise, patient and critical examination of the teachings of science and their bearing on religion. We take it as a merit rather than a defect of this little book "that it raises more questions than it settles". There has been too much precipitancy in opposing and no less in reconciling "religion and science". We agree with the author's statement in his sensible and suggestive Preface, "There is no need for a hurry into certitudes of modern thought; and it may be the fact that in past discussions danger arose, not from the raising of questions, but from the swift provision of answers". We have been struck by this writer's acquaintance with the scientific side of his subject and by his candid and patient "meeting of difficulties". Evidence of the careful study of Darwin is not wanting, and the author makes apt use of illustration ("The Ring and the Book," chap. x.) as well as of facts. This study of "Heredity" (chap. xi.) is full of insight and interest. The illustrative notes given on Natural Selection (App. A) and the lists of books on various branches of science (App. B) are most useful and instructive. We thank Mr. Waggett for giving what all classes of readers will find to be a wise and helpful Introduction, and for touching suggestively so many sides of a great subject. He has not ignored the facts and the claims of science while seeking to show "in fresh circumstances of thought the transcendence and the unique character of God's spiritual revelation".

5. Mr. Ballard's popular and vigorous reply to Mr. Blatchford's assault upon Christianity is well known, and will be useful to many in this cheap and handy form. Confidence is half the battle, and Mr. Ballard knows how to use the "Clarion" both in affirmation and denial.

W. M. RANKIN.

An Inquiry into the Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel.

By James Drummond, M.A., LL.D., Hon. Litt.D., Principal of Manchester College, Oxford. London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. Demy 8vo, pp. xiv. + 528. Price 10s. 6d.

THIS volume is published for the Hibbert Trustees. It is a large, handsome, well-printed book, and yet surprisingly cheap. It is an advantage that it is so moderate in price. For it is a book that will be sought by many, and it is one which will repay close study. It is written not simply with a view to practised scholars, but in the hope that it may commend itself also to younger students and to the large class of readers who may not be familiar with the course of investigation and criticism through which the Fourth Gospel has passed. All throughout it bears the marks not only of wide acquaintance with the literature of the subject, but also of independent judgment. With all his just regard for Mr. J. J. Tayler and Dr. James Martineau, and with all the natural tendency to be influenced deeply by them, Dr. Drummond holds his own way intrepidly, and has many important, but always wisely and considerately expressed criticisms to pass upon their treatment of the Johannine question.

If the reader of this remarkable book looks on to the last page he will find the conclusion to which the author comes. "On weighing the arguments for and against to the best of my power, I must give my judgment in favour of the Johannine authorship." Such a judgment is a significant one, and Principal Drummond is well entitled to form a judgment, for his book is thoroughly well informed. And that the head of Manchester College, Oxford, a Unitarian leader, should form such a judgment is a piece of information

worth proclaiming. Let it be said at once that this book, as a defence of the traditional view of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, must henceforth hold the field, and that any assailant of the Johannine authorship in future must reckon with Principal Drummond. It is indeed a special feature of interest in the book that Dr. Drummond joins issue throughout with his "two principal teachers in theology," both of whom "rejected with equal confidence the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel". Dr. Drummond disclaims having been "moved by reaction against them"; but he frankly parts company with them, because he says, "I have never been able to see the evidence with their eyes".

It is only just to Dr. Drummond to say that he separates throughout the question of authorship and that of historical character. While giving his adherence to the Johannine authorship, he expresses opinions as to the purpose with which the Fourth Gospel was written, and the question of its historic truth, which are certainly not traditional, but original. The discussion of the external evidence as to authorship is most thorough and competent. It is introduced by a sketch of the verdicts of Baur, Tayler, Keim, Davidson, Martineau as to the alleged impossibility of Johannine authorship; in which it is shown that the date of the Gospel has been shifted by the representatives of "slashing criticism" from 170 to 135, and even 100-117 A.D. In other words, the assailants have been yielding inch by inch till they have placed it within, or almost within, the compass of the life of John. "I cannot but think," he says in summing up, "that the external evidence of Johannine authorship possesses great weight, and if it stood alone would entitle the traditional view to our acceptance."

The internal evidence is then most carefully examined, and this forms perhaps the most interesting section of the book. The writer's acquaintance with Jewish customs and the topography of Palestine is confirmatory of the traditional view. And "there are other particulars which afford distinct

and independent confirmation of the traditional view, or certain parts of it, and seem quite to preclude the supposition of a late Greek authorship". The objections to the traditional view receive careful consideration, and much space is given to the recent hypothesis of Wendt, "that the speeches, together with some little historical connexion, are derived from a genuine Johannine document, and that the evangelist, who is not an apostle, made use of this, and incorporated it in his own narrative". It is shown to be unsatisfactory chiefly because the Gospel "bears the marks of a single author". Particularly good is Dr. Drummond's common-sense way of dealing with the alleged philosophical cast of the Fourth Gospel as pointing to a late Greek authorship. "The book itself points to a Palestinian Jew who in later life was brought into some sort of loose contact with current modes of thought among the Greeks." He disposes of the contention that a Boanerges could not have written the Fourth Gospel with the scorn it deserves. "Critics write as though an apostle must be as wooden as a Dutch doll, impervious to the agonies of wounded affection, blind to the lessons of history, though traced in letters of blood, and with a soul tightly locked against the Spirit of God." Dr. Martineau's arguments against the traditional view have never been more effectively dealt with and set aside; and, to our surprise, we find Dr. Drummond even giving his assent to the likelihood of the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse, certainly the first Epistle of John, having come from the same pen. It is thus a defence of the traditional view of authorship all along the line.

But Dr. Drummond is careful to separate between this question and that of the historical truth of the Fourth Gospel. Granting that the most formidable argument against the Johannine authorship has been the alleged "unhistorical character of the book," he meets the assumption that the Johannine authorship carries with it the strictly historical character of the Gospel. He takes the view that it is a biography written "with a didactic aim, that of promoting faith," and that this "theological interest" guided

John both in his selection of incidents and in the character of Christ as he depicts Him. The author, it must be admitted, has scarcely faced the point, that the difficulty attendant on this view is not lessened by the conviction that one of our Lord's Apostles is the writer of the Gospel. But this view Dr. Drummond holds leaves him free to regard the speeches in the Fourth Gospel as not "strictly historical". There must have been a speculative side to the teaching of Christ, and John gives us this. "The book is religious, giving us, not a photograph, but an interpretation of the great life." Within the compass of this view Dr. Drummond finds room for treating the narrative of the raising of Lazarus as unhistorical. He is impressed with the silence of the Synoptics regarding it. Even John's account does not fall in with the probabilities of history. It was the aim of the apostle, Dr. Drummond contends, "to set forth in a vivid and picturesque form the truth that Jesus is the resurrection and the life". It is not history, but an interpretation of history which we have in many parts of the Fourth Gospel, and so far therefore he says, "I cannot help siding with those who attribute a lower historical value to the Fourth Gospel than to the synoptics".

This of course is the part of Drummond's work which may be coloured somewhat by his dogmatic prepossessions. As he frankly says, "on general grounds affecting the whole question of the miraculous," such stories as the turning of the water into wine and the raising of Lazarus present a difficulty to him. Therefore he welcomes the idea that John wrote a life of Christ which is spiritual rather than bodily in its characteristic, as became one to whom the interpretation of the Master's life grew clear on looking back. But Dr. Drummond is far away from asserting the unhistorical character of the Gospel, though admitting that there is an ideal element in it. It is the late date of "slashing criticism" and the supposed Greek authorship that go with the view that it is a merely ideal representation. To the writer of this able defence of its Johannine authorship the

Fourth Gospel is truly one of the biographies of Jesus—the one written by an apostle—and rendered by no means unreliable by the didactic aim he had in view. If we deduct the one sentence or two about the Lazarus narrative, there is not a page of the book that will not commend itself to the Church catholic, which has to thank Principal Drummond for a very signal service to the study of the Gospels.

DAVID PURVES.

1. Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments.

Von Hermann Gunkel. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1903. 8vo, pp. 96. Price 2s. net.

2. Virgines Subintroductae.

Ein Beitrag zu 1 Cor. 7. Von H. Achelis. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 73. Price 2s. 6d. net.

3. Die Chronologie des Lebens des Apostels Paulus.

Von Gustav Hoennicke. Leipzig: Deichert, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 68. Price M.1.50.

1. IN the pamphlet before us Gunkel makes another contribution to Biblical studies on the lines of his book *Schöpfung und Chaos*. He would have us lift our eyes from the criticism of documents, and turn from the endeavour to find a key to all difficulties in the historical environment of individual writers. For there is another method of research. Religion has a continuous history. Faith is handed down in tradition and myth, is graven in the imagination of a people, is moulded in every country-side by the poetry, the legends, the sometimes fantastic superstitions, which are in part inherited, in part acquired by successive generations from intercourse with the devout of other lands and other creeds. Into Christianity, as its literature shows, there has come, by way of the Judaism in which it first took root, many an expression and idea going back neither to Christ nor to Moses, but to some speculation born in the enthusiastic religions that filled Western Asia in the late and early centuries. From the history of religion, by the *religions geschichtliche* method, by the study of the mingling currents

of belief in that confused time, more may sometimes be learnt than from the narrower literary and historical criticism.

The varied nature of the religious forces at work there is apparent from the study of Gnosticism and Zoroastrianism. Babylonian influence is seen in the religion of Persia, and in Babylonian mythology Hebrew prophets perhaps found the idea of a Messiah who should come as a divine hero and bring in the age of gold. In the post-exilic apocalyptic writings there is evidently at work in Jewish religion a new influence, foreign and Gnostic, traceable to Babylonian sources. This religion of eschatological speculation, which not only believed in monotheism, the chosen nation, and the Law, but also knew Paradise and Hell and a personal immortality, the religion Sadducees rejected, Pharisees tolerated and thousands of the expectant pious in Israel professed with enthusiastic devotion, was another religion than that of the two kingdoms and the exile; it was however the soil from which Christianity sprang, and Gunkel's thesis is that through its channel Christianity was influenced by foreign, *i.e.*, Babylonian faith. In reviewing Gunkel's book Holtzmann acknowledges heartily the justice of his contention that, while the relation of Hellenic culture to the N.T. has been patiently studied, the relations of Christianity to other Eastern systems have been unduly neglected.

It is, of course, in the Apocalypse that the case for oriental influence on the N.T. is most easily made out. The seven stars suggest the seven planet-gods. The four-and-twenty elders correspond to the twenty-four Babylonian astral deities who judge the world. The four living creatures are so far different from Ezekiel's as to suggest an independent use of the same borrowed myth; what they represent are the four quarters of the heavens. In the frequent reference to light and glory Gunkel sees the influence of star-worship. The heavenly Jerusalem is a mythological description of the heavens; the precious stones are stars; the river of life is the milky way. Gunkel believes that there have been just as many failures as attempts to explain the great plagues and the heavenly wars as prophetic, or as reflecting the history of the writer's

age; he sees simply echoes of foreign mythology, with more or less forced Christian interpretations. The book with seven seals spells magic; when the lord of the book opens it despite the charm he takes his place as the new god.

In all this the creative power of the Christian imagination seems left out of account, and allowance is not made for the degree to which the writer in the Apocalypse was master of his material even where he borrowed phraseology or ideas. The symbolism of the heavenly city with its river of life, of light and glory, of the elders around the throne, may well be spontaneous and original. In other places Gunkel gives a welcome lead out of the difficulties of historical interpretation; yet even so, with the question why just these myths interested Christian writers at that time, all that is important in the historical problem comes back again. This *zeitgeschichtliche* method is hardly handled by Gunkel, and has indeed often led to confusion, but in face of the difficulties of the Apocalypse we cannot afford to throw away any of our tools.

The story of the birth of Christ has more or less close pagan parallels. That it is due to a Gentile source Gunkel thinks is proved by the horror which the Jewish mind felt (Gen. vi. 4) at the idea of intercourse between "sons of God and daughters of men". At this point Gunkel might well have stopped; for as he proceeds with the matter of the Gospel narratives and the problem becomes vital to our view of Christianity the treatment is inadequate, characterised by audacity rather than by science or imaginative sympathy. In the story of the Baptism the descending dove suggests myth; so the high mountain of the Temptation. In Greek legend and in Genesis we read of the Divinity revealing Himself in the act of farewell as Jesus does at Emmaus. At the transfiguration Peter's saying, "Let us build three tabernacles," makes us suspect a lost episode, mythological, of course. *Himmelfahrt* and *Höllenfahrt* form a neat antithesis. More seriously stated is the view of the origin of the Christian Sabbath. In Slav. Enoch we find an assertion that the eighth day is the holiest. There was, then, a circle of Jews who, under the influence of sun-worship, celebrated the

first day of the week, and as Christian recruits they transformed this festival into the day of the Lord, *i.e.*, not the sun, but Jesus. This view finds support in the fact that Sunday also became the holy day of Mithra-worship.

Gunkel's theory finds its sharpest expression with reference to Christology. "The chief elements in Christology are not derived from the historical Jesus." He belongs frankly to those who consider the Gospel of Jesus and the Christianity of Paul and John to be two distinct things, and regard Christology as an accretion, not a development. And he believes that Paul and John were influenced, not only by their Jewish and Greek learning and by the Person of Christ, but also and greatly by the myths and dreams and hopes which, originating on the plains of Chaldea, filled the religious atmosphere of the East. The world-religion is then not a religion dominated by one personality but a triumphant, all-embracing syncretism.

The light which Gunkel sees in Babylonian mythology is no mere will-o'-the wisp; yet we think that in following it he has lost his way.

2. The curious system prevailing largely in the early Church, according to which devoted Christian unmarried women lived in terms of familiar intimacy, sometimes called spiritual marriage, with Christian men, is the subject of a pamphlet in which Achelis carefully gathers all the early references to the subject. The custom was not confined to the Christian Church; it obtained among the Gnostics and heretical sects; if the *De vita contemplativa* comes from Philo's time, as Achelis thinks, the existence of the system among Egyptian Jews is proved. Within the Church it had the sanction of men of position and unquestioned purity in every region where Christianity was found. When its danger was recognised these men were charged, not with any actual sin, but with imprudence and with giving occasion to calumnies and unjust suspicions. Those attacked often suffered much rather than break what was in many cases

a tender tie, and they defended themselves by appeals to the example of Elijah and of the disciple-circle which, Luke says, was ministered to by women.

The mildness of Cyprian's rebuke seems to show that he was dealing with no new abuse, but with a custom of old standing. That this is so is evident from the sinister charges based on this kind of companionship preferred against the Montanist Alexander and the Marcionite Apelles. The Shepherd of Hermas too shows how strange was the sense of the seemly and edifying in the primitive Church. Pagan and southern laxity of manners was not yet quite forgotten, and men had not yet realised that the law of liberty would require to dictate a new and strict conventional morality.

Although for most of the charges that were made there was never any satisfactory proof, the system led inevitably to gross abuses; and it remains an ugly blot on the fair fame of these early communities. Yet it was often the unpractical attempt of heroic visionaries to solve real difficulties. Unmarried men and widowers with families, shrinking from marriage with the new ascetic instinct, required housekeepers. Christian girls, cast out from pagan families, vowing celibacy, found themselves in need of security and protection. Rich women of Constantinople, deeming the single life the higher, yet cumbered with much of this world's gear, required stewards. The prejudice against marriage could not, in fact, alter the mutual dependence of the sexes. And who could say that in making such arrangements as seemed convenient, those who had conquered the world, the flesh, and the devil were running any risk? Some rejoiced in the peril triumphing openly, others acquiesced with slackness in what suited their comfort. And it was only by a sorry process of disillusionment that the Church came to realise that while in the flesh saints must flee temptation.

Such is Achelis' kindly yet clear-sighted judgment on this strange perversity. From its wide prevalence and the tenacity with which many clung to the practice even in the third century, and from the early references to it, Achelis deems it quite possible it is referred to in 1 Cor. vii. The interpre-

tation which has always been current has its difficulties, but is, as Achelis admits, a perfectly possible one. "Any one and his virgin" however is an odd way of referring to a father and his daughter; and ἀσχημονεῖν is a strong word to use of the well-intentioned father. He therefore applies the word ὑπέρρακμος to the man, who has then fallen in love with his virgin companion, and thus he renders "If any one thinketh he behaveth himself unseemly towards his virgin, and he be hotly in love, and it comes to a 'must,' she sinneth not, let her be married". But Achelis' view leads to its own difficulty. The natural course, especially after Paul's statement in verse 9, "It is better to marry than to burn," would be for the man to marry his companion. The word γαμίζω, however, in verse 38, "give in marriage," forces Achelis to find the solution in the giving of the maid in marriage to some one else, a course presumed to be always possible. This again, though not with absolute necessity (cf. Heinrici), leads to the adoption of the Vulgate's reading γαμείτω instead of the better-attested γαμείτωσαν. And ἀσχημονεῖν is just the word describing the discredit a father might fear to bring on his daughter if she, contrary to custom, should remain single. Unless, therefore, a more definite case is made out for the existence of that kind of companionship in the Corinthian Church at that date, the R.V. offers a preferable translation of an obscure passage.

3. From Hoennicke's *Chronology of Paul*, one certainly gets an idea of the extraordinary difficulty there is in fixing an exact date to any event in the life of the Apostle. There are, of course, many points at which the New Testament narrative touches profane history, but each clue, as it is taken up, breaks in the hand, and leaves one faced by probabilities only, or an indication of possible limits. Hoennicke, indeed, comes to the satisfactory conclusion that the early dates adopted by Harnack are impossible, and that the more generally accepted later chronology which has Zahn's power-

ful authority is near the truth. But all along he insists that exact results are impossible; he rebukes Zahn gently for his mention of months and days; and for himself, with regard to the leading events in Paul's career, he will do no more than indicate a period of about three years within which they must have occurred.

In particular, he differs from Harnack in regarding as unreliable the date 56 given by Eusebius for Festus' entry into office. Eusebius is often wrong, his text is corrupt, and what his sources were we do not know. Hoennicke prefers to argue from Josephus, who, in his statement that Festus' successor was in office in 62 seems to imply that he had not then been long in Palestine. And in any case, allowing the widest margin for Josephus' way of combining events in unchronological order, his references to Felix show that Festus cannot have been procurator before 59. The argument for the Eusebian date is based on the acquittal of Felix through his brother Pallas' influence; this is said to require the recall of Felix before his brother's fall, *i.e.*, before the murder of Britannicus. But this crime happened, according to Tacitus, a year too early for Harnack's theory. By the middle of 55 Pallas had lost his position. Harnack suggests an error in Tacitus, and would bring the murder of Britannicus down a year later. Hoennicke maintains that there is no evidence to show that Pallas did not recover and continue to exercise an influence on Nero, and indeed this is supported by the testimony of Dio Cassius and Pliny. Thus as late as 59, 60 or 61 Pallas was still able to secure a verdict in his brother's favour.

Hoennicke adheres to the N. Galatian theory and disputes Ramsay's view that on his last journey to Jerusalem Paul succeeded in being in time for the feast. He regards the suggested snatching of Damascus by Aretas from the Roman power as an incredible piece of folly, certain to have received condign punishment, and accepts the suggestion that the town was given him by Caligula in his rearrangement of Arabian affairs in 37. For the year 41 we have an inscription of "the first year of Malchus," so that Aretas reigned

from 37 to 40, and Paul's conversion must have happened between A.D. 34 and 37.

The most valuable part of Hoennicke's work is, the careful and thorough examination of the evidence of contemporary Latin historians. Perhaps a little more might have been done by arrangement and by tables, to guide the reader's course through the mass of intricate detail.

R. W. STEWART.

The Second Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians. Edited by A. PLUMMER, M.A., D.D., sometime Master of University College, Durham, formerly Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1903. Pp. xvi. + 264. Price 3s.

THIS volume will have a high place in the very useful series of commentaries known as "The Cambridge Greek Testament". The text adopted is that of Westcott and Hort; the spelling of the same editors is followed throughout; and there is a good Greek Index. Perhaps the most interesting thing in the whole book to the New Testament student is the change of view which appears here in Dr. Plummer's treatment of the last four chapters. Hitherto he has been known as an opponent and keen critic of the theory which takes these chapters to have been part of an earlier letter. He has now become an advocate of that theory. Naturally disinclined to make much of "speculative dissections of documents, where the arguments for disintegration are based wholly on internal evidence, and receive no support from the history of the text," he confesses that in this particular case his distrust has been overcome. He thinks now that the internal evidence is strong enough and consistent enough to convince one that these chapters must be separated from the others, and that the supposition of two mutilated texts alone meets the difficulty created by the "perplexing change of tone and tactics which suddenly takes place after the first nine chapters".

The arguments adduced in behalf of this idea that these chapters are a part, the latter part, of the severe letter referred to in 2 Cor. ii. 3, 9, vii. 8, 12, are mainly the following — the absence of any passages in our 1 Corinthians which

Paul could have regretted having written (2 Cor. vii. 8); the difficulty of believing that, in the circumstances in which we see he was placed, Paul could follow up the greetings and appeals of the earlier chapters with the biting sarcasm and stinging reproofs of the later; the inconsistencies which appear between i.-ix. and x.-xiii. in the way in which the readers are spoken of (in regard, *e.g.*, to their faith); the fact that there are passages in i.-ix. which look like direct allusions to x.-xiii. (*e.g.*, viii. 22 compared with x. 2; ii. 9 with x. 6; v. 13 with xii. 1-5, etc.); and the greater intelligibility given to the statement in x. 16 if the paragraph is taken to have been written not from Macedonia (as is the case with i.-ix.) but from Ephesus.

There is no doubt not only much ingenuity but also considerable force in these reasonings. But we still question whether there is enough in them to outweigh the fact that external evidence, as Dr. Plummer himself admits, is "wholly against any dissection of the Epistle," and the consideration that the difficulty in question arises very much from our lack of information of the actual situation—not to speak of the possibility that the severe letter is referred to in x. 10, the difficulty of adjusting the hypothesis to the plan of a double visit to Corinth, and other considerations. It is to be noticed, too, that Dr. Plummer is opposed to Hausrath, Pfleiderer, McGiffert and others who argue, again on the basis of purely internal evidence, for the excision of ch. vi. 14-vii. 1.

In the Introduction Dr. Plummer gives an able summary of the reasons for accepting the Epistle as the genuine work of Paul, a very careful analysis of the language and style, and a good account of the foundations and history of the text. The notes contain much that is valuable and suggestive. They show at every point sound judgment as well as competent scholarship. The book is one that will compare favourably in respect of solid work with some much larger commentaries that might easily be named.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Acta Mythologica Apostolorum,¹ by AGNES SMITH LEWIS, M.R.A.S., Hon. D.D., Heidelberg; LL.D. (St. Andrews); Ph.D. (Halle-Wittenberg).

The Mythological Acts of the Apostles,² by the same.

These two volumes form Nos. iii. and iv. of the *Horae Semiticae* series. In giving them to the scholarly public Mrs. Lewis has added another to the many services she and her sister Mrs. Gibson have rendered to the cause of sacred learning. The *Acta* themselves are transcribed from an Arabic MS. in the Convent of Deyr-es-Suriani, Egypt, as the sub-title informs us, and from MSS. in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. To these are added two legends from a Vatican MS. by Professor Ignatio Guidi, and an Appendix of Syriac Palimpsest Fragments of the Acts of Judas Thomas from *Cod. Sin. Syr.*, 30. The first volume gives the texts, printed with great care and in a very attractive form. The second volume contains translations of the *Acta* and the Palimpsest Fragments of the *Acts of Judas Thomas*.

The introduction to the second volume gives a full account of the finding of the MSS. and the measure of their completeness; the particulars of the paper, the script, the number of leaves and how they are divided, etc. The script of the Deyr-es-Suriani codex, it should be mentioned, has been pronounced by Professors Guidi, E. G. Browne and Seybold to be of the fourteenth century. The interest of the Fragments lies, as is pointed out, in the "fact that they furnish us with a text at least four hundred years earlier than any hitherto known". It is assumed that all the tales contained in Deyr-es-Suriani MS. are translated from the Coptic.

The Apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles* have been repeatedly edited—in their Greek form by Lipsius, Thilo, Tischendorf, Zahn, etc., in their Syriac version by Dr. William Wright, and in the Ethiopic by Messrs. Malan and Budge. The importance of the present volumes is in the fact that they give in comparatively full form a text of which hitherto we

¹ London: C. J. Clay & Son, 1904. 4to. Price 12s. 6d. net.

² London: C. J. Clay & Son, 1904. 4to. Price 6s. net.

have had only fragments. As to the history of these *Acta* Mrs. Lewis accepts Professor Guidi's account. It is to the effect that some Greek texts containing apocryphal Acts had been translated into Coptic in the fifth or sixth century ; that imitations and legends which arose in Egypt were by and by added to them ; that more texts were formed in the course of time in the Sahidic and Sub-Sahidic or Middle Egyptian dialects ; that when Coptic became a dead language other renderings were made into Arabic, which was the tongue then generally understood in Egypt ; that the Ethiopic translation was made in its turn from the Arabic ; that the text now makes a systematically arranged whole ; and that it has served also as a source for later works, like the *Synaxaria*, etc. As to the source of the stories contained in these Acts, they originated, according to Lipsius, mostly in heretical quarters, but in course of time got a place among "the cherished possessions of ordinary catholics; acquaintance with them being perpetually renewed, or their memory preserved in Catholic Christendom, partly by the festal homilies of eminent Fathers, and partly by religious poetry and works of sacred art". The explanation given not only by Lipsius, but by Zahn and James, is that they came from a Gnostic source in particular. But this view is controverted by Harnack and more especially by Dr. Carl Schmidt in his *Die alten Petrusakten*—an important book which has been reviewed in this Journal.¹ Dr. Schmidt denies the Gnostic origin for reasons which Mrs. Lewis summarises and apparently accepts, *e.g.*, that there is no trace in these *Acta* of the idea of a dual God, or of a difference between the God of the Old Testament and that of the New ; and that no Gnostic would have represented Simon Magus as "a magician, a cheat and a malefactor". The conclusion of Dr. Schmidt is that these stories have their origin within the Catholic Church itself—"probably in the reign of Septimius Severus, about the beginning of the third century, at a time when Gnostic views, in a hazy form, were widely held, and had not yet

¹ Vol. xiii., p. 516.

taken a shape definite enough to provoke the hostility and condemnation of orthodox Church Councils”.

These Acts contain much extraordinary, puerile and absurd matter. But they have their interest. They compel the most prejudiced eye to recognise how far apart the Gospels and Luke's Book of Acts stand from such writings, and how necessary it is to face the questions raised by that fact. Some of them contain allusions to customs or events which are of interest. “The Travels of John the Son of Zebedee,” for example, mentions the burying of a living girl beneath the foundation stone of the bath-house of Dioscorides, and so preserves the record of a horrid custom which must once have prevailed widely among heathen nations, and of which fresh proof has been furnished by the researches of Professor Sellin at Ta'annek in Palestine and Mr. Stewart Macalister at Gezer. They also give token of certain recrudescences of Paganism here and there, as, *e.g.*, perhaps in the account of the cognomen of the doubting apostle Tauma, the twin, in “the Preaching and Martyrdom of Thomas”. Whether there be any grains of real historical fact beneath the vast mass of far-fetched legend is difficult to say. It is hard to believe that there is much of that, if anything at all. We owe much, nevertheless, to the enterprise and labours of Mrs. Lewis in preparing these handsome volumes.

An Introduction to the New Testament. By ADOLF JÜLICHER, Professor of Theology at the University of Marburg. Translated by JANET PENROSE WARD, with Prefatory Note by Mrs. HUMPHREY WARD. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1904. Large 8vo, pp. xxi. + 635. Price 16s.

For purposes of translation this is one of the most suitable of the many foreign books on New Testament Introduction, and the translation is very well done. Jülicher's style lends itself better than that of most German theologians to clear and attractive reproduction, and Miss Ward has used her opportunity to the best. The book reads admirably well, and it is worth the pains spent upon it. In its present form it

has the further advantage of being commended by Mrs. Humphrey Ward in fit and felicitous terms.

Jülicher's work has had a considerable circulation, and has reached a second edition in what to a German author will seem the short space of half-a-dozen years. It has qualities which make it popular. It is concise in its statements; and it is on the whole well-balanced in its judgments. It is scholarly in the best sense, and is the product of extensive reading and careful study. At times it is perhaps somewhat over-confident. At times, too, it is somewhat slow to take in the full force of evidence, especially objective evidence. But it is cautious in the main, and it is never afraid to confess uncertainty where materials for a decision are scanty. There is scarcely anything of high value that will compare with it in compactness, and yet it covers a wider field than is customary for writers on Introduction to include in their scope. For to the ordinary discussions of the origin, date, contents, etc., of the various New Testament books it adds a remarkably succinct, clear and reliable sketch of the history of the New Testament Canon, and an equally brief but lucid account of the history of the New Testament text.

Professor Jülicher's testimony to the historical worth of the Gospels will be received with interest. It is of some importance also to notice that he accepts the Epistles usually ascribed to Paul, with the exception of those to Timothy and Titus. He is less disposed, too, than many of his brethren on the Continent of Europe to spin out fanciful schemes of analysis and decomposition in the case of writings like the Apocalypse, and he has no sympathy with the extreme Dutch School. He urges certain conclusions indeed regarding the Fourth Gospel, and some of the Epistles, in which he will appear to most to misapprehend the real position. We cannot say he has made a good case, *e.g.*, for denying the authenticity of First Peter, or for ascribing a late date and imperfectly Christian character to the Epistle of James. We are of opinion, also, that in view of more recent contributions to the Johannine question it is going far beyond the mark to say that the only thing certain about

the Fourth Gospel is that it is not by John. But we do not propose to enter into any close examination of these questions in connexion with the publication of this excellent translation. It is enough to say that the volume makes an excellent hand-book, and that one of its chief merits is the estimates it forms of the various schools of criticism which have had a marked influence. This holds good especially of what is said of Baur and the Tübingen criticism.

It may be of interest to quote what is said of that school. In Professor Jülicher's judgment its "epoch-making qualities" are but poorly rendered when it is described simply as "tendency-criticism," or when it is reproached with rending the unity of the New Testament and scattering its parts over two centuries. What was great in it, he thinks, was its demand that the documents which make up the New Testament should not be regarded "each in a separate light as the accidental products of any one religious personality, but should be grouped in close connexion with the history of Christianity, as the necessary outcome of a particular phase in its development". But his conclusion is this—not only that many of the particular positions so confidently asserted by Baur must be given up or very seriously modified, but that his historical system suffers from certain great and now confessed mistakes. Above all, it made the mistake, he thinks, first of "over-valuing the importance of Judaism in the early days of Christianity, and of ascribing to Paul alone the championship of universalistic tendencies and the edification of Gentile Christian Communities; and secondly, the mistake of insisting with rigid one-sidedness that the history of primitive Christianity was dominated till far into the second century by the interest of the battle round the Law and the prerogatives of the Jews; whereas in reality this battle was only one factor among many in the formation of its history, and innumerable Christians of the first two generations not only did not understand it, but did not even know anything about it". He adds, and the remark is pertinent, that "it is not mainly from ideas and principles that a religion draws its life; the decisive influences are emotions, feelings, hopes,

and Baur's picture of the historical development of the Apostolic and Post-Apostolic ages is too logical and correct, too deficient in warmth of colour to have probability on its side".

Baur's merit, nevertheless, is great. It lies in this, that he "inaugurated a new epoch in the study of the New Testament, not only by his numerous flashes of new and unerring insight on questions of Introduction as well as of Exegesis and New Testament theology, but principally by the fact that he raised the position of this branch of study to a higher level, and did away with the subjective and detached method of investigation. Since Baur's day the literary history of the New Testament can no longer be dealt with apart from a truly historical point of view, as the products of and the witnesses to the Christian spirit of a definite age."

Much more has to be said in criticism of Baur and his school. But, so far as it goes, this is well said.

The History of Philosophy in Islam. By Dr. T. J. DE BOER, University of Groningen. Translated (with the sanction of the Author) by EDWARD R. JONES, B.D. London: Luzac & Co., 1903. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 216. Price 7s. 6d. net.

This book, as the Preface tells us, is the "first attempt which has been made since the appearance of Munk's excellent sketch to present in connected form a History of Philosophy in Islam". Munk's *Mélanges de Philosophie juive et arabe* was published in 1859 in Paris. There is a considerable interval of time, therefore, between that publication and the present work. The latter comes with all the more freshness for that reason, and it may open the way, we trust, to further work in a strange and interesting field. Within modest limits it accomplishes much. Beginning with brief sketches of ancient Arabia and its Caliphs, of Oriental Wisdom (including Semitic Speculation, Persian Religion and Indian Wisdom), it gives a succinct outline of Greek science, and passes on to Philosophy and Arab Knowledge, the Pythagorean Philosophy, and the Faithful Brethren of

Basra, etc. The fourth chapter introduces us to the Neo-Platonic Aristotelians of the East—Kindi, Farabi, Ibn Maskawaih, Ibn Sina or Avicenna, and Ibn al-Haitham. The next two chapters deal with the outcome of philosophy in the East (in Gazali, the Epitomists, etc.), and with philosophy in the West. Here we get interesting accounts of Avempace, Abubacer and Averroes. The closing chapter is occupied with Ibn Khaldun, the Arabs and Scholasticism. The book is one of much interest. It fills a blank in our philosophical literature. It deserves the attention, not only of philosophical students, but also of theologians.

Dr. De Boer gives a very high place to the contribution made to Islam by Persian and Indian wisdom, a much higher place than can be claimed for any Semitic tradition. He thinks it probable that the dualistic religious teaching of Persia exercised an influence on theological controversy in Islam, "either directly or through the Manichaeans and other Gnostic sects"; but that a much greater influence was certainly wielded in worldly circles, by "that system which, according to tradition, came to be publicly recognised under the Sasanid Yesdegerd ii. (438/8-457), viz., Zrwanism," which set up Endless Time as the paramount principle and identified it with Fate, the outermost heavenly sphere, or the movement of the heavens, so superseding the dualistic system. As to the Indian wisdom, its logical and metaphysical speculations became known to the Muslims. But they produced less effect, in Dr. De Boer's opinion, on scientific development than did the Indian Mathematics and Astrology. He adds, however, that while Oriental Wisdom, Astrology and Cosmology "delivered over to Muslim thinkers material of many kinds," the "Form, the formative principle, came to them from the Greeks," and in the third division of his first chapter he shows at some length how this was the case and what it meant. All this is done in an instructive way. The summaries of thought, the estimates of influence, and the brief historical sketches have much to interest one.

FORM

Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion. By JANE ELLEN HARRISON, Hon. D.Litt. (Durham), Hon. LL.D. (Aberd.), Fellow and Lecturer of Newnham College, Cambridge. Cambridge: University Press, 1903. Pp. xii.+680. Price 15s. net.

The special object which Miss Harrison sets before her in this important volume is "to draw attention to some neglected aspects of Greek religion". It is a book of large compass, however, as well as great learning. It introduces us to many fruitful lines of inquiry and discloses aspects of ancient Hellenic faith which are of great moment. How wide the range of the inquiry is will be seen from the brief enumeration of the subjects discussed—the Olympian and Chthonian Ritual, the Ritual of Ghosts and Sprites, the Harvest Festivals, the Women's Festivals, the Demonology of Ghosts, Sprites and Bogeys, the Making of a Goddess and of a God, Dionysos, Orpheus, the Orphic and Dionysiac Mysteries, Orphic Eschatology and Cosmogony. Under these general titles a vast number of interesting and often intricate phenomena in the history of Greek beliefs and practices are investigated. Apart from the main argument of the book, in these numerous discussions of a special kind the student has an immense wealth of information and suggestion placed at his disposal. These inquiries show a rare command of the facts of the case, and remarkable gifts of comparison and illustration. The whole treatise, too, is closely reasoned. The argument is built up step by step by strict logical use and combination of data, and considerations drawn from all relevant sources.

Miss Harrison avails herself, of course, of all that *literature* has to say on her subject. But her aim is to get behind and beneath the literature to ideas of more ancient origin, more extensive prevalence, and more popular character. For this purpose she looks to what is to be got from tradition, primitive custom, survivals of most ancient belief and usage which are discoverable in the later literature, from monuments also and from vases. The last-named articles, the multitudinous

painted vases which have happily been preserved to us, have a peculiarly high place among the various sources of information, in Miss Harrison's judgment. She makes constant use of them, and the numerous pictorial reproductions, excellent in form and suggestive in their silent witness, which are given in the volume, add greatly to the force of the argument as well as to the attractiveness of the book.

It belongs, therefore, to the method which Miss Harrison has rightly adopted that the student's attention is fixed most particularly on the *ritual* of the religion. In this lies much of the originality of her treatment of the Greek religion, and in this she has made an advance over most of her predecessors. Nowhere else has there been so consistent an appeal to the testimony of ritual. The capital fault indeed which she has to charge against most previous inquirers in the same field, and above all English scholars, is that they have made the Greek religion mainly an affair "of mythology, and moreover of mythology as seen through the medium of literature," and have neglected the more definite and equally significant testimony of ritual. It is in this direction that Miss Harrison makes her most notable contribution to the subject. Nothing could be better than her expositions of the place occupied by the great festivals of the Anthesteria, Thargelia, and Thesmophoria, the significance of the observances connected with them, and the objects they were thought to serve. Not less skilful and sagacious is her treatment of the *beings*, sprites, ghosts, and bogeys, to whom so many of the rites were addressed, and the gods of human and humane aspect which followed on these. The chapter which traces the passage from ghost to god is of peculiar interest.

The later chapters are even of greater importance. In one of these Miss Harrison deals with the Thracian origin of Dionysos, which she regards as established, the two elements co-existing in the Dionysiac religion, and the impulse which it brought to Greece—"the belief in *enthusiasm*". In another she grapples with the questions raised by the name *Orpheus*. Here she argues emphatically for the existence of

a real personality under that name, and conjectures that he came from Crete, "bringing with him, perhaps, ultimately from Egypt, a religion of a spiritual asceticism which yet included the ecstasy of the religion of Dionysus".

The volume comes to its appropriate end with an exposition of the Orphic mysteries and the Orphic doctrine, Orphism being, as Miss Harrison expresses it, "the last word of Greek religion". The significance of the mystic element in Orphism, the mission which this system of faith had in taking the primitive rites, "originally of the crudest sympathetic magic," and infusing into them a spiritual meaning, the importance of its doctrine of the possibility of complete union with the divine—these and other matters of great moment are set before us here in new aspects and in a very impressive way. There are not a few positions argued out in this masterly treatise to which exception may be taken or regarding which difficulty will be felt. That is inevitable in the case of a treatise of this comprehensive and somewhat novel character. Among other things the distinction which is drawn between the Olympian religion and the Chthonian seems to us to require qualification. It is a just and important distinction. But we are not prepared to go the length to which Miss Harrison pushes it in the sharpness of the division which she makes between the two in respect of the fundamental ideas of guilt, sacrifice, expiation and retribution. We are of opinion that much more of this is to be recognised than Miss Harrison appears to admit in that form of the Olympian religion which she recognises in the Homeric poems. Nägelsbach's scholarly book on the *Homerische Theologie* does not seem to have been in Miss Harrison's view. It is an old book now, it is true, but it is still a book to consult, and what it says on these great ideas is still worthy of consideration.

Selections from the Literature of Theism. Edited with Introductory and Explanatory Notes by ALFRED CALDECOTT, M.A. (Lond.), D.D. (Camb.), Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, King's College, London; Examiner in Historical Theology in the University of London; late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; and H. R. MACKINTOSH, M.A., D.Phil. (Edin.), Minister of Beechgrove United Free Church, Aberdeen; Translator of Ritschl on "Justification and Reconciliation". Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Pp. xiii. + 472. Price 7s. 6d. net.

The idea of this work was formed and its plan originally laid out by Professor Caldwell along with Professor William Johnston, of Cheshunt College, a frequent contributor to the pages of this Journal. By a lamentable cycling accident the latter scholar was cut off at the age of thirty-eight before the work took shape. A very competent successor was found after some time in Dr. H. R. Mackintosh, then labouring in Aberdeen, and now appointed to an important Chair in the New College, Edinburgh. The work, therefore, as we now have it is the conjoint production of two scholars, than whom none better could well be found for the purpose. Also it has been well and usefully done.

The idea of the book is a happy one—to bring together "in small compass some of the leading positions in the philosophy of religion". It has been carried out with much discernment, so that the volume, while it will address itself to all interested in the great living questions of philosophy and theology, will admirably serve the purposes of a handbook for the use of students in our Universities and Theological Colleges. The subjects dealt with in succession are the Ontological Argument, Some Points in Scholastic Theology, the Existence of God, God as Infinite Substance, Mysticism, God as Eternal Mind, Religion in the Critical Philosophy, Romanticism, God seen in the Beautiful, Religion as Sociology, Agnosticism, the Personality of God, Ethical Theism, the Teleological Argument, and Religion as Judgment of

Worth. Each of the two editors is specially responsible for certain parts of the book, Dr. Caldwell taking Anselm, Aquinas, Descartes, Spinoza, the Cambridge Platonists, Berkeley, Cousin, Comte and Janet in hand, while Dr. Mackintosh deals with Kant and Schleiermacher, Mansel, Lotze, Martineau and Ritschl. The extracts are well chosen, and they are accompanied by appropriate explanation and comment when such are required.

The volume brings us thus into contact with the characteristic thoughts of the greatest and most creative minds on the profoundest of themes. There are some remarkable exceptions, it is true. No place is found for Origen, Augustine, Abelard, Leibnitz, Fichte, Hegel, Sir William Hamilton, and others that might be named. But there must be limits to such a work, and the editors have chosen wisely on the whole. Their book is one of great value, and is certain to commend itself to many students as a welcome and reliable guide.

An Unpublished Essay of Edwards on the Trinity. With Remarks on Edwards and his Theology. By GEORGE P. FISHER, D.D., LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903. 8vo, pp. xv. + 142.

To theological students anything that comes from the mind of Jonathan Edwards must be of interest, and the veteran scholar of Yale has done an important service by giving this remarkable treatise to the public. We owe him much for this, and not less for the sketch of Edwards's life and work which he has prepared as an Introduction to the volume. He has also given us in an Appendix some important notes, dealing with that unhappy passage in Edwards's career which ended in his dismissal from his church in Northampton, the account which he left of his method of study, Augustine's statement of the Trinity as imaged forth in the human mind, and the appreciation of the great theologian's mental and moral qualities and influence given by President

Woolsey in the commemorative discourse which he delivered in 1870 at the meeting of the descendants of Edwards.

The manuscript, which is here carefully transcribed, was one of a large number of papers by Jonathan Edwards which were for a considerable time in the hands of Professor Edwards A. Park (who had projected a biography of Edwards), and on his death were transferred to Yale University for permanent custody. In the opinion of Dr. Fisher it is "decidedly the most comprehensive and complete discussion of the doctrine on all its sides that emanated from its author". It is a philosophical exposition in Edwards's well-known manner. Its substance is given thus by himself—"This I suppose to be that Blessed Trinity that we read of in the Holy Scriptures. The Father is the Deity subsisting in the Prime, unoriginated and most absolute manner. The Son is the Deity subsisting in act, or the divine essence generated by God's understanding, or having an idea of himself and subsisting on that idea. The Holy Ghost is the Deity subsisting in act, or the divine essence flowing out and breathed forth in God's infinite love and delight in himself. I believe the whole divine essence does truly and distinctly subsist both as the divine idea and divine love, and that they are properly distinct persons."

In his preliminary remarks Dr. Fisher refers to the extraordinary precocity of Edwards (to which Pascal's case is the fittest parallel), his right to rank with Berkeley and Hume as "one of the three greatest metaphysical thinkers of the English race in the eighteenth century," and the influence which he has had on prominent theologians both in England and in Scotland, including Andrew Fuller, Thomas Chalmers, and many more. He gives also an interesting sketch of his life, and a concise statement of the doctrine of the Absolute as the fundamental principle of the system. For all this, and especially for the excellent exposition and criticism of his Idealism, his notions of physical, mental and moral causes, and his necessitarian doctrine, we owe Dr. Fisher cordial thanks.

The Eschatology of Jesus, or the Kingdom Come and Coming.
 By LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD, B.D., Minister of St. Luke's
 Church, Broughty Ferry. London: Andrew Melrose,
 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvii. + 224. Price 6s.

This book consists of four lectures which were delivered in October, 1903, in the United Free Church College, Glasgow. It is the first fruits of the Lectureship instituted in memory of the late Professor A. B. Bruce, and it is appropriately dedicated to that distinguished teacher. The object of the Lectureship is to "promote the study of the New Testament among those who have passed through the usual theological curriculum in the Glasgow College of the United Free Church of Scotland," and it aims at the production of original contributions to New Testament learning. Mr. Muirhead has kept the intention of the foundation carefully in view and has produced a book which makes a worthy beginning of what should be a very useful series.

What Mr. Muirhead sets himself to do, as he explains it in his sub-title, is to give a "brief study of our Lord's apocalyptic language in the Synoptic Gospels". In his first lecture, therefore, he states the presuppositions of the inquiry; the things he assumes as *probable*, as *fact*, and as *morally certain*. Among the things taken at the outset as *probable*, he places the double origin hypothesis (Primitive Mark and *Logia*) that no Synoptic Gospel is necessarily later than A.D. 80, and that the Fourth Gospel, although the discourses are "rather reflective reproductions than reports and the Gospel is only of secondary worth in a study of the words of Jesus, is nevertheless uniquely valuable". Among the things taken as *fact* are these—that *separate* eschatological sayings in the Synoptists bear the stamp of accurate reports; that the *arrangement* of eschatological sayings is often erroneous; and that the Evangelists "misunderstand but do not intentionally misrepresent". Some of the statements made in connexion with these positions are open to question. The difficulties, *e.g.*, attaching to the interpretation of the great eschatological discourse are confessed by all. But a better

grasp of the nature of Old Testament prophecy, especially in its perspective, would have relieved Mr. Muirhead of the necessity of recognising in it so much "incoherence" as is here affirmed. He has also not a little to say about the "incoherent sequences" of the Gospel narratives, which he ascribes not to Jesus but to the Evangelists. Others before Mr. Muirhead have sought to save the honesty of the Gospel writers at the cost of their understanding. Mr. Muirhead has avoided the extremes into which some of these have fallen. Yet neither in this nor in the large use he makes of the idea that the Evangelists took serious liberties with their matter with a view to edification, is he quite satisfactory. As "moral-certainty" further he assumes that in the case of our Lord ignorance was no hindrance to Messianic works, that He was not chargeable with mental inconsistency, and that there was a certain *elusiveness* as well as vividness in His sayings. Here we should be glad to get a more definite statement of the nature and the measure of the nescience attributable to Christ in the light of His own declaration and the proper limits of the case. And again, when Mr. Muirhead speaks of His ignorance as being the sign of our Lord's work by faith, it would be well to understand what is meant by this faith. If it means the Son's filial dependence on the Father and trust in Him, all is clear. But if it is applied beyond that to the range of His mental vision, it requires to be brought into harmony with the fact that it is the way of the Gospels to speak of Him not as believing simply but as *knowing*. In all these discussions, however, much is said that is both acute and true.

The second lecture deals at considerable length and with much ability with the "main features of Jewish Apocalypse considered in their affinity to the mind of Jesus". These apocalypses are described as "Tracts for Bad Times"; the attitude of the ancient mind to pseudepigraphical writing is considered; and the use of new ideas of God, the world, and life, marked by these strange compositions, is carefully explained. In the third lecture our Lord's doctrine of the consummation of the Kingdom is set forth, and lengthened



consideration is given to the question as to what He Himself thought and taught regarding the time of the Consummation. Here Mr. Muirhead has recourse to the "natural misconception of men who wrote within a generation from Jesus' death," being unwilling to believe that Jesus could have declared to the disciples that the Consummation would fall within their own time.

The concluding lecture deals with the title "Son of Man". This appears to us to be the best part of the book. It gives an admirably full and clear account of the threefold problem—whether Jesus could have used such a title in Aramaic; whether, if so, He did it as habitually as the Gospels represent; and what He meant by it. The views of Lietzmann, Wellhausen, Dalman, Weisse, Fiebig and others are carefully summarised and acutely criticised. This is a most useful chapter. Were it only for it the book would be worth obtaining. But its value extends much beyond that. In all its discussions the reader will find much to stimulate thought.

The Theology of the Reformed Church in its Fundamental Principles. By the late WILLIAM HASTIE, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. Edited by WILLIAM FULTON, B.D., B.Sc., formerly Scholar and Fellow of the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 283.

This volume contains the Croall Lecture for 1892. It is introduced by a brief prefatory note from Professor Flint. It is a strong and able performance, giving a vigorous defence of the Reformed theology and a closely reasoned appreciation of it as superior to the other great typical forms of theology, Catholic, Lutheran, Anglican, Arminian or Socinian. Dr. Hastie had a whole-hearted regard for the Reformed theology. He was largely acquainted with its principles, its history and its achievements. He had no doubt whatsoever as to the justice of his plea, and he puts it forward here with all the strength of profound conviction. The chief regret one has about it is that at certain points Dr. Hastie inclines to an extreme version of the doctrine in question, especially in the

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article on predestination. There are statements on other subjects to which exception may well be taken. There is, for example, a very exaggerated and even confused declaration on the subject of spiritual independence. Dr. Hastie contends that the doctrine of spiritual independence, at least as it became the watchword of the men of 1843, implies the Divine right of Presbytery and even an infallible administration—an extraordinary stretch of logic which certainly would have astonished the men of 1843 themselves as it does their successors. But apart from these things the volume is one of much value and much strong sense. It is a very powerful exposition of the Protestant principle as it is stated in its most adequate form in the formularies and theology of the Calvinistic side of the Protestant Church and as applicable to present times. Alongside his main contention Dr. Hastie also says much that is to the point about the Ritschlian theology and its merits and demerits, the distinction drawn by Alexander Schweitzer between the Lutheran and Reformed Protestant principles, the Scottish Reformation, the Tractarian Movement, Schneckenburger's view of the essential identity of the Lutheran and Reformed systems, and other topics of importance. The book will not be read without dissent, especially as regards the too speculative interpretation given to the doctrines of predestination and the sovereignty of God. But it will impress most readers by its force and its strength of conviction, which everywhere make themselves felt in it.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

THE most notable article in the May-June issue of the *Methodist Review* is one by Professor Edouard König on "The Level of Prophetism in Babylonia and in Palestine". It examines the respective positions of Babylonia and Assyria toward divination and prophecy, with a critical eye on Winckler and Zimmern's edition of the *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*. Friedrich Delitzsch's statements, in particular those made in his second lecture, and Hommel's opinions on Adapa as the *Demiurge* or *Logos* are passed under review. The general conclusion is that, while no one will "decry the effort of the Babylonians in behalf of human culture," one must "protest in the name of historic reality" when men like Delitzsch exclaim, "How thoroughly homogeneous everything in *Babel and Bible* is!" and when there is "silence concerning the difference of the level of Assyrio-Babylonian prophecy".

In the *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* for April-May, 1904, we may refer specially to the opening article by Louis Maisonneuve entitled *Essai sur l'acte de foi* which contains some good thoughts, and to Pierre Batiffol's rejoinder to M. Funk on the question of the *Agape*—a paper of very considerable importance.

The recent issues of the *Hymiletic Review* have had much good matter. In the third number for the year we have a large variety of Sermons and Addresses, Studies on Bible Themes, and Pastoral Helps and Hints, together with four longer papers. Professor Sayce gives a statement of "The Latest Lights on the Bible from the Euphrates Valley," dealing with the code of Khammurabi. Dr. Frank F. Ellenwood gives an account of "Indian Brahmoism," and Dr. Edmund B.

Fairfield writes on "Roman Catholicism as it is To-day". Professor James Orr also contributes a forcible paper on "Voltaire's Boast in the Light of Present Facts".

The *Expository Times* for July, besides other interesting and timely contributions, contains a very able and appreciative review of Dr. A. B. Davidson's *Theology of the Old Testament*, by Dr. John A. Selbie, a timely and welcome list of his writings by the Rev. James Strachan, a paper on "The Need of Prophets," by Prebendary Whitefoord, another by the Rev. D. Macrae Tod on "The Poetry and Wit of Jeremiah," and the first part of a new study of "St. Paul's Infirmary," by Dr. W. Menzies Alexander. In this issue, Dr. Alexander confines himself to a statement of the case, and a criticism of the theories connected with the names of Chrysostom, Calvin, Gregory the Great, Farrar, Lightfoot, Ramsay, etc. He points out very fairly the objections that apply not only to the older explanations which identify the "infirmary" with persecution, spiritual trials or bodily disease, but to the more elaborately constructed theories of ophthalmia, epilepsy and malarial fever. We have to wait till a further issue for his own hypothesis.

In the second issue of the *Journal of Theological Studies* for the year, the student will find much matter to interest him. Among the minor contributions we may refer to those on "The First Latin Christian Poet," by Dr. A. J. Mason; "Remarkable Readings in the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary," by Professor J. T. Marshall; "Jachin and Boaz," by Professor W. E. Barnes, and "Romans ix. 5 and Mark xiv. 61," by Mr. Burkitt. Dr. Barnes decides in favour of the readings *Ιαχουμ (Iachoum)* and *בעל*, "read as Baaz by way of euphemism to avoid the name Baal". The words, he thinks, *may* be Phœnician, and "*may* both be names or epithets of a Deity". But "until we know more," he wisely adds, "of Phœnician religion and Phœnician worship, it seems to me unsafe to go further". Dom J. Chapman commences an ingenious discussion of "The Historical Setting of the Second and Third Epistles of St. John"; Canon Sanday deals briefly but judiciously with "The Injunctions to Silence in the Gospels,"

criticising Professor Wrede in his *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, and the position there argued that our Lord during His earthly life never put Himself forward as the Messiah, and that the whole life-like narrative which represents Him as doing so rests simply on the belief of the Early Church, the disciples after the Resurrection having read back the beliefs which they had come to entertain into the Evangelical story. Mr. Burkitt's article on "The Early Church and the Synoptic Gospels" deserves consideration. It takes up the question of the stages through which the report of our Lord's words and deeds may be understood to have passed "in the interval between the events themselves and the composition of the documents we possess or can reconstruct". He enlarges on the importance of the fact that the Gospel record "passed through a full generation of pious reflection and meditation, before it began to be written down and so fixed for all time". And he reviews the qualifications and the disqualifications of the "first three generations of Christians—roughly from 30 A.D. to 120 A.D.—to be the guardians and transmitters of the words and deeds of the Christ". The chief qualification of the Evangelists he takes to be their *ethical sensitiveness*, and he speaks fitly of the debt we owe also to the Church. He deals in especial with the case of the Second Gospel and the facts of its early history. By its inclusion in the Canon we have a document "in warp and woof far more ancient than the Churches which adopted it". He calls attention to "the fine instinct—may we not say the *inspiration*?—which prompted the inclusion of the Gospel according to St. Mark among the books of the Old Testament," and points out how this shows the Catholic Church to have been "wiser than her own writers, wiser than the heretics, wiser finally than most Biblical critics from St. Augustine to Ferdinand Christian Baur".

The second issue of the *American Journal of Theology* for 1904 contains a large number of very careful reviews of books in all departments of theology. Among these we may refer in particular to those by Mr. Kenyon (dealing with Professor C. R. Gregory's *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*), Dr. Moffatt

(on Dr. R. D. Shaw's *The Pauline Epistles*), and Professor Moncrieff (on Doumergue's *Calvin*). Among the articles there is one by the Rev. William Dewar of Winnipeg on the question "What is a Miracle?"—the point of which seems to be that, on a proper spiritual theory of the universe, "the place of the miraculous in the universe is fixed and definite," it being "the manifestation of the supernatural in the annulment of Evil". Professor Sayce gives a good account of the "Legal Code of Babylonia". And, not to mention all, Mr. Redpath sets forth at length a "New Theory as to the use of the Divine Names in the Pentateuch". Anything from the pen of Mr. Redpath deserves respectful consideration. But this particular theory of his seems somewhat fine-spun. That at least is the impression produced by the first reading. The theory is that while "the prevailing type of Hebrew Bible before the establishment of the present Textus Receptus was very like it . . . with Yahweh and Elohim used in varying proportion," there was also another type of text "of later origin . . . in which Elohim took the place of Yahweh altogether"; and further that there are traces also of a "third class of text in which both names are used together". The first of these texts is supposed to be represented by Psalm xiv.; the second by Psalm liii.; and the third by Gen. ii. 4-iii. 24. The second was prepared, Mr. Redpath thinks, for "the ordinary reader, who was saved from any risk of transgressing the law which was held to be the logical outcome of the law of Lev. xxiv. 16". This is all rather complicated. But it is claimed for this theory that it "goes to the root of the matter and endeavours to explain the actual phenomena as they occur"; and that its acceptance would lead to a "re-examination of the whole question of the composition of the Pentateuch".

We welcome the appearance of a new theological Magazine, *The Baptist Review and Expositor*,¹ a quarterly journal, edited by the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological

¹ Norton Hall, Louisville, Kentucky. Price 60 cents per number, \$2 per annum.

Seminary. It is intended to meet what is felt to be a want in Baptist circles in North America. In its theological attitude it is to avoid the "two extremes of indifference and narrow traditionalism, sectarianism or sectionalism". It disowns the absolutely neutral policy adopted by some theological journals, but it is also to allow the expression of considerable diversity of opinion. The opening article is a very sensible one by Professor Milton G. Evans on "The Purpose and Meaning of an Educated Ministry". Dr. W. T. Whitley writes well on "Symbolism in the New Testament". Professor Frederick L. Anderson contributes a good paper on "The Virgin Birth," dealing with the question of the documents with the view of showing that the histories of the Virgin-Birth in Matthew and Luke cannot be regarded as later additions, post-apostolic in their origin; and meeting with much ability the main objections urged against that view. There are instructive papers also by President Mullins on the question "Is Jesus Christ the Author of Religious Experience?"; by Dr. E. B. Pollard on "The Burden of Habakkuk"; by Professor J. H. Farmer on "The Sermon on the Mount"; by Dr. S. H. Green on "The Twentieth Century Sunday School—its Organisation"; and by Dr. J. R. Sampey on "The Code of Hammurabi and the Laws of Moses". The contents of the opening number, therefore, are inviting. The articles are well suited to the purpose of the magazine. We wish this new enterprise much success.

We have also to notice the following publications. *Bibliographie der theologischen Literatur für das Jahr 1902*,¹ edited by Professors Krüger and Koehler, the fifth part of the very useful Sonder-Abdruck from the well-known *Jahresbericht*; an interesting and instructive study of *Music and Musical Instruments in the Old Testament*,² by Dr. Hugo Gressmann, of the University of Kiel, being an instalment of the very useful

¹ Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn, 1903. 8vo, pp. 321-434.

² *Musik und Musikinstrumente im Alten Testament*. Giessen: Ricker, 1903. 8vo, pp. 32. Price 9d.

series of *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* edited by Drs. Alfred Dieterich and Richard Wünsch; *The Gospels of the Sundays and Festivals*, vols. i. and ii.,¹ by the Rev. Cornelius J. Ryan, late Professor of Sacred Scripture and Hebrew, Holy Cross College, Clonliffe, Dublin—a running commentary on the Gospel for the use of students in the College at Clonliffe, done with much care and in an easy popular style, showing a large acquaintance with the best authorities, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic, giving the Greek and Latin texts read at Mass and the great Festivals of the Church, an English translation, parallel passages, a combined narrative, and full explanatory notes and moral reflections; *Les Psaumes*,² by M. B. D'Eyragues, a translation from the Hebrew into French, executed with much good taste as well as with scholarly accuracy, sometimes quite felicitous in its readings, furnished with concise explanatory notes, brief accounts of the contents and purpose of each Psalm, and with a good Introduction, of which the most interesting section is one dealing with the theology of the Psalter; *Jeremia*,³ by Johannes Arthur, a drama in five acts, introducing, in addition to the prophet himself at the age of seventy, Baruch, Sulamith, Baruch's bride, Abigail, King Zedekiah, and others, done with some spirit and with a fair appreciation of the historical situation; *Essais de Critique et d'Histoire de Philosophie*,⁴ by S. Karppe, a volume forming part of the "Bibliothèque de Philosophie contemporaine," in which we have a very readable and instructive account of the course of philosophical thought from Philo to Herder and Goethe, giving special attention to Maimonides, Averroës and Spinoza, the great ideas of the *juste milieu*, *necessity*, *monotheism* and *monism*, on all which Dr. Karppe has much that is of interest to say;

¹ Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1904. 8vo, pp. liv. + 334 and pp. 396. Price 12s. 6d. net.

² Paris: Lecoffre, 1904. Small cr. 8vo, pp. lxiv. + 427. Price Fr. 7.50.

³ Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 75. Price M. 1.50.

⁴ Paris: Alcan. 8vo, pp. 224. Price Fr. 3.75.

Seeking the Kingdom: a Study,¹ by Ernest Everett Day, an enlargement of a course of addresses to a mid-week Bible Class on the question what it means to be "a Christian according to the words of the Master," giving a concise, intelligent and practical summary of our Lord's teaching on The Kingdom, The Father, True Righteousness, Sin, Salvation, Repentance, Faith and Love, The New Life, Prayer, and others of the central spiritual truths expressed in the Gospels; *The Psalms of Israel*,² by Dean J. H. Bernard and others—a course of lectures delivered in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, by the Bishop of Derry, the Dean of St. Patrick's, Dr. H. J. Lawlor, Dr. J. H. Kennedy, Messrs. Pooler and White—popular in character, intended to help educated people to a more intelligent use of the Psalter, and giving in succinct form much that will be of interest to worshippers on such subjects as the origin, growth and history of the Book of Psalms, the place it has had in the Temple services and in the Christian Church, its ideas of the future life, and of the Messiah, the character and purpose of the Imprecatory Psalms, the Penitential Psalms, etc., a very readable volume; *Saïdische Auszüge aus dem 8. Buche der Apostolischen Konstitutionen*,³ by Johannes Leipoldt, an instalment of the ninth volume of the new series of von Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*, dealing with the third of the three parts of the collection of *Canones Ecclesiastici*, so named by de Lagarde, which exist in Sahidic, Bohairic, Ethiopic and Arabic texts, and furnishing everything in translation, critical text and literary introduction required for understanding and valuing these *Auszüge* from the Apostolical Constitutions; *Drei georgisch erhaltenen Schriften von Hippolytus*, herausgegeben von G. Nath.

¹ New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 210. Price 6s. 6d. net.

² London: S. C. Brown, Langham & Co., 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. 188. Price 3s. 6d. net.

³ Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1904. 8vo, pp. 61. Price M.2.

Bonwetch,¹ another section of the ninth volume of the new series of the well-known *Texte und Untersuchungen*, having for its subject three curious writings, "The Blessing of Jacob," "The Blessing of Moses," and "The Story of David and Goliath," contained in a manuscript of the Tiflis "Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung der Bildung unter den Grusinern" ascribed to the second half of the tenth century, and claiming to go back to Hippolytus—a laborious bit of work, reproducing the writings themselves and providing a very scholarly introduction to them, in which Dr. Bonwetch, on the ground of what he pronounces unambiguous indications furnished by their likeness to genuine writings of the same Father, the use made of the first of the three by Ambrose, and the place given to the third of them in the so-called *Tractatus* of Origen, argues strongly in favour of their acceptance as genuine works of the famous Bishop of Portus; another part of G. H. Lamers's *Zedekunde*,² forming the conclusion of his work and dealing ably with the social side of things; another instalment, the fourteenth part, of W. Muss-Arnolt's valuable *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*;³ *Zur aussern und innern Mission*,⁴ by P. E. Lucius, a collection of addresses and essays on various aspects of the Missionary work of the Church, by the late Professor of Church History in the University of Strassburg, containing much that deserves to be read and pondered; *Aristote et l'Université de Paris pendant le xiii^e siècle*,⁵ by G. H. Luquet, forming the second part of the sixteenth volume of *Sciences Religieuses* (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes Études), and giving a valuable sketch and estimate of the

¹ Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1904. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 98. Price 3s. 6d. net.

² *Materieel Deel: Sociale Gedeelte*. Groningen: Wolters, 1904. 8vo, pp. 421 + 460.

³ Berlin: Reuther und Reichard. 4to, pp. 833-896. Price 5s. net.

⁴ Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. 186. Price 2s.

⁵ Paris: Leroux, 1904. Large 8vo, pp. v. + 34.

place and influence of the ideas and methods of Aristotle in Paris at an important period in the history of philosophical and theological thought; *St. Mark: the Revised Version edited with Introduction and Notes for the use of Schools*,¹ by Sir A. F. Hort, M.A., and Mary Dyson Hort, an excellent book judiciously adapted to the purpose in view by its clear and pointed explanations and its happily constructed Introduction.

¹Cambridge: University Press, 1903. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 120. Price 1s. 6d. net.

Record of Select Literature.

I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

- KURTZ, R. Zur Psychologie der vorexilischen Prophetie in Israel. Mit 9. schemat. Darstellgn. im Text. Pössneck, i. Th.: B. Feigenspann. 8vo, pp. v. + 102. M.2.
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The First Sadducees.

FROM the time of Nehemiah to that of Antiochus Epiphanes the Jews appear to have enjoyed, under Persian and Greek rule, a very large, if not complete, measure of religious liberty. The observance of the law, and the practice of the ancestral rites of their religion, were not interfered with by the suzerain power. But it was inevitable that the Jewish people should be influenced, in some degree, by the subtle and pervading force of Hellenism; and inevitable, further, that that influence should be most strongly felt by the upper or governing class in the little community, the aristocratic priesthood of Jerusalem. These men, who were styled the B'ne Zadok, probably as the reputed descendants of the Solomonic High Priest Zadok, began to drift away from the old religious exclusiveness of Judaism. They were interested in Hellenic culture, and showed a disposition to adopt Hellenic customs. This tendency, as was natural, aroused the suspicion and hostility of those who were fervently loyal to the law and to the ancient religion. These were the Chasidim or Asidæans, the "pious" among the people, who contended, passively at least, against the social arrogance and religious indifference of their nominal leaders, and against every sort of Hellenic influence. Antiochus Epiphanes determined, from whatever motive, to accelerate the Hellenising process by force, and instituted a religious persecution, in which he was joined by the extreme Hellenising party among the Jews themselves. The result was the Maccabæan rising, and the achievement by the Jewish people not only of religious toleration, but of national independence. But the establishment of the Jewish State, with the Maccabæan or Hasmonæan family on its throne, as royal High Priests, was followed by the unhappy and irreconcilable opposition

of two contending parties within the state itself. The old exclusively "pious" Asidæans reappeared as the Pharisee party, still owning allegiance solely to the law, and still in opposition to their own rulers. They were opposed by the Sadducees, a priestly aristocracy devoted to the Hasmonæan house, with interests that were mainly national and political. During the two centuries which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, the internal history of the Jewish people was largely the history of the conflict between these two parties, and of the relation of each to outside forces.

In order to understand that history, it is therefore of vital importance to know who and what were the first Pharisees and the first Sadducees, and what were the precise grounds of hostility between them. That the Pharisees were simply the later representatives of the older Asidæans may be regarded as certain, and it is unnecessary to recite the reasons for the identification of the two. But who were the first Sadducees? On the answer to this question depends our whole view of the constitution and aims of the fully developed Sadducee party, of the reasons of Pharisee hostility to it, and of the relation of both parties to the theocratic idea, and to the Jewish State. It is therefore a question of first-rate importance. Two answers have been given to it. The first is that the early Sadducees were simply the descendants of the old Hellenising B'ne Zadok, their motives and interests being essentially the same as those of their fathers, only accommodated externally to suit the new Hasmonæan régime. The Pharisee opposition to them was based on precisely the same grounds as the Asidæan opposition to the B'ne Zadok. This is the generally received opinion. On the other hand, Wellhausen in his *Pharisäer und Sadducäer* maintained that the first Sadducees were neither more nor less than the adherents of Judas Maccabæus and his brothers, the Maccabæan or Hasmonæan party which displaced the B'ne Zadok. Their achievement was the establishment of the Jewish State, and their interests centred in it. The Pharisees opposed them because the very existence of such a state conflicted with their idea of theocracy.

In the following pages an attempt is made to expound and justify this second view, arrived at by an independent study of the ancient authorities, and confirmed by the subsequent reading of Wellhausen's admirable pamphlet.

The current opinion may be found expressed or implied in almost all the recent literature on the subject, but it may be sufficient to cite in illustration of it the standard work on the history of the whole period, Schürer's *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, which has very largely and deservedly influenced the views and statements of other writers.

Schürer's account of the origin of the two parties and the relation of the Hasmonæans to them may be briefly summarised as follows:—

There were two parties or tendencies (*Richtungen*) among the Jews before the Maccabæan rising—one characterised by zealous devotion to the law (the Chasidim), the other by indifference to religion and by Hellenising proclivities, which were most pronounced among the priestly nobility (the B'ne Zadok). The former appears later, practically unaltered, as the Pharisee party. The latter, or Sadducee party, having been taught a severe lesson by the Maccabæan movement, and having been purged of the most extreme Hellenisers, was now fain to accept the irreducible minimum of Judaism—the Mosaic Law. For the rest, its general principles remained the same. It was still the party of the priestly aristocracy with whom political and worldly interests predominated over those of religion. The Maccabæans adhered originally to neither of the two parties, or tendencies. At first, indeed, community of religious interest and enthusiasm attached them much more closely to the Pharisees than to the Sadducees. But as their aims became more political and more personal, they were drawn towards the Sadducee nobility, who must obviously (*selbstverständlich*) have been represented in the *γερονσία* of the Maccabæan period. This general tendency is exemplified in the person of John Hyrcanus. At first a follower of the Pharisees in religious matters, as political interests gradually forced religious zeal into the background, and his policy became more worldly,

he was more and more drawn towards the Sadducees. At last he openly broke with Pharisaism and unreservedly adhered to the Sadducee tendency (*G. J. V.*, 3, 1., 270 f.).

In brief, the Sadducees had no principles, and the Hasmonæans, after making a fair start in alliance with the Pharisees, simply degenerated into Sadduceeism, having loved the things of this world better than the things of God. That there is any inherent improbability in such a degeneracy no one will assert. But is this view of the origin and character of the Sadducee party correct? And is it true that the Hasmonæans stood at one time much nearer to the Pharisees than to the Sadducees, and only under John Hyrcanus transferred their allegiance—or their patronage—from their old associates to the Sadducee party? The latter assertions are made explicitly—though in a rather imaginative form—by Josephus (*Antiq.*, XIII., x., 5, 6), and his statements are accepted by Schürer as substantially accurate. But the consideration of Josephus' story of Hyrcanus' change of front may be deferred. That story must be judged not only by its own internal coherence, but by its consistency with the development of the parties during the thirty years between the Maccabæan rising and the accession of John Hyrcanus. And for those thirty all-important years our principal authority is not Josephus, but the first book of Maccabees, from which a view is derived of the relation of the Hasmonæans to the two parties wholly different from that of Josephus and of Schürer. This view must first be justified by reference to its source, and Josephus' story may then profitably be compared with it.

That 1 Maccabees is the most trustworthy authority for the history of the period which it covers has been generally conceded, and Wellhausen, writing thirty years ago, was able to assume without discussion the reliability of its statements. More recently, however, its trustworthiness has been assailed from various points of view. Willrich (*Juden und Griechen*, pp. 69 ff.; *Judaica*, pp. 62-85) has thrown doubt upon the credibility of the treaties it reports with Rome and Sparta, and in general on the authenticity of the documents quoted

in it, as regards substance as well as form. Similar doubts have also been expressed by Wellhausen himself (*Israel. u. Jüd. Geschichte*, pp. 266, n. 2; 273, n. 1). On the strength of their criticism of the documents they have suggested that the book has been largely interpolated, especially in the latter half, and has survived in a kind of second enlarged edition. This criticism, if accepted, affects the trustworthiness of the book in some important details. But it does not affect the general correctness of its information as to the course of the Maccabæan wars, and the relation of the various sections of the people to one another. Indeed, one of the considerations which led Willrich to the theory of interpolation is the improbability that so intelligent and trustworthy a historian should have been guilty of what he believes to be gross inaccuracies.

Apparently more important from the point under discussion is the isolated attempt of Niese (*Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher*) to show that the first book of Maccabees is a less reliable source than the second. Niese charges the author of 1 Maccabees with a partisanship for his own country, and in especial for its ruling house, so strong as to lead to grave sins both of omission and commission. As regards some particulars—as for instance the prominence given to Simon in the dying speech of Mattathias, and the prominence of Mattathias himself—the charge may have some justification. It is also likely enough that out of the mass of details on which the two books disagree there are some on which the first is mistaken, though the patronising tone in which Niese concedes some value to it alongside of, and subordinate to, the second, is, to say the least of it, premature. But, for our purpose, the most important feature of Niese's comparison of the two books is his treatment of their apparent divergence of view as to the relation of the Maccabæans to the two parties or, more particularly, to the Asidæans. The latter are mentioned twice in 1 Maccabees, and are distinguished from the Maccabæan party on each occasion. In ii. 42 the συναγωγή Ἀσιδαίων joins Mattathias and his friends after they have raised the standard of revolt; and in vii. 12 ff. the

συναγωγή γραμματέων . . . οἱ Ἀσιδαῖοι voluntarily recognise Alcimus as legitimate High Priest, and dissociate themselves from the Maccabæans.

On the other hand, in 2 Macc. xiv. 6—the only occasion on which they are mentioned in this book—the Asidæans are represented by Alcimus as the disturbing element in the country, under the leadership of Judas Maccabæus. The divergence is the more pointed owing to the prominence given in 2 Maccabees to the Asidæan martyrs, concerning whose exploits the first book is silent. Wellhausen, dismissing the arbitrary suggestion that 1 Macc. vii. 13 is a gloss, considered 2 Macc. xiv. 6 to be a deliberate contradiction, in the interests of Pharisee patriotism, of the statement that the Asidæans welcomed Alcimus. Against this charge Niese assumes a wholly defensive attitude. The representation in 2 Macc. xiv. 6, he points out, is not that of the author himself, but is put into the mouth of Alcimus; and further, as the Asidæans had been for a time in alliance with the Maccabæans, the complaint of Alcimus did not altogether lack justification (*Kritik*, p. 25). Whether it is quite logical to plead in excuse for an alleged misstatement, firstly, that it is a libel put into the mouth of a godless person, and, secondly, that after all it is fairly near the truth, need not be discussed. The important thing is that, with all his strenuous advocacy of the superiority of 2 Maccabees, Niese does not venture to question the accuracy of the distinction drawn by 1 Maccabees between Asidæans and Maccabæans, and simply endeavours to show that 2 Maccabees is in harmony with it. So complete does their harmony on the point appear to him that he has the hardihood to quote the apparently conflicting passages, 1 Macc. vii. 12 ff. and 2 Macc. xiv. 6, together as uniting to prove that the Asidæans submitted to Alcimus and the Syrian authority! (*Kritik*, p. 85, n. 5). On the general divergence of tendency discernible in the two books, according to which the first may fairly be described as Sadducee, and the second as Pharisee, in sympathy, Niese has nothing to say. The author of 1 Maccabees has, according to him, been led astray by patriotic enthusiasm, and particularly by

loyalty to the Hasmonæan dynasty, but he brings no charge against him of anti-Pharisee partisanship. His assault on the trustworthiness of the book does not affect the reliability of its information as to the relation of the Hasmonæans to the two parties. In this matter, at least, 1 Maccabees has all the appearance of being consistent, impartial, and well-informed.

Its impartiality has, however, been called in question from another point of view by Montet in his *Essai sur les origines des partis saducéen et phariséen*, especially pp. 10 ff. and 167, n. 4. He finds in it anti-Hellenistic, that is, anti-Sadducee, bias displayed in the disparaging epithets it applies to those who recognised the superiority of Greek civilisation. The charge is really based on Montet's peculiar theory that the old Hellenising "Zadokite" aristocracy were stung by the measures of Antiochus Epiphanes into revolt on behalf of the religion which they officially administered. With this idea in his mind he finds the hostility of 1 Maccabees to Alcimus and his party, and to the Hellenisers generally, explicable only on the supposition of fanatical anti-Hellenistic prejudice. But, apart from other objections to Montet's theory, this view of the attitude of 1 Maccabees is clearly untenable. For the author was evidently a very enthusiastic adherent of the Hasmonæan dynasty, and no Pharisee. He clearly distinguishes the Maccabæans from the Asidæans, and records with marked satisfaction the success of the secular policy pursued by the former. He is, in Montet's phraseology, a "patriot" and not a "fanatic". That being so, what conceivable motive could he have had for persistently blackening the character of the ancestors of his own party? Montet's theory makes the author's position in regard to the two parties utterly unintelligible. He is an enthusiastic "Hasmonæan," supporting the dynasty in its entire policy, and yet he misses no opportunity of denouncing as godless the party to which, according to Montet himself, the Hasmonæans belonged! Widely as their results differ, Montet and Schürer alike make what is fundamentally the same mistake—that of identifying the Sadducees with the pre-

Maccabæan Zadokites. Thus they introduce into their representations of the history a confusion from which 1 Maccabees is entirely free. And it may fairly be claimed that recent criticism of 1 Maccabees has not affected its reliability in regard to the internal development and relations of the Jewish parties.

For the Maccabæan period it distinguishes three parties, assigning distinct principles and a fairly well-defined rôle to each. They are (1) the Asidæans; (2) the Maccabæans; (3) the godless and disloyal Hellenisers.

(1) The Asidæans are mentioned, as already stated, only twice in the book. This alone is an indication that they played a very subordinate part in the national movement. But the references, slight as they are, make their position clear, and accord well with what we know of them otherwise. They are already a fairly well-defined body, a *συναγωγή*, characterised by unreserved attachment to the law (ii. 42). They are in the closest connexion with the Scribes (vii. 12 ff.). They are a purely religious body with none but ecclesiastical interests. At first they offer only a passive resistance to the oppressor, and prefer to die rather than to defend themselves on the Sabbath (ii. 31-38). But when Mattathias and his friends determine on active resistance, they join them in defence of their religious liberty. So soon, however, as that is guaranteed to them, they withdraw from the Maccabæans, and recognise Alcimus as legitimate High Priest, taking no account of the political interests involved. The stupid brutality of Alcimus drives them back into association with the Maccabæans, or at least into acquiescence with their proceedings, as we must infer from the narrative. They appear no more on the author's pages. But the principles of the party have been indicated with sufficient precision to enable us to understand the grounds of their subsequent hostility to the Sadducees.

(2) Mattathias and his sons and their "friends" are of a very different mould. Too much stress need not be laid on the sacerdotal descent of their leaders, but it is plain that they belonged to what may be described as the priestly, as

opposed to the scribal, section. They are staunch adherents of the law. But their devotion to it inspires them to active warfare, and they will not allow themselves, like the Asidæans, to be led like sheep to the slaughter on its behalf. Their attitude is not that of patient waiting for Divine deliverance, but of manful resistance to the tyrant. As Cromwell's troops were bidden to trust God, and keep their powder dry, so the Maccabæans put their trust in God—and sharpened their swords. Their aims were political as well as religious. They wanted a free State, and not merely a free Church. Their ideal was a national, and not simply an ecclesiastical, theocracy. And in pursuit of this ideal they used every secular resource at their command. Their fortunes varied. At times they led the people to victory, and at times they were little better than a band of outlaws. But they held together through every vicissitude of fortune, and proved themselves to be the only possible rulers of the nation. Brave and skilful in arms, they won repeated victories, but were unable to withstand by force any sustained military effort on the part of Syria. Nevertheless, the astuteness of their diplomacy, and the dissensions by which the Syrian kingdom was rent, enabled them to achieve the independence of the Jewish State, and along with it a dominant position within the State itself. They welcomed the support of the Asidæans when it was given them, but the alliance between the two parties was only temporary, and their divergence of aim precluded any close or permanent union. The Asidean recognition of Alcimus marks the point of separation, not only in time, but in principle. It was precisely this difference in principle which brought Pharisees and Sadducees into sharp conflict in the following generation.

(3) Very little need be said of the third or "godless" party, but that little is of great importance. It was composed of the men, belonging mainly to the high priestly aristocracy of Jerusalem, who had welcomed Hellenistic innovations, and had been prepared to sacrifice all that was distinctive in the Jewish nationality. As the issue changed, and the inviolability of the Jewish religion was guaranteed, they continued

to fight for their own hand, in dependence on the power of Syria, against the growing influence and authority of the Hasmonæans. But whether as traitors to the law, or as selfish opponents of the rising national sentiment of the people, they are always, in the eyes of the author of 1 Maccabees, godless and lawless. And for their persistent hostility to the Hasmonæans they pay the penalty of more or less complete extermination. Reference may be made to 1 Macc. vi. 18-27; vii. 5-9, 21-25; ix. 23-31, 58, 73; x. 61; xi. 20 ff., 41; xii. 36; xv. 21. There is no trace in the book of any Hellenising party other than this gradually diminishing remnant of the old Zadokite nobility, and there is no trace of any kind of alliance between them and the Hasmonæans. That the extermination was quite complete need not be urged. In any case the surviving element which may have accepted the Hasmonæan *régime* was so unimportant as not in any degree to mitigate the severity of the author's reprobation of the party as a whole. And had there been a "Zadokite" party continuously existing with which the Hasmonæans were afterwards identified, is it possible that they should have left no trace on the pages of a Sadducee historian? Or that he should not have excepted from his sweeping condemnation of the old nobility that party among them towards which his heroes of the Hasmonæan family are said to have gradually tended, and with which they were soon identified?

With the disappearance of the old nobility, whose "legitimacy" had been overbalanced by their "godlessness," there were left at the accession of John Hyrcanus only two distinguishable and rival parties—the adherents of the law and the purely ecclesiastical theocracy, and the adherents of the State and the national-political theocracy established by the Hasmonæans. This is the representation of 1 Maccabees, and it makes the subsequent development under Hyrcanus intelligible. The name "Sadducee," assuming it to be derived from the Solomonic High Priest Zadok, may have been adopted by the Hasmonæans and their adherents as an assertion of legitimacy. But in view of the attitude of 1

Maccabees to the B'ne Zadok, it is more probable that it was at first a term of reproach conveying the insinuation that the new aristocracy was no better than the old one, now discredited and extinguished.

The important thing, however, is that the Sadducees were not the descendants, or later representatives, of the B'ne Zadok. Like them they were the ruling class, and therefore, in the peculiar constitution of the theocracy, in the main a priestly class. But they had a different ancestry, different interests, and different aims, and they represent a different idea of the theocracy. And it was their points of difference from the old Zadokites, and not their points of resemblance to them, that made the grounds of Pharisee hostility to them exactly what they were. It was not the opposition of the zealous against the lax, of strict adherence to the law against Hellenistic proclivities. It was the opposition of the ecclesiastical idea of the theocracy against the national. It has been said with truth that the exiles returned from Babylon to found, not a kingdom, but a Church. The Hasmonæans and their supporters changed the Church into a kingdom, and it was this that brought them into conflict with the Pharisees, whose interests were confined exclusively to the Church. In a sense the secular authority was a matter of indifference to the Pharisees so long as it left undisturbed the religion of the law. Under any of the empires that held sway over it, or under the half-alien rule of the Herodian house, the Jewish Church could exist uncontaminated. But a really independent Jewish State, in which the only possible head of the State was the head of the theocracy—the High Priest—immediately secularised and profaned the Church.

That is the point of the Pharisee demand that Hyrcanus should resign the High Priesthood, and content himself with the secular authority. Such a course would have disintegrated the constitution and made the State a chaos, but to that the Pharisees were wholly indifferent. On the other hand, the Sadducees—the Hasmonæan nobility—who had built up the State and made the constitution what it was,

naturally clung to it and fought for it, loyal to the dynasty which was the centre point, not only of their party, but of their principles. This fundamental divergence of principle—and only this—explains not only the external history of the two parties, but also their theoretical differences. The Pharisees are the purely religious party, with a gradually increasing moral hold on the people, a hold independent of, and surviving, all secular changes. The Sadducees are the ruling aristocracy in the State, suffering eclipse as the State loses independence, disappearing with its final disappearance. The Pharisees live for the kingdom of God, wait patiently for Divine intervention, and look forward to the resurrection of those who have died before the intervention comes. The Sadducees live for the Jewish kingdom, their interests are bound up in it and in its secular prosperity, and as they require no resurrection hope, they have no resurrection dogma. The Pharisees build up their moral authority largely on the foundation of scribal tradition, and this tradition is naturally disowned by their Sadducee opponents. These and all other differences between them were not so many several points of distinction which, taken together, made them two opposing parties. They were the results of their fundamental divergence in principle. Trace that divergence backwards, and you find its origin, as 1 Maccabees inevitably leads you to expect, in the exclusively religious ideal of the Asidæans on the one hand, and in the national hopes, interests, and activities of the Hasmonæan party on the other.

Compare with all this the largely speculative statement of Schürer, already quoted in a condensed form, according to which the Hasmonæans, having stood at first outside the two parties, but allied to the Asidæans, gradually gravitated towards the Sadducees, and finally “went over” to them. Its sole basis in the sources is the story of Josephus, of which account will be taken later. But it is open to annihilating objections.

(1) The representation of 1 Maccabees not only affords no justification for, but absolutely precludes, the idea that the Zadokite aristocracy continued to exist as an independent

party throughout the Maccabæan period, able to welcome the adhesion of the victorious Hasmonæans.

(2) Schürer treats the Hasmonæans throughout simply as one family, and totally ignores the existence and claims of their followers. The head of the family chooses to leave the Pharisaic school, and attach himself to the Sadducees, the Pharisaic ordinances are repealed, *et voilà tout!* But it is plain from the constant language of 1 Maccabees that the adherents of the Hasmonæans supplanted the old crushed and proscribed nobility. And indeed it is impossible that it should have been otherwise. For it is inconceivable that the new royal house alone was rewarded for its services to Jewish independence. With the Hasmonæans there must have risen to place and power a body of men who had stood by them in all the vicissitudes of their fortunes, who had officered their armies, and been the instruments of their diplomacy and administration. These men were the official governing class under Simon and John Hyrcanus, who, as High Priest, stood at the head of the official priesthood, surrounded by ministers and counsellors who themselves, or whose fathers, had helped to place his house at the head of the nation. A change of front on the part of the ruling house must have meant a change of government. When Salome put the Pharisees in power, she effected a revolution, which drove the Sadducees, the original adherents of the dynasty, into painful opposition. But in the imaginative anecdote of Josephus, which is accepted as substantially true by Schürer, nothing of the kind takes place. The Sadducees are not the ruling class. They are simply the representatives of a negative "tendency," hostile to Pharisaism. And the sole apparent result of Hyrcanus' change of party was likewise negative—the prohibition of the observance of certain Pharisaic rules. Such an idea is in flat contradiction to the preceding history, as related in 1 Maccabees, to the subsequent history of the opposition of the parties, and to the possibilities of the case.

(3) The current view does the gravest injustice to the men who composed the Sadducee party in its early days. The

first Sadducees, whatever faults they may have had, possessed a full share of the considerable virtues of valour and loyalty. Their very worldliness, their indifference to the religious ideals of the Pharisees, did not spring from mere selfishness, or pleasure-seeking. It was the product, in the first instance, of devotion to a worldly cause, the honourable cause of their country's independence and prosperity, and the maintenance of the dynasty which they served. It was an honest principle, and not mere aristocratic superiority to religious enthusiasm, that brought them at first into conflict with the "other worldliness" of the Pharisees. Josephus, sympathising with the opposite party, and familiar with the Sadducees only in their decay when the loss of national independence had robbed them of their true *métier*, gives a wholly misleading idea of the first members of the party. Accepting his story of Hyrcanus' change of front, Schürer represents them as simply an aristocratic coterie, bound up in their own interests, pursuing their own course under any *régime*, under Simon and Hyrcanus, as under Marelau and Alcimus, preferred by Hyrcanus to their more middle-class, more pious, and less pliant opponents, on account of the blueness of their blood, the selfish worldliness of their aims, and their freedom from moral and religious scruples. Were these the men whose sons approached Salome with the request that if they might no longer, as heretofore, serve the Hasmonæan house with honour, they might be dismissed altogether from her court and territory?

The contempt justly felt for a party owing to such an origin, and degenerating in later days even from its originally insignificant moral and spiritual standard, may be observed in the description of the Sadducees by Thackeray, quoted with emphatic approval by Fairweather, *From the Exile to the Advent*, p. 159: "The Baptist might be in the wilderness, shouting to the poor who were listening with all their might and faith to the preacher's awful accents and denunciations of wrath, or woe, or salvation: and our friend the Sadducee would turn his sleek mule with a shrug and a smile from the crowd, and go home to the shade of his

terrace, and muse over preacher and audience, and turn to his roll of Plato, or his pleasant Greek song-book, babbling of honey and Hybla, and nymphs and fountains of love". The picture is grossly unfair. The Sadducees had faults, and grave ones. Their attempted national theocracy was a failure, and in the period of their decadence, when driven from their proper sphere of action, they make often a rather sorry impression. But they were not, especially in the earlier and greater days of the party, the despicable time-servers portrayed by Schürer in the passage cited, or the mere pleasure-lovers of Thackeray's caricature. They fought for an idea, a cause, and a dynasty; and they could with justice speak proudly to Salome of their loyalty and their services. Even at their worst the Maccabæan spirit did not wholly desert them, dormant though it might be. They fell at last with something of their old dignity, and with them disappeared the last faint hope of the Jewish State.

(4) It follows from what has preceded that the view of the origin of the Sadducee party here controverted does nothing to explain, and indeed obscures, the antithesis of the two parties, whether in political or in doctrinal controversy. The somewhat intricate story of the relation of the Sadducees to the later Hasmonæans, to Antipater and Herod, to Pompey and the Roman Government, can be understood only when the principles which governed the party have been correctly apprehended. These principles, and the national idea of the theocracy which the party represented, had their origin in the struggles and ultimate success of the early Hasmonæans. A new national, and, in no bad sense, worldly spirit was breathed into the old form of the second theocracy, and the Sadducees were simply the party of that spirit. It died out, or was killed; the State fell, and the Sadducees disappeared. The old, genuine, logical, ecclesiastical idea of the theocracy, and its representatives and exponents, the Pharisee party, alone survived. The history of the two parties, from the time of John Hyrcanus, and in a sense from the time of the Asidæan recognition of Alcimus, to the fall of Jerusalem, is the history of the political and doctrinal

conflict of these two ideas of the theocracy, and the victory of the more logical and deeper-rooted. Misunderstand the origin of the Sadducee party, ignore their spirit and their ideal, depict them as the party of mere selfish interests and the negation of principle, and you render their history and their opinions alike incoherent. This is done when they are identified, not with the Hasmonæan party, but with the alleged "Zadokite" coterie of the Maccabæan period.

What then is to be made of the story of Josephus (*Antiq.*, XIII., x., 5, 6) which appears to justify the assertion that Hyrcanus left the Pharisees and joined the Sadducee party?

Hyrcanus, we read, was a beloved disciple of the Pharisees. On one occasion he invited them to a banquet, and, looking upon them with favour, protested his desire to act always in a manner acceptable to God and to them, and asked if they saw anything in his conduct that required correction. They gratified him by ascribing every possible virtue to him. But one, Eleazar, who was of a malevolent disposition, told him that if he really wished to be righteous, he should surrender the High Priesthood, and content himself with the secular government. When asked for his reasons, he alleged that the mother of Hyrcanus had been at one time a prisoner of war. Hyrcanus was exceedingly annoyed at the allegation, which was false, and the rest of his guests also showed vexation. There was present an intimate friend of Hyrcanus, a Sadducee named Jonathan, who suggested to him to test the feelings of the Pharisees by asking them what punishment should be inflicted on Eleazar. On the question being put to them, they replied that he deserved stripes and bonds, thus illustrating their accustomed leniency in punishment. Hyrcanus, who considered that the offence merited the penalty of death, regarded them as sympathising with the offender, and forsook their party for that of the Sadducees. The Pharisaic laws were set aside, and the observance of them was declared to be a punishable offence.

While the details of this story are generally admitted to be legendary, it is claimed that it has a basis of historical fact, which is to be found in its opening and concluding

statements that Hyrcanus was at first a Pharisee, or was at least in close connexion with the Pharisees, and that he transferred his favour to their opponents, the Sadducee nobility.

Against this view a number of considerations may be urged.

(1) The story itself, apart from these opening and closing statements, does not describe a rupture between Hyrcanus and the Pharisees, but an unsuccessful attempt on the part of Hyrcanus to conciliate the Pharisees. Why a beloved disciple of the Pharisees should require to make an effort to win their favour is not apparent. The intimacy of Hyrcanus with the Sadducee Jonathan, and the readiness with which he adopts his advice, are also rather curious features of the story. These peculiarities may be dismissed as part of the legendary dressing of the incident. But it is important to notice that they point to a conception of the whole situation differing from that suggested by Josephus, and quite in line with our previous conclusions as to the origin of the parties.

(2) While Josephus certainly sympathises with the Pharisees, and throws the whole blame of the rupture between them and Hyrcanus on the indiscretion of only one of them, and still more on the malicious cunning of a Sadducee, the source from which he drew evidently distributed the responsibility quite otherwise. The incident is introduced by the statement that the good fortune of Hyrcanus provoked envy, and that the Pharisees especially were hostile to him. The same source is probably responsible for the unsympathetic reference to the Pharisees in *Antiq.*, XVII., ii., 4 (*cf.* Schürer, *G. J.*, v., 3, ii., 383, n. 1). It is evident that if the Pharisees were specially unfriendly towards Hyrcanus he cannot have been their beloved disciple, or have had any close connexion with them. Nor can this incident, following such an introduction, be intended to explain the cause of their unfriendliness. The fact that Josephus has tampered with his source inspires very little confidence in his statements.

(3) Josephus has only the haziest notion of the origin of

the parties. The looseness of the statement in *Antiq.*, XIII., v., 9, "About that time there were three sects among the Jews," shows that he had no information as to their origin, and no idea that their rivalry was due to historical causes. He has in his mind simply their condition in his own day, modified to suit his peculiar representation of them as philosophic sects. The demand that Hyrcanus should resign the High Priesthood becomes in his narrative comparatively unimportant beside the reason alleged for it, and the petty distinction between the two parties in regard to severity or leniency in punishment. This is not a mere detail. It is this ignorance of the origin of the parties, and this misconception of the real point at issue between them at that time, that makes the statement that Hyrcanus changed his party plausible at all.

(4) The motive for the statement is not far to seek. Whether a really consistent and well-informed Pharisee would have claimed for his spiritual ancestors any intimate connexion with the Maccabæan leaders may be doubtful. But 2 Maccabees, in spite of Niese's already mentioned *tour de force*, provides evidence that the claim was made. And Josephus, who united with Pharisee sympathies a patriotic enthusiasm which unfortunately affected his ingenuousness as a historian, had every motive for identifying the Maccabæan heroes with his party. The fact that in the time of Hyrcanus the Hasmonæans and their supporters were in direct opposition to the Pharisees was only to be explained by the assumption that Hyrcanus had changed his party. This story informs us, with some awkwardness certainly, of the fact of the change, and of the reasons for it.

On the strength of this legendary and inconsequent anecdote, told by an author who was certainly not impartial, who as regards the origin of the parties was clearly uninformed and unintelligent, and who was obliged in relating the alleged incident to differ transparently from his source, we are asked to ignore the other evidence, and believe that the Hasmonæans were up to the time of Hyrcanus in more or less close alliance with the Pharisees, and only then

finally deserted them for the party of religious indifference and material interests. A more precarious foundation for a view so widely held could hardly be imagined.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the source which Josephus has treated so cavalierly was responsible for this error and confusion. Stripped of the later writer's additions and contradictions the narrative is intelligible enough. The latent hostility of the Asidæans and their successors to the Hasmonæans, of which indications had already been given during the Maccabæan conflict, was openly expressed when the conflict was over, and the nation was secure under the Hasmonæan rule. Hyrcanus made an effort to conciliate the now developed Pharisee party, whose great and growing influence with the people made their opposition a source of danger. But their terms were too severe—nothing less than his own loss of power, the destruction of the new *régime*, and the abandonment of the new national ideal, by his resignation of the High Priesthood—and he declined to accept them. This is consistent with what preceded, according to 1 Maccabees, and with what followed in the reign of Alexander Jannæus and afterwards. The legendary character of the story in Josephus appears not so much in the details of the banquet as in the statement that Hyrcanus was a Pharisee, and the implication that the Sadducees were up to that time wholly independent of the Hasmonæans. On that point the evidence of 1 Maccabees is quite decisive. And it is supported rather than contradicted by what remains in the text of Josephus of the original account of the relation of Hyrcanus to the Pharisees given by his source.

Two general considerations appear to have influenced the current view of the origin of the Sadducee party. The first is the fact that the Maccabæans took up arms in the first instance in defence of their ancestral religion. This suggests an intimate connexion between them and the purely religious party. The second is that the Sadducees resembled in several respects the old Zadokite aristocracy. This suggests the identification of the two. What is overlooked is the

existence of a body of men loyal to their religion and ready to fight for it against overwhelming odds, but differing in outlook and in aspiration from the exclusively religious party, with interests and ideals that centred in the nation rather than in the Church. 1 Maccabees shows that the thorough-going supporters of the Maccabæan leaders were such men as these, and that as they gradually advanced on the road to power they extinguished and replaced the old irreligious and unpatriotic aristocracy. Their resemblance to the latter when in power was due to the contrast and opposition between them and the Pharisees, and to their unavoidable contact in the conduct of government, with foreign and especially Hellenic influences. But just as the connexion between the Maccabæans and the Asidæans was only temporary, so the resemblance of the Sadducees to the Zadokites was only superficial. They had another spirit.

The opposition of the rival parties was an opposition of contrasted principles and ideals, and these are made intelligible to us, in accordance with our best-informed source, by the Maccabæan origin of the Sadducee party. They created the independent Jewish State and fell with it. The Pharisees alone survived to dominate a dispersed people and a vassal Church.

C. H. THOMSON.

The Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit. By the late AUGUSTE SABATIER, Professor in the University of Paris, Dean of the Protestant Faculty. London: Williams & Norgate, 1904. 8vo, pp. xxxviii. + 410. Price 10s. 6d.

THIS posthumous publication of the distinguished French theologian is introduced by a short, appreciative memoir by Professor Jean Reville, which gives a very pleasing view of the man and his work. Madame Sabatier also contributes a touching note, in which she describes the joy with which, on the 2nd December, 1900, her husband announced that he had put the last touch to his book, and his anxiety that whatever should happen, the volume should appear. "There it lies," he said to her, turning to his desk; "you will give it to Ménégos and Roberty, who will both willingly revise it; but *it must appear*." He had it in view to carry out a long-cherished plan for a visit to Egypt and Palestine. But it was not to be. He had been out of health for a long time, and on the 5th February, 1901, after giving his usual lecture to his students, he "returned home, literally staggering, to take to bed". And "worn out by his labours, he gently breathed away his life on 12th April, while praying, 'Our Father who art in heaven'."

The book which asks our attention to these pathetic circumstances is a sequel to the volume of 1897 entitled *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion based upon Psychology and History*. It is intended to give a review and criticism of two very different systems of theology—the theology of authority and the theology of experience, of which the former is described as "dying and destined to disappear," the latter as "taking on ever more vigorous development" and as "destined to triumph". The Roman Catholic dogma of authority is first examined, particular attention being

given to the Catholic notions of the Church, Tradition, the Episcopate, and the Papacy. Here, as one might expect, many just and suggestive observations are made. But there is a great lack of completeness in the statements made on such topics as the Baptismal Formula and the Apostolic Symbol, the genesis and development of the theory of Tradition, and the dogma of Apostolical Succession. Passing to the "Protestant Dogma of Authority," the author deals with the alleged infallibility of the Bible, reviews the progress of Biblical criticism, and gives his estimate of its results. Here again some of the most important questions, such as the position of the great Reformers with regard to the Bible and the inward witness of the Holy Spirit, receive very meagre treatment. Any one will see how inadequate the discussions of these subjects are if he compares such books as Dorner's *History of Protestant Theology* and Köstlin's *Luther's Theologie*. And the same must be said of much else in the book. Its statements are always interesting and often very quickening to thought. But they do not take us far enough into the heart of things, and in not a few instances they do not show anything like an adequate acquaintance with the sources and the literature. Take, *e.g.*, the case of the Puseyite movement. What are the books referred to as the authorities for the writer's statement on the subject? Only the *Tracts for the Times*, John Henry Newman's *Apologia*, and an article in Herzog's *Real-encyclopædie*. But an estimate of Puseyism based on so scant a list of authorities will be one of the inner consciousness rather than of historical fact.

In Book III. the author comes to his most proper subject—the Religion of the Spirit. And here he has to face at the outset such a question as this—Why has the Christian religion hitherto taken on authoritative forms? He thinks the "persistence of authoritative forms" in the case of a religion which was proclaimed to the world as a religion of the spirit, a "curious phenomenon," which certainly demands explanation. He proposes two explanations, one psychological and another historic. The former is the operation of "an innocent and natural delusion of popular

faith," which "in its first stage of development transfers the supernatural and divine character of its object to those organs by which the divine communicates itself or makes itself known". The latter is a law which is found in the history of civilisations, *viz.*, the law that the mental and social forms, ideas and customs of earlier ages long persist, and project themselves into the higher civilisation which believes itself to have gone far beyond them. That is to say, the matter is simply one of those "survivals of the past" which "nowhere are more frequent," the writer affirms, "than in the history of religions". These surely are not explanations which can be accepted as adequate by any one sufficiently acquainted with the way in which Christian dogma has arisen and been shaped.

Taking, however, the form of the religion of the Spirit to be liberty, and its contents to be the Gospel, the author has to look at the further question whether it is possible to speak of a "substantial and particular content" as belonging to the religion of the Spirit without compromising its pure spirituality. Does not *liberty* destroy the *Gospel*? And does not the *Gospel* restrain *liberty*? Here Dr. Sabatier naturally points out that this is much a matter of terms and definitions. "If the *Gospel* is understood as an exterior letter, a formula, a doctrine authoritatively imposed upon man," or if by *liberty* is meant a "state of absolute indecision and indifference," there is an obvious and complete contradiction between the two. But if the terms are taken in a different sense, if by *liberty* we mean having the law within oneself, and if by the Gospel we mean nothing else than "the incitement to a purely religious and moral act, the result of which is to bring God to dwell in the consciousness as its very principle, its peculiar energy and law," then there can be nothing more evident, he thinks, "than that the apparent antithesis between liberty and the Gospel finds a happy solution in the very notion of the Spirit".

And so he proceeds to work out his idea of the Gospel of salvation, the Person of Christ in relation to it, faith, belief and theology. The specific character of the salvation proclaimed

by Christ is "deliverance from the power of evil" or a "filial communion with God which, restored to its proper place in the heart, henceforth becomes the spring of the believer's peace and joy, the true germ of eternal life, the victory of the Spirit". But what of the Person of Christ? Is not this the sum and substance of the content of the Gospel? Here lies the real difficulty of the whole question as it is put by the author, and he recognises clearly that it is so. If it is true that Christ Himself has the central place in the Gospel, does not this bring in an exterior historical element inconsistent with the definition of Christianity as the "wholly interior and moral religion of the Spirit"? Dr. Sabatier felt the full force of this difficulty, and declared that he "nowhere found this point satisfactorily cleared up". In whatever form the orthodox doctrine of the Person of Christ has been put, and however Unitarian or rational doctrine may be expressed, he regards them both as distorting the character of the Gospel and as "outside the authentic preaching of the Master". What is his own solution? We fear it must be pronounced a very vague one—too vague to satisfy either the historic sense or the deepest of the felt needs of the man who knows what sin is. It is that we are made Christians not by the letter of the Gospel but the spirit of Christ. True enough. But what is this "Spirit of Christ"? It is the "emanation of His consciousness," and this consciousness of His enters into ours and turns the consciousness of the sinful man into that of the child of God. And Christ is mediator, but only in the sense that "we abide in Him that His filial consciousness may become our own, that His Spirit may become our spirit, and that God may dwell immediately in us as He dwelt in Him".

There are many beautiful and stimulating thoughts in this book. It is fired with a genuine passion for religion, and for a religion which is really and vitally inward. It says much that is both true and enlightening on the place of experience as applicable to the religion of Christ. But its outcome seems to us to amount practically to this—that the authority and infallibility which are denied to the Bible as well as to

the Church are transferred to the individual experience, and this, too, without any sufficient sense of the variability of experience or any proper provision for testing the reliability of the individual experience by Catholic Christian experience, by the historical sources of the religion of Christ, or by aught else. All the while, however, the author strives to bring back, in what he would have us to accept as a new and better form, much that he has removed to a distance. The Scriptures are the book that brings the word of God to us as nothing else can do, keeping "the revelation of God in the soul of man fresh and strong". The dignity of the Person of Christ is to be seen not in His metaphysical essence but in "the purely moral and religious content of His consciousness". And while the Holy Spirit is not a "metaphysical Entity," we may understand by that great term the "immanent influence of the living God".

S. D. F. SALMOND.

A Dictionary of the Bible, dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., D.D. Extra Volume, containing Articles, Indexes and Maps. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904. Pp. 936. Price 28s.

The great undertaking of the Messrs. Clark is brought to a worthy close by this supplementary volume. The large and difficult project has been carried on from stage to stage with eminent sagacity and success by the editor, Dr. James Hastings, and the able men associated with him. The four volumes previously published make the very best Dictionary of the Bible which the English reader can command at present, and they are likely to retain this honourable position for many a year to come. They represent the most competent, careful and sure-footed scholarship of many different lands, and give the most reliable results of inquiry and research in the case of each of the multitude of subjects with which they have to deal. They neither delude us by pre-

tentious, high-flown theorising, nor irritate us by crude and audacious assertion, but assure us by the sanity of their statements, their avoidance of critical dogmatism, and the consistency with which they keep by the plain paths of the inductive method.

The value of the Dictionary is increased in various ways by this large, additional volume. It is a volume which no one can afford to want, if he is to make the best use of the Dictionary. The Indexes alone render it indispensable. They have been prepared with great care and with a considerate regard which is rare indeed for the reader's convenience and requirements. They are admirably printed, and they are numerous and varied enough to meet all reasonable demands. They are no less than six in number, covering Authors and Articles, Subjects, Scripture texts and other references, Hebrew and Greek Terms, Illustrations and Maps. What could we need beyond these? They are so constructed, too, as to bring under the eye that consults them a summary view of what the Dictionary contains on each particular subject, and they guide the student at once to the matter of which he is in quest. They are most helpful. We know none indeed so helpful, unless it be the very elaborate index with which the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is now provided.

But there is much else in this extra volume, besides those excellent indexes, that adds to the worth of the Dictionary. There are both maps and articles which make important contributions to the materials furnished by the Dictionary for the scientific study of Scripture. There are four maps for which all readers will be grateful. They set before us the road system of Palestine, the ancient East, the chief routes of the Roman Empire, and Asia Minor about A.D. 50. They have been prepared under the supervision of Professors Buhl and Ramsay, and may be trusted to give the most accurate and complete representations of the roads, routes and countries in view which present conditions allow. The articles do not make a long list. There are but thirty-eight of them. Some of them are open to criticism in respect of their relevancy or their length. But there is not one that is without interest,

and there are several which are of great and distinct value.

Of articles which may fairly be described as having an accessory rather than an intrinsic relation to the proper purposes of a Bible Dictionary, we may mention those on such subjects as "Concordances," "Papyri" and the "Worship of Apollo". These are ably written and contain much useful matter. The names of their authors, Messrs. Redpath, Kenyon and Farnell, are a guarantee for that. But whether they are quite in place here may be questioned. Others of which much the same may be said are those by Mr. C. H. Turner on "Greek Patristic Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles," a contribution which belongs rather to the History of Interpretation; and the very interesting papers by Mr. St. John Thackeray on "Josephus"; Dr. Drummond on "Philo"; Professor Bartlet on the "Didache"; and Mr. J. Rendel Harris on the "Sibylline Oracles". Of articles of disproportionate length, that by Professor Votaw of Chicago on "The Sermon on the Mount" is perhaps the most conspicuous example. It is an article of marked ability, which well repays study. But it travels into much that is not pertinent to its proper purpose, and practically goes over again the large Synoptic question. The result is that it extends over more than forty-four solid pages, with a great deal of its matter thrown into small type. That is to say, this single topic, only one out of the many belonging to the New Testament side, covers fully a third of the amount of space occupied by the longest article in the volume—the one in which Professor Kautzsch grapples with the whole vast field of the "Religion of Israel". It might be said of the latter that it goes beyond the bounds of an article and reaches the dimensions of a book. What might not be said, therefore, of the lack of proportion in the former? It is pleasant to notice, however, that the author himself begins his elaborate investigation with a frank confession of the fact that "the message of Jesus to men contained in the Sermon on the Mount can be essentially understood, and is valid and useful, apart from the historical, literary and exegetical questions

concerning it which are now receiving so much attention, and which tend to overshadow the real significance and power of His teaching”.

But passing from such criticisms we may notice some of the more outstanding articles which give its peculiar value to the volume. A foremost place among these must be given to the one just referred to—Kautzsch's long contribution of no less than 122 pages on “The Religion of Israel,” with which the book closes. This is a masterly article, which bears on every page the marks of close, patient, scientific study. It starts with the position that the “strength and uniformity” of the tradition that the founding of the religion of Israel was the work of Moses, of the tribe of Levi, “leave no doubt of its correctness, however much the details of the process may be the proper subject of criticism”. It reviews in a clear and able way the traces of a pre-Mosaic religion of Israel, discussing the questions of Totemism, Animism, Ancestor Worship, the worship of *Numina*, etc. It is of interest to notice the conclusions which Professor Kautzsch reaches on these topics. With regard to the first his opinion is that “while it is certainly possible that Totemism once prevailed in Israel, its prevalence cannot be proved,” and he adds that “above all, we must hold that the religion of Israel as it presents itself in the Old Testament has not retained the very slightest recollection of such a state of things”. This is, we are persuaded, a sane and just statement which can be scientifically made good, and which presents a remarkable and most welcome contrast to much that is written rashly and dogmatically on the subject. So with respect to Animism and Ancestor Worship, Professor Kautzsch comments on the fashion which happens to prevail at present in certain critical circles to pronounce unhesitatingly in favour of the presence of both these elements, and gives it as his own view that “while there are undoubted traces that Animism once prevailed, the alleged indications of Ancestor Worship are all exposed to more or less serious objections”. Whole schemes of Hebrew religion, positive constructions of the Hebrew history, and self-confident dispositions of the

Hebrew literature, have been built up on the assumptions that Totemism and Ancestor Worship were the roots of the faith and ceremonial of Israel. It is refreshing to find the notes of suspense and protest in the declarations of one so well entitled to speak with authority as Professor Kautzsch. And so it is with his entire presentation of the religion of Israel here—in his investigations into forms of worship, rites, usages and moral conditions, as well as in the elaborate studies which he gives of the founding of the religion of Israel, its development, external and internal, from stage to stage, and its distinctive character. The permanent, intrinsic value of the Old Testament, and the power of the spiritual message of which it is the vehicle or shrine to maintain itself essentially unaffected by the assaults of literary and historical criticism directed against the documents, are brought out with convincing force in this weighty contribution.

But this article stands by no means alone. Those, for example, by Professors Buhl and Ramsay on "Roads and Travel" in the Old Testament and in the New, are the finished work of experts, packed with information and rich in suggestive matter. The articles on the great religions of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, Greece and Asia Minor, which we owe to the capable hands of Professors Wiedemann, Morris, Jastrow and W. M. Ramsay, will be generally regarded as the best we have yet got on these large, intricate and important topics. Then we have Schürer's account of the Diaspora, a very notable performance, of great and varied interest, surpassing anything hitherto written on the subject. And there are articles of a different kind which students will read with grateful appreciation. One of these is Mr. J. O. F. Murray's review of the *Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, an admirable statement, following the methods, and accepting generally the positions, of the succession of the great critics—Bentley, Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort. Here all due attention is given to the recent investigations into the Western or Bezan text. But Mr. Murray sees no reason

to anticipate that in the end these will be found to "upset the estimates formed by W. H. of the relative importance of the different groups of textual authorities, or to modify in more than a mere handful of passages the judgments which they formed on individual readings". In this we cordially agree with the writer.

Much might be said of the articles on the *Agrapha* by Professor Ropes, the *Semites* by Professor M'Curdy of Toronto, the *Talmud* by President Schechter of New York, the *English Versions* by Dr. Lupton and others. But it is unnecessary. Publishers, editor and coadjutors are to be heartily congratulated on the production of so important a volume and on the successful completion of the great task which they undertook when they issued the prospectus of a new Dictionary of the Bible.

Biographia Philosophica: A Retrospect. By ALEXANDER CAMPBELL FRASER, Fellow of the British Academy; Hon. D.C.L. (Oxford), Hon. LL.D. (Glasgow and Edinburgh), Litt. D. (Dublin); Professor (Emeritus) of Logic and Metaphysics, and formerly Gifford Lecturer on Natural Theology in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1904. 8vo. pp. xiv. + 235. Price 12s. 6d. net.

Autobiography. By ALEXANDER BAIN, LL.D., Professor of Logic and English, University of Aberdeen (with supplementary chapter). With Portraits. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1904. Pp. xi. + 449. Price 14s. net.

These two volumes are of great interest. But the interest of the one is not precisely the interest of the other. They are self-portraits of two men, both given to philosophical studies, but in little resembling each other either in personality or in their interpretations of things. They are the records of two minds of very different types and of two careers very different in course and character. In the one we see a career of almost unbroken success; in the other we follow a career of struggle lasting half a lifetime. In the

case of Alexander Campbell Fraser good fortune seems from the beginning to dog the steps of a favourite. To him things came easily and opportunities arose almost unbidden. Even the distractions of the times ministered to his advance. The formation of the Free Church of Scotland, the generous regard of the founders of that Church, and the planting of philosophical chairs in the New College gave him a start in life such as few men enjoy, and from time to time through a long and useful career good things seemed to throw themselves into his lap. Very different was it with Alexander Bain. In his case the lot was cast adversely for long. His early life was a constant battle, stoutly maintained, with all manner of difficulties and discouragements. He was not on the popular side, and time after time appointments which might fairly have been his were denied to him for adventitious reasons. But he went on his way indomitably, and at length his reward came. He obtained an appointment to an important academic position in the University of Aberdeen which suited his talent and in which he wielded vast influence for twenty years.

If we look, then, simply at the course in which the lives of these two men ran, we must say that the story of Alexander Bain, the Aberdeen weaver's son, is more impressive by far than that of Alexander Campbell Fraser, the son of the manse. But if we look to the discovery which the two memoirs make of the two minds, we find great interest in both, but the greater interest in the latter. In the *Autobiography* we have an unadorned chronicle of events, together with a plain statement of the main points of a philosophical system and the circumstances of the various publications in which it was worked out. In the *Biographia* we have more of the internal history of a mind, and we have that told us in more artistic form and in a fashion which takes us often into the realm of fertile and suggestive ideas.

Nothing could exceed the blunt truthfulness of the *Autobiography*. Alexander Bain uses no fine pencil and attempts no embellishment of his narrative. In the plainest and most unmistakable terms he presents his life, his work, his

purposes and his ambitions, colouring nothing, but letting us see exactly what he was and what he did, never making too much of his successes, concealing none of his failures or mistakes. In point of style it is greatly inferior to the *Biographia*. But there is something extraordinarily refreshing and in some sense even uplifting in the straight way in which the writer speaks of himself and his doings. And his friend and former pupil, Professor W. L. Davidson, of the University of Aberdeen, to whom we owe the carrying of the book through the press, has kept with eminent good sense by his master's wishes. He has done his work well, and in the concise supplement appended to Dr. Bain's own chapters he brings the story down from the point at which the autobiography ends to the death of its writer and subject.

There is much in both books on which it would be pleasant to dwell. In the *Autobiography* one reads with a strange interest the early records of Alexander Bain's religious feelings and inclinations and experiences, and his judgments of the religious movements of the time. Both volumes bring us into the company of many men of distinction whose names are familiar to us. The *Biographia*, which is written in a very attractive style all through, contains much that is of interest regarding the career of its writer in the class-room, in the editor's chair, and at the literary desk. It has a very special value in its criticisms of great schools of thought, its portraiture of eminent philosophical thinkers, and still more in the account which it gives of the writer's own studies and the reflections which it makes on the philosophical ideas which held his mind from time to time. There is a certain charm in the book which is not felt in the *Autobiography*. There is much more of the fair humanities in it. It pronounces judgments on some men and movements which do not seem quite just. It is too apt to look down from a somewhat chill height on much that moved men powerfully in the years of his youth and manhood. But there are many of its pages to which we shall turn again and again. There are many fine remarks on the Theistic presupposition and the *via media* between Atheism and Pantheism, on the reason-

ableness and the measure of the belief in a future life, and **on the supposed irreconcilability** between free agency and **scientific unity**. And what is the final confession at the **close of his retrospect** of the thoughts of a long life-time? It is expressed in these words—"The perplexing doubts **about the universe**, in which I newly found myself in youth, **have led** to deeper faith in the immanent Divine Spirit, **transforming death** from a movement in the dark into a **movement in Omniscient goodness**; trusted when it withdraws **us from this embodied life**, still unable to picture what lies **in the future**".

S. D. F. SALMOND.

1. Theologie und Religionsgeschichte.

Von D. Max Reischle, J. C. B. Mohr, 1904. M.1.80.

2. Die sittlichen Weisungen Jesu.

Von W. Herrmann, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1904.

3. Die Gleichnisse Jesu.

Von Heinrich Weinl. Leipzig: Teubner, 1904. M.1.

4. Die Philosophie der Gegenwart in Deutschland.

Von Oswald Kuelpe. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig: Teubner, 1904. M.1.

1. THE later developments within the Ritschlian school are relieving it of the reproach, often brought against it, that by its theory of value-judgments it sought a refuge from the discussion of the wider problems of general thought in relation to Christian truth. Reischle, who has given to the theory of value-judgments itself a treatment more satisfactory than it has received from any other writer, recognises fully the obligation of Christian theology to face all the questions which modern science or criticism is raising. In the course of five lectures, forming this volume, he considers the significance for Christian theology of the current demand for a "religious-historical method" (*religionsgeschichtliche Methode*). In the first division of his book he defines the meaning of this demand, explains how it has arisen, and shows the problem for theology which it involves. In the second division he describes the relation of this method in its practical and its theoretical aspect to historical theology. In the third division he considers how systematic theology in its two branches—apologetics, and dogmatics and ethics—is affected by it. At each stage of the discussion he sums up in a thesis. In his *first* thesis he distinguishes a particular

and a general meaning in the demand. The former involves that the Hebrew and the Christian religions are to be examined and expounded in relation to their religious environment, and to be derived as far as possible from personal religious life; the latter implies that even Christianity as a member in the body of universal religious history is to be treated by a strictly historical method, subjected to the principles of criticism, analogy, and connexion of all historical phenomena. In his second thesis he explains the emergence of this demand by the contemporary scientific tendencies in the history of religion, in linguistic studies, and historical knowledge as well as by the general change of mental attitude which now prevails. He also admits that this demand is a reaction against the one-sidedness of the Ritschlian theology. In his third thesis he indicates the double problem for theology which results from this demand. It is affected not only in its practical method, but there is also forced on it the theoretical question, whether with its presuppositions of faith and its intention to serve the Church, it can be justified from this new standpoint. Historical no less than systematic theology is thus affected. In thesis four he fully recognises the legitimacy of this religious-historical method in historical theology, but insists on the general peril of overestimating novelty of view, and the special dangers of explaining all by development, of assuming that all resemblances involve causal dependences, of exaggerating the significance of the crude elementary factors in the process, of assigning greater value to the forms than to the contents of religious life. He indicates the limitations of the method especially in dealing with the personal religious life of the great religious personalities. The fifth thesis affirms that the religious-historical method does not exclude the theological treatment which is distinguished, not by other means and rules of inquiry, but by its distinctive interest in the subject to be treated, which is regarded in its significance for the Christian and Church life of the present, by the application of a clearly defined Christian standard to determine its value, and by the subordination of the historical datum to a Christian

value-judgment, which cannot be advanced as a necessary result of the scientific historical investigation. The sixth thesis may be given entirely in the author's own words. "The use of the religious-historical method not only demands a *systematic philosophical consideration*, that is, a searching *epistemological* reflexion on the nature, aim and limits of historical knowledge, as also a *religious-philosophical* inquiry into the psychical functions, the historical development, and the essential significance for man of religion, but it also demands the investigations of *systematic theology*, the *apologetic* regarding the basis of the truth of Christianity, and the *dogmatic-ethical* regarding the right contents of the Christian view of faith and life."

Thesis seven defines the task of Christian apologetics. While it may concern itself with, it must not confine itself to, comparative religion. Its main business is to deal with the value of Christian faith for the completion of the Christian personality and society, and with the proof that in Christ's person and work there is revealed as reality what we believe as Christians, and what in the history of religions has been sought. Hence it must affirm the absoluteness of Christianity as a religion. So important in indicating Reischle's theological position is the last thesis, that, in spite of its length, it must be quoted in full. "Against all inclination to the historical method exclusively (*Historizismus*) Christian dogmatics and ethics have the *task* to raise the question regarding the eternal realities of the world of faith, and the eternal reasons and ends of the Christian and of Christendom. Also the *practical method* (*Arbeitsweise*) of the two studies, namely, in relation to the Scriptures, is not led to a quite new course by religious-historical inquiry, only to a more consistent pursuit of the long-trodden path, that is, the appreciation of the Scriptures in the spirit of freedom. As regards its *contents* dogmatics can call itself Christian only so long as it has its basis in the revelation of God in Jesus Christ, therefore only so long as in the doctrine of God it affirms, not an outward (only quantitatively and causally conceived) but an inward (qualitatively and finally understood) supernaturalism and

a personal rule of God, as it recognises in Jesus Christ not only the religious hero and genius, but the Saviour and Lord in the kingdom of God, as it clearly distinguishes the Holy Spirit of God, who works in and through Jesus from the universal spiritual life of humanity. Especially on the last point depends the Christian character of the ethics." This summary of the contents of this book must serve to show its interest and importance. In Britain no less than in Germany the time has come for Christian theology to face the question of its relation to this new method. To me at least it seems that the problem can be solved only on the lines indicated in this book, which I, therefore, most warmly commend to all who desire to be able to maintain amid modern intellectual conditions with a clear intelligence and a clean conscience "the faith once delivered to the saints".

2. In this pamphlet Herrmann discusses from his own distinctive standpoint the application of the moral teaching of Jesus to the Christian life. First of all, he insists that the new life must be gained if the new task is to be done. Next, he indicates the contrast between the life now lived by Christians in the world and the moral teaching of Jesus as regards labour, wealth, family. Then he shows the failure of the attempt in the monastic life to obey literally Christ's commandments. The failure of the solution offered by Luther is also recognised. The value of the modern view of the life of Jesus, as conditioned and limited by His age and people, for an appreciation of His moral teaching, is asserted. This leads on to a criticism of Tolstoi's teaching regarding the literal observance of Christ's commandments. The peculiarity of Jesus' moral teaching is found in the disposition He Himself showed, and required of His disciples—the love of God and man which was in marked contrast to the legal attitude. From this new standpoint it is insisted all the moral commands of Jesus are to be understood. So interpreted the difficulty which they present

if taken literally as legal commandments disappears. The new task which the moral teaching of Christ sets is then found to be an expression and an exercise of the new life He gives. Such are the leading thoughts of this pamphlet, the worth of which cannot be measured by its size, as the author in this, as in other pamphlets, offers us one of his valuable contributions to Christian faith and life. Its interest lies in the indication it offers of the originality of Herrmann's view of Christian truth and duty. Its importance lies in the treatment it gives to what for all Christians is not only a theoretical problem, but must often have proved a practical difficulty.

3. In this small book the author seeks to put non-theological readers in a position to understand and to appreciate the parabolic teaching of Jesus. In the first part he describes in a very interesting way with illustrations from general literature the characteristics of figurative language—allegories and parables. In the second he defines the essence of the parables of Jesus, condemns their allegorical interpretation, and lays down the correct method of explanation. The third part discusses the problem of literary criticism—the nature of tradition and the literary sources of the Gospels—with special reference to the parables. In the fourth part the distinctive features of Jesus' use of parables are examined and expounded. Then is added a most valuable appendix, in which the parables of Jesus are arranged according to their transmission: (1) passages from Mark with parallels from another Mark-text used by Matthew and Luke; (2) passages out of the logia-source, transmitted by Matthew and Luke; (3) passages twice transmitted either from Mark and the logia-source, or of uncertain origin; (4) passages peculiar to one evangelist. The book contains many interesting exegetical suggestions, and is in every way fitted to be of great use to every student of the parables.

4. In this small book, pregnant with valuable thought, the famous psychologist shows not only his interest in, but also his command of, contemporary philosophical literature in Germany. He distinguishes four principal tendencies—positivism, materialism, naturalism, and idealism. By positivism he understands the philosophy which accepts as its basis all experience and science, and is opposed to all speculation. The two representatives of this tendency he discusses are almost unknown in Britain—Ernst Mach and Eugen Duehring. Haeckel, although he calls himself a monist, is altogether justly dealt with as representing materialism, and the searching criticism and scathing condemnation he receives deserve special attention, as his book on *The Riddle of the Universe* is being lauded in sceptical circles as the last word of science on religion. Nietzsche's naturalism in ethics also receives the treatment it deserves. Idealism is presented in Fechner, Lotze, von Hartmann, and Wundt. Dissatisfied even with idealism, the author does not despair of philosophy, and anticipates an increasing unity in philosophical efforts and achievements. This book offers a testimony, which we in Britain need, that German philosophy is not to be regarded as having finished its course in Hegel, but is even now offering much that will stimulate and instruct our minds.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

The Beginnings of Christianity.

*By Paul Wernle. Translated by Rev. G. A. Bienemann, M.A.
Edited by Rev. W. D. Morrison, LL.D. Vol. II. The
Development of the Church. London: Williams & Norgate.
Price 10s. 6d.*

THE second volume of Wernle's work on *The Beginnings of Christianity* is marked by the same general characteristics as the first, which was reviewed at length in these columns. The first dealt with the origin of the Christian religion, its originator being St. Paul, to whose work Wernle pays high testimony. The second deals with the development of the Church; and the link of transition is marked by the decay on the one hand of the apostles and prophets who gave way to the ecclesiastical leaders, and on the other by the development of theology under the extraneous influences of Judaism, Greek philosophy and gnosticism. The first and last original theologian of the Christian Church was Paul. The author of the fourth Gospel, which was in Wernle's view simply a "tract for the times," and reflected the controversies raging in the early second century, only worked on Paul's ideas, and the fourth Gospel was in his view "a clear evidence of the narrow sectarian spirit in early Christianity" (p. 154).

"The fourth Gospel derived its importance from its having bridged over the chasm between Jesus and St. Paul, and from its having carried the Pauline Gospel back into the life and teaching of Jesus" (ii., p. 262). "It is St. Paul that is original; St. John is not. In St. Paul's letters we look as through a window into the factory where these great thoughts flash forth and are developed; in St. John we see

the beginning of their transformation and decay" (p. 275). The theology that grew up after St. Paul passed away was moulded by three great influences: (1) The first was Judaism, and the task the theologians had was to establish the fact that Jesus was the Messiah. This took the form naturally of an apologetic of the death of Jesus, and in the fourth Gospel an attempt to run Messianic ideas through the entire life of Jesus. Christianity conquered in the conflict with Judaism, but not without assimilating ideas which obscured it. (2) The second moulding influence was Greek philosophy. To this we owe the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus. Judaism was so strictly monotheistic as to find no room for such a dogma; to Judaistic Christianity Jesus was simply the Messiah. But under the influence of Hellenism "Jesus Christ was opposed to the old gods as the new and stronger God. That is the meaning of the 'divinity of Christ'. The idea arose among the heathen, and must be conceived of in antithesis to the heathen gods" (p. 114). Similarly the "myth" of the parentage of Christ being ascribed to God and a mortal woman "sprang up amongst Gentile Christians". By the year 100 Wernle thinks the germ had been formed of the complete transformation of Christianity by the infusion into it of Greek ideas. (3) The third moulding influence was gnosticism, under which Christianity underwent the greatest change of all, and became, strictly speaking, Catholic Christianity, or "the exaltation of orthodoxy and ecclesiasticism". Meanwhile, in two fine closing chapters, the most welcome in the book, Wernle shows how it fared with personal religion among the members of the Church while theology was undergoing this development at the hands of the theologians.

Wernle's entire scheme of the development of Christian theology and institutions implies the most advanced principles of New Testament criticism. This comes out in the chapters entitled "The Fate of Jesus" and "The Fate of Paul," which did not appear in the first German edition of the book. The period when the Christian writings that form the New Testament were selected was the first decade

of the second century, though they did not at that early date form what we call the canon. But if the books date from about that time, it follows, on Wernle's view, that they reflect the theology of the period. "The theology of the New Testament is the theology of Catholicism, as it originates at the beginning of the second century. Here we have a fact which deserves notice to-day. When the New Testament as a whole is our authority, then we are simply submitting to the judgment of the Church at the beginning of the second century. It is not the words of Jesus or the letters of St. Paul which are then our final court of appeal, but the thoughts of the ecclesiastics who selected the words of Jesus and the letters of St. Paul, together with documents of a later date to form the canon of the Christian Scriptures" (p. 247). Therefore, in the best of cases, it is but a broken impression that we have of Jesus. Now, what does all this amount to? It comes to this, that the New Testament writings do not bring us face to face with the historic Jesus so much as with the construction of His person and history at the hands of the Church. And that is what the higher criticism of the Gospels, especially in the hands of men like Wernle, has brought us to. The Gospels are our only means of knowing Jesus, but they obscure rather than reveal Him. They are coloured by the tendencies of the time and the motives of the compilers. Mark's is the nearest to an actual portraiture, but ten years after it appeared it could not be tolerated. So we have the ecclesiastical Gospels of Matthew and Luke, with their prologues of the infancy of Jesus and their conclusions which represent the views of a later age. In short, the New Testament writings "cease to be historical documents for Jesus and His Gospel, or for St. Paul, his character and theology. They tell us what the growing Catholic Church thought about Jesus and St. Paul. Further than that their historical reliability does not go" (p. 253). "The New Testament alone hands down to us the words of Jesus and His apostles, and at the same time obscures them for all times, and so still for us" (p. 296). One cannot help saying

of all this kind of thing, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him". The alternative which such a book as Wernle's presents is simply this—"Did Christianity create Christ, or did Christ create Christianity?" All such attempts to eliminate the supernatural from the Gospel history seem to try every conceivable way of explaining the religion which goes by the name of Jesus except the simple one of deriving it from Himself.

DAVID PURVES.

The Philosophy of Auguste Comte.

By L. Lévy-Bruhl. Authorised Translation. Introductory Note by Frederic Harrison. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Pp. xiv. + 363. Price 10s. 6d.

The Critics of Herbartianism.

By F. H. Hayward, D.Litt. Assisted by M. E. Thomas. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Pp. vii. + 221. Price 4s. 6d.

It can hardly be doubted that Auguste Comte is one whose weaknesses have somewhat obscured his strength. A thinker who assumes himself among the great, who speaks of Kant as his last great precursor, and of himself as one whom, as it were, the ages had been tending to and waiting for, is very apt to get less even than his due, and in the case of one who in his later years got so plainly *dérailé*, it is no wonder if we miss his solid merits and distrust his guidance. Spite, however, of his conceits and vagaries, Comte remains one of the great ones of the earth. He may justly be called the founder of sociology. He did not a little for the philosophy of history, and in particular rescued the Middle Ages from the contempt in which they had been almost buried and gave them their rightful place in the development of Europe. He is the one French thinker of the nineteenth century who has found a hearing and made an impression outside his own country. He had no small influence on J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer and George Eliot. He has contributed in no small degree to that positive and non-metaphysical way of looking at things which may be called our modern point of view. "The speculative philosophy of Comte," says M. Lévy-Bruhl, "is living still, and pursues its evolution even within the minds of those who are engaged in opposing it."

The volume before us is a timely and most competent attempt to do justice to Comte by showing what he really

taught. The author writes neither as an adherent nor as a critic but simply as an expositor, but he works in that spirit of deference and sympathy which alone ensures a fair and luminous exposition. He knows his subject thoroughly, and quotes freely from the original sources. The style is clear, the manner interesting, and the result is a book of great richness and utility. "We welcome a book," says Mr. Frederic Harrison in his introductory note, "which all positivists will regard as fair, learned and instructive, and which all students of philosophy must regard as a masterly study of a comprehensive subject."

M. Lévy-Bruhl confines himself to the philosophy of Comte and says but little of the religion of humanity. His reason, however, is not that he agrees with Littré and others in regarding Comte's second career as inconsistent with his first. Comte's doctrine, he contends, is a unity. His second great work was certainly written from a new point of view—the synthetic or religious, but, as is proved by the six early pamphlets printed at the end of it and by the correspondence with Mill, positive religion was no mere afterthought or aberration, but had been looked forward to from the first as that to which the philosophy was only the prelude. To put an end to intellectual anarchy there had to be a systematisation of ideas—science had to be transformed into philosophy; but, further, to put an end to moral and social anarchy there had to be a systematisation of feeling—philosophy had to be transformed into religion. On the other hand, Comte's social and religious superstructure is of far less interest and moment than the process by which it was reached. "By his *Politique positive* Comte only represents his generation. By his philosophy properly so called he is a representative man of his entire century." And therefore while never forgetting the whole of which it is a part, it is with the philosophy alone our author proposes to deal.

The exposition is divided into four books. Of these the first (pp. 23-118) sets forth the main conceptions of Comte's philosophy—the law of the three states, the classification of

the sciences, the nature and method of science. The second (pp. 121-209) takes up the fundamental sciences in their order, mathematics, astronomy, chemistry and physics, biology; and there is added a most interesting chapter on psychology. The third book (pp. 213-299) is devoted to social science, with a final chapter on the philosophy of history. The last book (pp. 303-363) contains three chapters—The Principles of Ethics, Social Ethics, The Idea of Humanity. The exposition is thus seen to be full and complete, and its conspicuous merit is that it is an organic whole; it enters into all needful details but never fails to bring them into relation with the leading principles of the system.

To follow M. Lévy-Bruhl over the whole field is out of the question, but the general apologetic tone of his book suggests our asking what light he has to throw on these points on which Comte has most frequently been criticised. His defence in general is, that Comte has been misunderstood.

The law of the three states has often been thought to imply that the trend of humanity is towards a final state in which there shall be no religion, whereas it is simply the general formula of intellectual progress, the term "theological" meaning anthropomorphic, and "metaphysical" being equivalent to hypothetical or abstract. So explained, M. Lévy-Bruhl appears to regard the law as completely established, and as of capital importance. Again, Comte has been taken to task, notably by Herbert Spencer, for proposing a most illogical classification of the sciences. The truth is that he never aimed at a logical classification. His scheme of the sciences was merely the complement and illustration of his law of the three states, and his sole aim was to trace the ascent of the positive spirit through the successive orders of phenomena, the order in which he placed the fundamental sciences being the order of growing complexity, and the order in which the positive stage had been attained. Lastly, it has been repeatedly affirmed that Comte repudiated psychology. On the contrary, he was the first to put it in the way of becoming a genuine science. He poured contempt on what

in his day was called by that name; he rejected with scorn the psychology of Cousin, based as it was on a mere futile introspection of the Ego. But he never denied that there was a science which studied the laws of psychical phenomena. All he denied was that these laws could be discovered by internal observation. Hitherto psychology had been suspended as it were in mid-air; Comte took it down and attached it on the one side to biology, thus giving us physiological psychology, and on the other side to sociology, insisting that analysis of the individual mind must give way to an analysis of the mind in its continuous evolution. Positivism, in short, on its first appearance, seemed to destroy theology, metaphysic, psychology, logic, ethics, but, says M. Lévy-Bruhl, "this entirely negative aspect of his philosophy is very far from being the one according to which we can best understand it. Truly speaking, it is only preparatory, and historians have often committed the mistake of allowing people to believe that it is essential. 'We only destroy what we replace,' said Comte" (p. 358).

The translation by Miss Kathleen de Beaumont-Klein is well done, and it is only now and again—*e.g.*, on pp. 30, 65, 139—one remembers one is not reading an original. It is curious to find the names of Kant's works left in *French*. To substitute one thing *to* another is not idiomatic English (pp. 62, 77, 114, etc.). Before the names of living French writers it is usual to put "M." not "Mr.," and it is certainly wrong to put now the one and now the other. The proof-reading, too, has been very lax; there are far too many misprints—*e.g.*, on pp. 17, 48, 51, 66, 77, 107, 112, etc., the inverted commas are almost as often wrong as right. And unfortunately this book, which is of the very sort one feels one might refer to again and again with profit, is without an index.

Dr. Hayward is an enthusiastic Herbartian. "The man who has read Herbart's educational works unmoved has read them either *without* understanding or *with* prejudice." He believes in Herbartianism not merely as "an academic
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system from which pedagogues can pick up a few useful hints," but as "a moral gospel for men perishing through stupidity and absence of ideas". "Herbartianism in its claims is nothing less than an educational High Church movement, with the transubstantiation of ideas into virtue as its central marvel." The present work, however, does not contain an exposition of Herbart's principles: that must be sought elsewhere; for instance, in the same author's *The Student's Herbart*. Its aim is to lay before English readers some account of the critical literature on Herbartianism that has sprung up of recent years especially in the land of its birth. "The design of the work is to indicate the nature of the present-day educational controversies over Herbartianism, and in this way to pave the way to an impartial judgment upon the questions at stake." Hence it is "a series of contributions rather than a definite unity". After a fresh and lively introduction (pp. 1-35) and a historical survey (pp. 36-76), Dr. Hayward gives an account of Herbartian literature in English (pp. 77-97), in which he bestows high though not unmingled praise on the writings of Mr. and Mrs. Felkin, Professor Adams, Dr. Findlay, Mr. Rooper and Miss Dodd; and then takes up his *pièce de résistance*—"The Critics of Herbartianism," explaining clearly their views and measuring out praise and blame with much spirit to Dittes, Natorp and ten others, two of whom, however, are dealt with by Miss Thomas—Vogel and Linde. Professor Darroch comes in for a rather severe handling in the appendix. This little book is a thorough bit of work, enriching and clarifying.

JOHN LENDRUM.

1. Das Gesetz und Christus im Evangelium.

Von Chr. A. Bugge. Christiania: J. Dybwad, 1903. Large 8vo, pp. 95.

2. Das Gebet um tägliche Vergebung der Sünden [in der Heilsverkündigung Jesu und in den Briefen des Ap. Paulus].

Von G. Bindeman. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 105. Price 1s. 6d. net.

3. Der Begriff der Gnade im N. T.

Von R. Vömel. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 131. Price 1s. 6d. net.

4. Tertullian's dogmatische und ethische Grundanschauungen.

Von Wilhelm Vollert. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902, 1903.

1. IN *The Law and Christ in the Gospel* Bugge seeks to apply to the present doctrine of the Church his theory of the primitive belief in the identity of Christ and the Law, a theory which he has developed elsewhere, but here summarises at the outset. The first generations of Christians, he says, were almost all Jews, or persons who had been in attendance at the Jewish synagogue, and were therefore acquainted with the popular Jewish theology in which the Law was hypostatised or personified as wisdom is in Prov. viii. Paul himself identifies Christ and the Torah when he applies directly to Jesus the words of Deut. xxx. 12, "*Who shall ascend to heaven, that is to bring Christ down*". The same identification is implicit in Jesus' own claim to be Lord of the Sabbath, and His declaration that all meats are clean. The "waiting" in Israel among whom Christianity had its birth seeing in the Messiah the light of the world, regarded

Him as one with that Law which was also to lighten the Gentiles.

In this exposition of the New Testament doctrine of the Law there is surely a confusion of thought or between thought and language. To begin with, it is difficult to believe in the alleged hypostatizing of the Torah; for even the personification of a thing like the Law, with its mass of well-known practical details, is a somewhat violent figure of speech, and must always have remained no more than a figure. The Law then being what it was, a collection of precepts, and not a mystical person, it is difficult to attach a meaning to Bugge's *Identitätslehre*. To appeal to a law of God finding expression imperfectly in Moses then absolutely in Christ is to give up the position that Christ and the Law are the same.

This initial want of clearness as to what is meant by "the Law" confuses the argument, yet much interesting material regarding the relation of Law and Gospel is gathered. Bugge thinks that Paul was the only one who at first grasped the idea that Christ was the Law at a higher stage of evolution. He quotes the witty remark, "No one in the primitive Church understood Paul but Marcion, and he misunderstood him". Through Irenæus and Justin he traces the mistaken development which left the Law and Christ side by side, and had therefore to attempt the distinction between the ceremonial and the binding moral law. It is thus evident that the bold antithesis of Law and Gospel in the Reformation was a rediscovery, and some passages in Luther's breeziest style are quoted to show his view of the absolute hostility between them. Yet the question what place the moral law does have in the Gospel received no completely satisfactory answer. It was said to provoke the sense of sin and thus lead to repentance, and to be valid only for the "old man". Founding on Luther, Herrmann, not quite rightly in Bugge's view, holds that repentance is the effect not of the Law but of the overpowering influence of the pure and good as revealed in Christ. Bugge, in opposition, insists that the Scriptural

contrast is not Law and Gospel but Law and promise, or Law and faith, and that Paul spoke of "establishing the Law". The old covenant is annulled, not the Law, and even under the new covenant the Law plays a part. For the Christian, however, the Law is identical with Christ, and He fills the same place in experience that the Law did before. The Law thus acquires the character of an inspiring ideal and ceases to be the pleasure of a command.

But all that is true in this does not rest on the proposition that Jesus is identical with the Law, an unreal assertion which is not brought into the realm of fact by the acceptance of the existence of a primitive belief in the identity of the Torah and the Messiah. Rather the Law is lost sight of altogether, but is in its essentials present in the ideal Christ sets forth; and Bugge's position is really just that which he rejected as Herrmann's, that the impression of the Person of Christ works all that the Law was ever supposed to do. Bugge brings this out aptly by the example of Peter, whose sense of sin was aroused not by the Law but by the recognition of his Master; and of Peter's sermon in Acts ii. where it was the reference not to the breaking of the Law, but to the rejection of the Messiah which provoked repentance in his hearers. In conclusion one may be allowed to remark that an extraordinary number of printer's errors have escaped correction.

2. Bindeman draws attention to the remarkable fact that apart from the fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer, nowhere in the New Testament—not even in the passage in 1 John which is part of the evening invocation in the Book of Common Prayer—are Christians directly enjoined to pray daily for forgiveness. This is specially strange in Paul's writings; for he lets us see into his inner life, has much to say about prayer, addresses and prays for sinful churches. Is this then because of some difference in doctrine between Paul and Jesus; is it that for Paul a saved man cannot, in principle, sin any more and so cannot logically pray for forgiveness; or is a knowledge of

the Lord's Prayer and the habit of such daily petition everywhere assumed?

Bindeman first dismisses the solution of the discrepancy offered by Holtzmann's view that in Mt. *οφειλήματα* means *omitted duties* and that Jesus included Himself in the petition, finding support in Dalman's authority for the meaning of the Aramaic word presumably behind both *οφειλήματα* and *ἀμαρτίας*. In the second place he raises a difficulty which is hardly real. How, if Jesus brought the Kingdom of God with Him and the disciples were members of it, had they still to pray for its chief boon. Of course just because the kingdom remains something not yet finally established but appropriated only by a continuous relation to Jesus on whom and its gifts we have continually to lay hold. Coming at last to Paul's attitude to prayer for forgiveness, Bindeman wisely refrains from pressing the few possible allusions in the epistles to the Lord's Prayer. He rests on the historical impossibility of Paul being ignorant of it and on the witness of Polycarp's letter to the Philippians that it was already in his time known in the churches Paul had founded; and he has no difficulty in showing that in Paul's own consciousness, in the hard facts of the life of his converts, and in his doctrine—that also of Christ—of a judgment according to works, there is ample ground for believing that Paul too felt the necessity for the daily renewal of the petition for the forgiveness of sins.

3. Bindeman's pamphlet and the two following essays in the *Beiträge* edited by Schlatter, of Tübingen, and the late Dr. Cremer, of Greifswald, help one to realise the total want of sympathy between the members of the confessional and liberal schools of theology in Germany. Vömel opens his discussion of the *Notion of Grace in the New Testament* in a way which dashes our hopes of his own work, by a criticism from the extreme confessional position of what seems to have been an excellent pamphlet by a Dr. Dieckman, and then proceeds to review the use of *χάρις* by the various writers in the New

Testament. Even a leader of the late United Presbyterian Church confessed the other day that the question whether Christ died for all or for the elect had lost its interest, and the treatment of the matter here confirms that view. The best thing in the essay is the remark on John i. 12, "glory as of an only begotten of a father, full of grace and truth". The only begotten will not keep the glory to Himself, but "lets its rays stream in upon men so that they too share the blessings of being God's children—and *therefore* He is full of grace".

4. The remaining pages of the number are filled by a vigorous and readable exposition of *Tertullian's Fundamental Ideas on Dogmatics and Ethics*. Vollert confines himself, however, almost entirely to a summary of Tertullian's life and chief writings, and the few critical remarks he makes are not very valuable. Tertullian's opposition to infant baptism is dismissed in the sentence, "His attitude to infant baptism is absurd and fortunately remained isolated; his eagerness to lay stress on faith and repentance has here played him false". The vague references to the Montanist movement, *e.g.*, "the perilous doctrine of Montanus," do not show a true, or perhaps any, conception of its real nature.

R. W. STEWART.

I. Recent Tendencies in Ethics.

Three Lectures to Clergy given at Cambridge by W. R. Sorley, M.A., Hon. LL.D. Edin., Knightbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 8vo, pp. v. + 139. Price 2s. 6d.

2. Grundprobleme der Religionsphilosophie.

Acht Vorträge von Dr. A. Dorner. Berlin: C. A. Schwetscke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. v. + 132. Price 3s. 6d. net.

I. READERS of this book ought to be thankful to the clergy who persuaded Professor Sorley to break that silence which has been his characteristic of recent years, and to give them these admirable lectures, now accessible to a wider audience. A man who can do such admirable work as is done in these lectures ought to do a great deal more. Has Professor Sorley any right to keep back those rich stores of reading and reflection which he has at command? Surely we shall soon receive from him the works he has already promised to the public, and other works also, which are sorely needed in the present state of speculation. As to those lectures now before us, they are helpful, and in style and thought in every way admirable. At the outset Professor Sorley gives us the characteristics of ethical thought in England during the nineteenth century. He points out with great lucidity that the ethical thought of last century centred round two questions, the question of the origin of moral ideas, and the question of the criterion of moral value. Having further elucidated and illustrated this statement, Professor Sorley goes on to show "that a thorough-going attempt has been made to revalue all the old standards of morality". What

these attempts have been, and how far they have been successful, is the next part of Professor Sorley's work. Briefly and brilliantly the new situation is set forth, and associated with such names as those of Nietzsche, Darwin and others. The second lecture deals with Ethics and Evolution. In this subject Professor Sorley is at home, as every reader of his work on *The Ethics of Naturalism* knows. We are glad to see that a new and revised edition of this work is promised by Professor Sorley. Beginning by pointing out the distinction between the "Evolution of Ethics" and the "Ethics of Evolution," and giving to evolution credit for all that it has achieved, Professor Sorley thus states his problem: "The problem I have in view lies beyond this historical question. It is the problem how far the known facts and probable theories regarding the development of morality can make any contribution towards determining the standard of worth for our ideas, our sentiments and our conduct. Now if we read the accredited exponents of the doctrine of evolution we shall find amongst them a considerable variety of view regarding the bearing of the theory of evolution upon this properly ethical problem—the problem of the criterion or standard of goodness." He describes briefly this variety of view. Darwin and Spencer, Huxley and Nietzsche are passed in review, and then the fundamental conception underlying the differences is disentangled, and made the subject of reflection and criticism. We commend earnestly this part of the lecture: would that it were carried out at greater length. It is an excellent bit of work.

The third lecture deals with Ethics and Idealism. Here, too, the wide reading and reflective and critical power of Professor Sorley are in evidence. The writers mainly in view are men of the stature of Green, Bradley, and others, who, if not of the same stature as were those giants, yet are men of influence in recent ethical speculation. Green is reverently handled, yet dissent from some of his positions is firmly indicated. But the best part of the whole book is that which deals with Bradley. It is brief, yet it is about the most telling of all the criticisms that have been called forth by

Bradley's teaching as set forth in *Appearance and Reality*. We hope it is only a prophecy of better and larger things to come. Into the criticism of Bradley we do not mean to enter. There is also a brief account of the reaction against idealism, which has come forth and is now known as Pragmatism, or as Mr. Schiller calls it, Humanism. Professor Sorley has a few cogent remarks on this tendency, and then briefly states his own ethical position. "There is one thing which all reasoning about morality assumes," he says, "and must assume, and that is morality itself. The moral concept, whether described as worth or as duty or as goodness, cannot be distilled out of any knowledge about the laws of existence or of occurrence. Nor will speculation about the real conditions of experience yield it, unless adequate recognition be first given to the fact that the experience which is the subject-matter of philosophy is not merely a sensuous and thinking, but also a moral, experience. The approval of the good, the disapproval of the evil, and the preference of the latter: these would seem to be basal facts for an adequate philosophical theory, and they imply the striving for a best, however imperfect the apprehension of that best may always remain. Only when these facts—the characteristic facts of moral experience—are recognised as constituents of the experience which is our subject-matter are we in a position profitably to inquire what is good and what evil, and how the best is to be conceived.

"The recognition of these facts would only be a beginning; but it would be a beginning which would avoid the cardinal errors fallen into not only by the leading exponents of evolutionist morality, but also to be found in much of the ethical work of idealist metaphysicians. It seems to have been assumed that moral principles can be reached by the application of scientific generalisations or of the results of a metaphysical analysis which has started by overlooking the facts of the moral consciousness. Even as a metaphysic this procedure is inadequate; and the interpretations of reality to which it has led have erred by over-intellectuality."

2. The recent review in our pages of Dorner's *Grundriss der Religionsphilosophie* makes it unnecessary for us to dwell at length on these lectures on the *Grundprobleme der Religionsphilosophie*. The lecture on the fundamental problems of the philosophy of religion is not a mere reproduction of the discussions of the larger work. It is a fresh discussion of the subject, and will meet the needs of those who might be discouraged by the size of the larger work, and by the more technical language in which it is written. Some things are discussed in the larger work which are not touched here. Those who desire to know Dorner's view on the metaphysic of religion will not find that discussion in the smaller volume. But they will find many things to profit and instruct them. They will find in the opening chapter a luminous description of the various methods of the philosophy of religion, and of the points of view from which philosophers have approached the problems of the philosophy of religion. Then we have a description of the method that Dorner uses, and of the point of view which he occupies. Then in the third part he comes to the subject of *religion* itself, and discusses its *Wesen*. The fourth deals with the topic "Religion and Religions," or the development of religion. The fifth deals with Subjective Faith and the specific manifestations ("Äusserungen") of faith. Of such expressions of faith Dr. Dorner enumerates and discusses a goodly number. The discussion is rich in interest and very instructive; from the discussion of sacrifice on to sacramental objects and actions, to revelation, symbolism, religious art, religious doctrine and dogma, the exposition proceeds with insight, and with incisive suggestiveness. Then comes a good discussion of religious ethics and religious fellowship, and finally there is, in the last lecture, a discussion on religion in relation to secular morality, science and art, and the book ends with a glowing description, full of fire and rich in content, of the power of faith as the uniting bond of all the functions and vocations of life. It is a book which ought to be widely read, and studied by all interested in the subject. It contains in brief compass and in lucid paragraphs the fruit of prolonged

reflection on the deepest problems of thought and life. Into it the author has put the quintessence of all his work in philosophy and theology, and he has made as memorable a contribution towards the solution of the fundamental problems of the philosophy of religion as any with which we are acquainted.

JAMES IVERACH.

The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers. The Gifford Lectures in the University of Glasgow in Sessions 1900-1, 1901-2. By EDWARD CAIRD, LL.D., D.C.L., D. Litt., Fellow of the British Academy; Corresponding Member of the French Academy, Master of Balliol College, Oxford; late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1904. 2 vols. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. + 382; xi. + 377. Price 14s. net.

IN these volumes we get the course of Gifford Lectures which Dr. Caird delivered before the University of Glasgow in Sessions 1900-1, 1901-2. The Lectures have been rewritten for the purpose of publication, and they include three which were not given on the occasion referred to. They contain much of Dr. Caird's best work, and make a very weighty contribution to the history of Greek thought. They follow up a previous course of Gifford Lectures which were prepared on the invitation of the University of St. Andrews and dealt with the evolution of religion. Both courses of Lectures are dominated, as was only to be expected, by Dr. Caird's own philosophy. Both contain a good many things which are difficult for any one to grasp who is not *au fait* with the idealistic conception of the world and versed in Dr. Caird's use of terms. But in the second series there is less of the extremely abstruse. There is a good deal no doubt that must seem to the mass of readers indefinite and hard to apprehend. This holds true especially of some things which are said of the Christian system. But the Lectures now before us carry us with them in their leading statements. They are brilliant expositions of the themes which they handle. They fascinate us by their style. They captivate us by the enthusiasm which beats in them. They enlarge our conceptions of the master minds in ancient

Greek speculation by their admirable criticisms and far-reaching views of the systems and ideas in question.

What is attempted is, as the author himself states it, to "give an account of those ideas of Greek philosophy which have most powerfully affected the subsequent development of theological thought". It is with "*theological* thought," therefore, that Dr. Caird is concerned. But it is soon made clear that that term is not used in the sense in which most men take it. It is the philosopher's view of things that is presented, not the theologian's in the ordinary application of the word. Dr. Caird's theology is the theology that deals with the idea of the Absolute or that of an underlying universal *principle*. It is in its relation to this that the long scheme of Greek speculative thought is drawn out, interpreted, criticised and estimated. It is matter of course, therefore, that when Dr. Caird comes to the Christian view of the world, he speaks sometimes in a way that to ordinary Christian people, and indeed to all not steeped in the conceptions and terminology of a high idealism, sounds chill and vague and leaves much to be explained. Many just and appreciative words are spoken of Christianity. But we are left somewhat doubtful of what Dr. Caird takes it really to be and what is the precise value, final or merely provisional, which he attaches to it. His eloquent and interesting pages fail to make it clear to us what he means by forms of thought and "imaginative symbols" in application to Christianity, how much of historical fact he recognises in it, and what he makes, for example, of the event which made the Apostles what they were—the event of the Resurrection, which to Paul and to the Twelve alike was at once the foundation of their Gospel and the inspiration of their lives. The discussion covers twenty-seven Lectures, and the plan followed is a simple one. The foundation of the argument is laid in two chapters which have for their subjects the "Relation of Religion to Theology" and the "Stages in the Evolution of Theology". The bulk of the work is occupied with an exposition of the great systems of philosophy, Platonic, Aristotelian, Stoic, Neo-Platonic, with their characteristic

ideas. Into this is introduced a special examination of the philosophy and theology of Philo, which is admirably well done. The whole is brought to a conclusion by a statement of the influence of Greek philosophy upon Christian theology. There is not one of these Lectures that is not full of interest. But the most luminous, informing and suggestive of them are those which grapple with the fundamental principles, the distinctive conceptions, and the speculative value of the great philosophies. Nothing more brilliant or penetrating has been written on these subjects. Dr. Caird brings us into the very heart of these systems, and interprets them to us from their living centre. This is true of all. It is most conspicuously so of the discussions of Platonism and Stoicism. The work rises to its highest in the general view which it presents of these, and in what it has to say in particular of the mystic and idealistic elements in Plato's philosophy, the position of Stoicism as a movement between two forms of life, and kindred questions. There is much here that we are tempted to quote. But it must be enough to refer, *instar omnium*, to the paragraphs which deal with the new view of Ethics given in the *Gorgias*, Plato's conception of the relation of final to efficient causes, the three ways of defining the idea of Good, the relation of the idea of Good to God, the Platonic Grades of Souls, the Aristotelian conceptions of Reason in its various aspects, the Stoic Monism, the degrees in the hierarchy of powers in Plotinus, etc.

But to come back to the questions with which Dr. Caird starts, what does he understand by *Religion* and *Theology*, and what does he make of the relation of Reason to Faith? The fundamental thing in religion is the unity of man with God. What makes the essence of religion is the "idea of the continuity and self-consistency of the intelligible world as a system which throughout all its differences is the manifestation of one principle". It means that the universe in which man lives is "in its ultimate meaning and reality a spiritual world"; and that in the world so constituted there is a unity between God and man. "*God*," he says, "is a word that has no significance unless by it we mean to

express the idea of a Being who is the principle of unity presupposed in all the differences of things, and in all our divided consciousness of them." *Theology*, then, is the unfolding of the religious consciousness which has for its essence that sense of the unity of God and man, and the evolution of theology is the course by which this conviction has been deepened, strengthened and enlarged. The real nature of religion, therefore, is discovered neither in dogma nor in ritual; and the office of theology is something very different from that of constructing dogmatic systems. But there is an important function for the latter. It is to explain the religious consciousness in the light of its fundamental philosophical principle.

And the place of reason in connexion with this is both a large place and a vital. Faith must be subject to the criticism of reason and there can be no limitation to the action of the latter. Faith must seek to "understand itself," if it is not to be a dead thing, or at best a thing living within itself and withdrawn from every other sphere of life and human concern. But this does not mean that we are to have a religion of the intellect and not of the heart; nor does it mean that the ultimate result of the operation of reason will be the dissolution of faith. It may show us that much that we have regarded as vital to religion belongs only to its temporary form, not to its real substance. But it is Dr. Caird's conviction that though reason may "accidentally become opposed to faith, its ultimate and healthy action must preserve for us or restore to us all that is valuable in faith".

In the closing lecture the comparison between the system of Plotinus and Christianity is brought to a point. The latter is held to contain at once a deeper pessimism and a deeper optimism than the former, and to have the advantage over it not only of recognising evil as rooted in the consciousness and will, but of making "the existence of evil explicable as a necessary step in the development of the finite spirit to a consciousness of the divine principle which is realising itself in and through its finitude". This, we fear, is at best but

a very partial interpretation of evil, at least of *moral* evil, a construction of the great burden and mystery of the world, which comes far short of that which we owe to the teaching of our Lord Himself and that of the prophets who went before Him and the apostles who followed Him. Dr. Caird speaks eloquently and justly of the new conception of the relation of man to God which Christianity introduced; of its doctrine of conversion, redemption and reconciliation; and of the power of that doctrine as embodied in the individual life of Christ. But looking to the history of the Christian Church he sees how certain adverse and limiting tendencies soon set in, and how Christianity became by-and-by "a religion of other worldliness, a religion in which the life of this world was viewed merely as a preparation for another". And he proceeds to state at length how this tendency was resisted "first by the conception of Christ as the Jewish Messiah, and then by the influence of the Greek, and especially the Neo-Platonic, philosophy". The statement which Dr. Caird gives us of the magnitude of this Greek influence on the development of Christian theology seems to us to be somewhat exaggerated at certain points. But it is a satisfaction to see that he does not take the poor view of the great controversies about the Trinity and the Person of Christ with which we are familiar in the writings of Harnack and his school. They are not to him mere controversies about words, mere "subtilities introduced by Greek philosophy into the Christian religion which have no real significance for later times," or "parts of that secularisation of the Christian faith by which it was drawn down into the sphere of an unchristian system of thought". He looks deeper, and recognises in them discussions containing great issues, passages in the history of the endeavour of the Christian mind to work out an answer to the question of questions—the relation of the human to the divine. The rise of these controversies was not a matter of accident or untoward circumstance. Their rise was made inevitable by the problem of the life of Christ and His relation to God and to man. And it was not possible, as Dr. Caird shortly puts it, that "the

Church should rest with complete assurance in its faith, till all the various aspects of it were considered, and till the controversy regarding them was brought to a definite issue ”.

We have touched but a few of the many questions of interest with which Dr. Caird grapples. We owe him much for a course of Lectures so fertile in ideas, with such a wealth of matter, and in all respects so worthy of his own reputation.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

IN the fourth issue of the *Revue de Théologie et des Questions religieuses* for the current year M. C.-E. Babut writes on the Biblical and Symbolo-fidéist ideas of justifying faith, and M. Henri Bois on the "Conception of Solidarity". There is a critical discussion by M. A. Segond of the Old Testament account of the conquest of Canaan, the general result of which is thus expressed—"la conquête de Canaan ne s'est point effectuée avec cette homogénéité, cet ensemble, qu'à la suite de la tradition post-Exilique nous étions habitués à lui prêter". M. L. Dupin de Saint André contributes a very readable historical article on the Vaudois of Piedmont, and M. C. Bruston examines again the sense of *ἰλαστήριον* in Rom. iii. 25. Formerly he had taken the term as an adjective masculine qualifying the *Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*, and consequently had given the passage the sense of "que Dieu avait préétabli (pour être un jour) propitiatoire (ou propitiateur) par la foi". Looking now, however, especially to Deissmann's article on the *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1903, p. 193, he takes the *ἰλαστήριον* to be a neuter substantive, and (in essential harmony with the Greek use of the word) understands the sentence to set forth Christ as "une offrande (*ἀνάθημα*) présentée à Dieu pour obtenir de lui le pardon (des péchés du genre humain) ou pour apaiser sa colère".

In the first part of the ably conducted *Journal of Biblical Literature* for 1904 the most elaborate article is one by W. R. Schoemaker on "The Use of *רוּחַ* and *πνεῦμα*". It occupies some fifty-five pages and goes into a detailed investigation of the usage of *רוּחַ* in the Old Testament at different periods (B.C. 900-700, B.C. 700-550, B.C. 550-400,

400 to the Maccabean times). It deals next with the term *πνεῦμα* as it occurs in the classical writers, the LXX, the Apocrypha, Philo, Josephus and the New Testament. It is impossible to summarise it here. One feels almost lost in the mass of particulars. But it will repay perusal, not least in the comparison which it draws from time to time between *πνεῦμα* and *ψυχή*, and the exposition it gives of the extent to which the Pauline use is peculiar. Professor Goodspeed, of Chicago, gives a brief but interesting account of a Toledo manuscript of the apocryphal letter of Paul to the Laodiceans. Of this letter forty-three manuscripts, he observes, have already been registered. The one here described is not the one which stands sixth in Harnack's list in his *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, but another which came under Professor Goodspeed's notice last October in the Chapter Library at Toledo and consists of 151 leaves of fine parchment in single columns. He mentions also that he had occasion to observe in the catalogue of the University of Madrid other three manuscripts of the same Epistle, not named either in Harnack's lists or in Lightfoot's. Thus the number of manuscripts of this curious document is brought up to forty-seven.

In the *Catholic World* for July Dr. James J. Welsh contributes a paper on "Modern Electricity and Orthodoxy," in which he gives brief and appreciative sketches of the achievements of Oersted, Ampère, Coulomb, Ohm, Clerk Maxwell and Lord Kelvin, and their respective attitudes to religion.

Among the most interesting papers in the July and August issues of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* are two by Mr. Albert Barrett on "The Social Life of the Puritan," which deal effectively with the misrepresentations and exaggerations of the opponents of the Puritans on the subject.

The opening paper in the third issue of the *Revue d'Histoire et de littérature religieuses* for the year is one deserving special attention. Under the title "Sanctorum Communionem" G. Morin goes into a historical and critical investigation of the

article in the Apostles' Creed on the "Communion of Saints," with special reference to the views expressed by A. Köstlin, Harnack, Zahn, Swete, Kattenbusch and Kirsch.

The ninth number of volume three of the *Independent Review* contains a number of seasonable papers on the reform of taxation, the Licensing Bill, etc. We may refer in particular, however, to Mr. G. Lewes Dickinson's second article on "Religion and Revelation," in which an attempt is made, which few, we should think, will regard as very successful, to show that, even if Revelation is rejected, religion will remain, and remain indeed all the more when Revelation is discounted.

The current number of the *International Journal of Ethics* opens with a paper by Herbert M. Thompson on "Moral Instruction in Schools," which is to be continued. Until it is completed we must suspend judgment of its scope. Mr. James H. Hyslop of New York follows with an acute paper on the question "Has the Universe an Intelligible Background and Purpose?" in which the two fundamental conceptions of teleology—the theistic which represents "teleological" as "implying conscious purpose looking to an end," and the view which "represents it as referring to a result to which a number of other facts convergently point as a consequence"—are contrasted and examined. The assumptions of modern science being in favour of an *immanent* teleology, the question which the author presses is whether this teleology implies a rational process; and in considering that question he takes the position that "nature will appear rational if it provides for the conservation of consciousness as well as that of energy and matter". Among other articles of interest we may mention one by F. Melian Stawell on "The Practical Reason in Aristotle," and another, full of information, on "The Moral Training of the Young in China," by the Hon. Chester Holcombe.

Perhaps the two most interesting papers in the July issue of the *Homiletic Review* are those by Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson on "The Modern Zoroastrians of Persia," and "Herbert Spencer and Religion," by Dr. Borden P. Bowne.

Dr. F. W. Gunsaulus also writes well on "The Significance and Function of the Ministry".

Professor H. M. Scott contributes a very interesting and instructive paper on "The Modern Jew; his Whence and his Whither" to the current number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. In the same number Professor Foster concludes his exposition of "Park's Theological System," giving a good account of his treatment of those doctrinal questions which he brought under the heads of Regeneration, Sanctification and Eschatology; and Dr. James Lindsay writes on "The Philosophy of Aquinas," claiming for the Angelic Doctor a place in the history of ethics "certainly not less important than his significance for the history of religious thought". Not much is to be got from Dr. Kuyper's article on "Biblical Criticism of the Present Day". But there are other two papers which deserve notice. One is by Louise Seymour Houghton on the question "When did Israel enter Canaan?" Taking the data which archæology places at our disposal along with the various statements of the Old Testament books and that of St. Paul in Acts xiii. 20, the writer comes to the conclusion that "the exodus occurred fully two hundred years earlier than it has of late been placed, that is, in 1423, forty years earlier than 1383, the date of Akenaten's reign, the King to whom Ab-di-Khíba wrote, namely, in the reign of Thothmes IV.". The other paper deals with the "Deaths of Antiochus IV., Herod the Great, and Herod Agrippa I.," examining the description given of these frightsome deaths and their reported causes.

The *Hibbert Journal* for July is a particularly good one. The Bishop of Rochester replies to Sir Oliver Lodge's article on "The Re-interpretation of Christian Doctrine". The Bishop deals in a kindly but not very effective way with Sir Oliver's contribution. That contribution, indeed, with all one's natural desire to think well of the conciliatory approach of an eminent man of science to the great doctrinal expressions of the Christian faith, one cannot regard either as in any measure correct in the views which it gives of the doctrines in question, or as opening up any way of reconcilia-

tion but at the cost of their meaning, and power, and life. Professor W. R. Sorley writes clearly and forcibly on "The Two Idealisms," and Dr. Cobb in a rather thin strain on "L'Hypocrisie Biblique Britannique". In a paper on "The Problem of Evil" St. George Stock expounds the position that the "problem and the mystery are entirely made for us by our theology, which postulates that the cause of all things is the will of a single almighty, all-wise and all-loving being," and that when once this proposition is given up the solution is found; for then only one answer is possible, *viz.*, "There is no evil; all things are very good". Dr. S. H. Mellone furnishes an admirable paper, full of just and pertinent thoughts, on "Present Aspects of the Problem of Immortality". And there are other articles of great interest, especially one by Dr. Bradley on "Hegel's Theory of Tragedy," and another in which Mr. T. Bailey Saunders gives an exceedingly readable and very discriminating account of "Herder".

Two papers call for special notice in the August issue of the *Expository Times*. The one is by Professor H. B. Swete, of Cambridge, on "The New Oxyrhynchus Sayings". It suggests a reconstruction of these "Sayings," and expresses the writer's impression that they are substantially genuine. Dr. Swete thinks it "not incredible that they have assumed their present form under the influence of the canonical Gospels, possibly also of the Apocalypse and certain of the Pauline Epistles," but his opinion is that, with these admissions there is a "large residuum which is at once new and after the manner of our Lord's earlier teaching". The other paper is an able and instructive study of "The Theology of John," by Professor Findlay, of Headingley College, bringing out the main points in the teaching of the Gospel, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse on the question of the knowability of God and the doctrine of God as Spirit, Light, Love and Father.

The July issue of *Indian Education*—the monthly Record for India, Burmah and Ceylon—has come to hand. It gives some valuable editorial notes, to begin with, on the fourth

quinquennial review of the progress of education in India, and follows this up by some very good papers on "Education in England," "English University Courses," "The Child Mind," etc.

In the current issue of *The Journal of Theological Studies* Dr. A. J. Mason writes on "A Modern Theory of the Fall". The paper is an able and kindly criticism of Mr. Tennant's "The Origin and Propagation of Sin" and "The Fall and Original Sin" in particular, and of the evolutionist theory of the Fall in general. Dr. Mason agrees on the whole with Mr. Tennant's views of the early chapters of Genesis, and his interpretation of the great passages in the Pauline writings, except in the case of the ἡμεθα τέκνα φύσει ὑργῆς ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποί. But he contests the view which makes so important a part of the modern theory, that "nothing can be called sinful which is not a conscious and wilful refusal to comply with a recognised law". He concludes that "the simplest explanation of the acknowledged universality of sin, as well as that which expresses best the penitential experience of good men, is to say with the Psalmist, 'Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin hath my mother conceived me'"; and he expresses the belief that the Christian consciousness will never "reconcile itself to a theory which endeavours to account for the universality of sin by really denying its sinfulness". The Rev. J. Chapman continues his interesting exposition of the "Historical Setting of the Second and Third Epistles of St. John". He places the date of these two Epistles "before St. John's trial before Domitian, that is to say, not later than 95, and probably earlier". He brings out the close connexion between these Epistles and those known as 2 Timothy and 1 Peter, and gives a series of "Examples of Silence" bearing on the secrecy practised with regard to the persecuted Roman Church. To the instances furnished, as he judges, by Ignatius, Clement, the Apocalypse and the third Epistle of St. John, he thinks it natural to add the avoidance of the name of Rome in John's second Epistle, and to see in the "Elect Lady" the Roman Church. There

are, as usual, some important notes and studies, *e.g.*, on "Old Latin Texts of the Minor Prophets," by the Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, on the "*Didache*," by Dr. C. Bigg, and on the "Strophical Structure in St. Jude's Epistle," by the Rev. H. J. Cladder.

The *Methodist Review* for July-August opens with a severe and searching paper on "Mr. Spencer's Philosophy" by Professor Borden P. Bowne, of Boston. The most prominent features of Mr. Spencer's great work are, in Dr. Bowne's opinion, "bad physics and bad metaphysics built with bad logic into a showy but baseless system". Under the title of "A Message from the Past to the Present," Professor Eiselen, of Evanston, takes up the activity and teaching of the eighth century prophets, with the view of showing by one concrete example the "permanent significance of the Old Testament and the perfect adaptability of its messages to the conditions that confront the minister of the Gospel to-day". There are other very readable papers in this number, *e.g.*, one by Dr. G. M. Hughes on "Samuel Taylor Coleridge, a Religious Teacher," and one by Dr. S. E. Sears on "The Bible in *Evangeline*".

The following publications also require notice. *First Steps in Hebrew Grammar with Exercises and Vocabularies*,¹ by Michael Adler, B.A., a clear and simple outline, judiciously constructed and admirably printed, which should be of great use to those beginning the study of Hebrew. It is the work of an experienced teacher, whose *Student's Hebrew Grammar* has been well received; *The Preacher's Magazine*, volume xiv.,² a volume that well maintains the reputation which the magazine has enjoyed under the skilful editorship of Dr. Arthur E. Gregory, full of matter, wisely selected and admirably adapted to be of service to all different classes of preachers, teachers and Bible students; *Monument Facts and Higher Critical Fancies*,³ by A. H. Sayce, LL.D., D.D.,

¹ London: David Nutt, 1904. Pp. viii. + 113. Price 2s.

² London: C. H. Kelly, 1903. 8vo, pp. 580. Price 5s.

³ London: The Religious Tract Society, 1904. Small cr. 8vo, pp.

Professor of Assyriology in the University of Oxford, a small book by a veteran scholar, which gives in brief compass a statement of the more important results of recent archæological discoveries, discusses their bearing upon the debated questions of the age, authenticity and historical work of the Old Testament books, and delivers some thrusts at the "school of sceptical theorists who have arrogated the title of 'critics' to themselves"—a statement and a discussion which will be easily read and which present in a strong light certain aspects of the important questions at issue which have to be looked at ; *The Second Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians*,¹ edited by A. Plummer, M.A., D.D., sometime Master of University College, Durham, formerly Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford, a section of the "Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges," prepared for this special use by the competent and experienced hand to which we owe the exposition of the Greek text reviewed in our July issue, and having substantially the same contents as the Commentary in the "Cambridge Greek Testament" series ; *The Point of Contact in Teaching*,² by Patterson Du Bois, an expansion of a small monograph published in 1896 under the title of *Beginning at the Point of Contact*, written with a view to the improvement of educational standards in the Sunday School, and containing much that is suggestive and helpful as regards the way in which the young mind is to be reached, the attention secured, and interest excited ; *Outlines of Pastoral Theology for Young Ministers and Students*,³ translated and edited by the late Rev. William Hastie, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, a small book containing much good, practical counsel on the conduct of the Christian ministry, which came into Dr. Hastie's hands in a very singular manner in India, the

¹ Cambridge: at the University Press, 1903. Extra Fcap. 8vo, pp. xlii. + 156.

² London: Sunday School Union, 1904. Pp. xiii. + 131. Price 2s. 6d.

³ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 78. Price 1s. 6d. net.

origin and authority of which remain so obscure that all he could say of it, after extensive inquiry, was that it "embodies the collective wisdom of associated pastors of the Church of the Moravians or United Brethren, and most probably of that 'band' or section called the Reformed, as distinguished from the Lutheran section and the Moravian section proper with which Zinzendorf himself had most and Bengel had least sympathy"; *Church, Ministry and Sacraments in the New Testament*,¹ by W. T. Whitley, M.A., LL.D., the work of one who thinks that the "witness of history to Baptist principles is worth considering," but who rejoices in the testimony given of late in various quarters to the fact that all divisions of Evangelical Christians are at one with regard to the general conception of the Church in its constitution, its sacraments and its ministry. The method followed in the book is that of an examination of all the passages, whether in the New Testament or in the Old, which bear upon the question. In some cases passages are included which have a remote or questionable relevancy, and the exposition in not a few cases can hardly be regarded as scientific. But, in what amounts to a running commentary on a large part of Scripture, many just observations are made, and good sense asserts itself throughout; *Reports of the Mosely Educational Commission to the United States of America*, October-December, 1903,² a publication of great importance to all interested in educational questions, containing a vast amount of information carefully collected, and many valuable suggestions springing out of it, a storehouse out of which much may be drawn for instruction and guidance on this side of the Atlantic; *Paradosis*, or "In the Night in which He was ? Betrayed,"³ by Edwin A. Abbott, the fourth part of the elaborate discussions to which Dr. Abbott has given the name of *Diatessarica*. The title *Paradosis* which is

¹ London: The Kingsgate Press, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 286.

² London: published for the Proprietor by the Co-operative Printing Society, Limited, 1904. 8vo, pp. 400. Price 1s.

³ London: Adam & Charles Black, 1904. 8vo, pp. xxiii.+216. Price 7s. 6d. net.

given it, is explained to have the sense of "the delivering up of the Son by the Father for the redemption of mankind". The main thesis of the book is that the earliest Gospels—but not St. Paul nor St. Peter's First Epistle, nor the Fourth Gospel—have occasionally confused this with the delivering up of Jesus by Judas to the servants of Caiaphas. So it is argued that in the Lord's Supper the Son delivered up to His brethren, and for His brethren, what Clement of Alexandria called His "complete Self"; that St. Paul's words "in the night in which He was betrayed," should be rendered "in the night in which He was *delivered up* [*by the Father as a sacrifice for sinners*]"; and that our Lord Himself "did not use the word in the sense of 'betray' in the Gospels, when He predicted His Passion and Resurrection, but always (in such cases) in the sense of 'deliver up'." One cannot but admire the laboriousness of these inquiries and the curious ingenuity which so often appears in them. But we cannot follow the versatile writer in his methods of criticism, which are to a large extent arbitrary and imaginative, neither can we regard him as having made out his main contention in this volume; *The Englishwoman's Year Book and Directory*, 1904,¹ edited by Emily Janes, being the sixth year of the new issue and the twenty-fourth of the whole, a useful and reliable compilation full of information which will satisfy the curious and meet the requirements of those who consult it with a practical purpose, admirably edited by the organising secretary of the National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland; *Ossian's Lebensanschauung*,² by Dr. H. Jellinghaus, Realschuldirektor in Osnabrück, an interesting sketch of the Ossianic controversy, the influence exercised by the Ossianic poetry, particularly in Germany, through Klopstock, Herder and Goethe, and the religious ideas expressed in the writings. In dealing with the last of these subjects the author takes up the line of inquiry begun by Ebrard of Erlangen; another

¹ London: Adam & Charles Black, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxv. + 352.

² Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904. 8vo, pp. 61. Price 1s. 6d. net.

section, being half-volume vii., of the *Natural History of Animals*,¹ an instructive and attractive description of the animal life of the world in its various aspects and relations, written by the competent hand of Professor J. R. Ainsworth Davis, of University College, Aberystwith, admirably printed by the Gresham Publishing Company, and enriched with a multitude of clear and telling illustrations; *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus*,² by Dr. Georgius Karo and Lic. Johannes Lietzmann, a republication from the *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1902, Heft 1, 3, 5, containing careful lists of Greek catenæ (with particulars regarding them) first in the Old Testament Scriptures and then in the New, a laborious compilation which will be of use to specialists in more than one line of Biblical study; *Der Sabbat im Alten Testament und im altjüdischen Aberglauben*,³ by Lic. Theol. Fredrich Bohn, a painstaking inquiry into the origin of the word, the history of the institution as it appears in the Old Testament books, the place and significance given to holy days and seasons in the ethnic religions, the religious meaning of the Babytonio-Assyrian *Sabbattu*, and the restrictions connected with the Sabbath law in the times of the Maccabees and in the Judaism of the subsequent centuries; *The Expositor*,⁴ edited by W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D., sixth series, volume ix., full as before of varied and instructive matter. Among many contributions which might be referred to as able and opportune, special attention may be directed to Professor J. H. Moulton's very valuable series on "Characteristics of New Testament Greek," and Professor Ramsay's fresh and suggestive papers on the "Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia Minor". Dr. George Milligan writes on "The Authenticity

¹ London: The Gresham Publishing Company, 1904. Large 8vo, pp. xvi.+260. Price 7s. net.

² London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo.

³ Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1903. Pp. 97. Price 2s.

⁴ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians," and Professor W. L. Davidson, of the University of Aberdeen, on "The Bible Story of Creation: a Phase of the Theistic Argument". Professor W. H. Bennett's papers on "The Life of Christ according to St. Mark" also contain much that is of interest; *Mediæval England*,¹ 1066-1350, a volume contributed to "The Story of the Nations" series by Mary Bateson, Associate and Lecturer of Newnham College, Cambridge, richly illustrated and giving a vivid and well-written account of Norman Feudalism and Decadent Feudalism, with telling sketches of the court, the nobility, the clergy, the tillers of the soil, the burgesses, the farming, the education, the art, the learning and the literature of the period, and the ways of life in palace, castle, monastery and town. The book is a delightful one to read; *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη, Text with critical Notes*,² a small, handy, and very tasteful edition of the Greek New Testament issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society. It follows the fourth edition of the text published first by the Bible Society of Württemberg at Stuttgart in 1898, permission having been granted by that Society to publish it in England under the supervision of Professor Eberhard Nestle. The book will be very useful for students. It is especially valuable as giving a collation of three of the most important recensions of the Greek text, *viz.*, those of Tischendorf's eighth edition, Westcott and Hort, and Bernhard Weiss; *Faith and Morals*,³ by Wilhelm Herrmann, D.D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the University of Marburg, a volume of the very useful series known as the "Crown Theological Library," giving a very good translation of two of Professor Herrmann's most interesting and most practical addresses, prefaced by a short biographical note. The first address

¹ London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvii. + 448. Price 5s.

² London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1904.

³ Translated from the German by Donald Matheson, M.A., and Robert W. Stewart, M.A., B.Sc. London: Williams & Norgate, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 415. Price 5s.

deals with Ritschl's view of faith, bringing out among other things the fact that Ritschl held faith to be submission to an authoritative revelation and to involve a special experience of God; that it does imply the "intellectual appropriation of every idea in the Bible"; and that the "Church must distinguish the faith responsive to God's revelation from an assent to doctrines". The second address, which deals with the "Moral Law," and makes the bulk of the volume, is one of very considerable importance, both on its merits and because, as the translator puts it, it "seems to present a large part of Professor Herrmann's message to his time". It is a somewhat elaborate and certainly a very penetrating comparison of the ideas of the moral law entertained in Romanism and in Protestantism respectively, with the object of getting to fundamental truth on the subject of morality. The reply given by Dr. Joseph Mausbach to the criticism of the Roman Catholic scheme of ethics is noticed at length, and the criticisms of Liguori, Adloff and others, the discussion of probabilism, and much else in the volume are of great interest; *The Value of the Bible and other Sermons* (1902-1904), *with a Letter to the Lord Bishop of London*,¹ by H. Hensley Henson, B.D., Canon of Westminster and Rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster, a collection of twenty-one discourses which deal with a wide range of subjects, Old Testament and New, doctrinal, apologetic, ethical and practical, and give abundant proof of Canon Henson's preaching gifts. Without going very deep they keep the attention by the worth and vitality of the ideas and the force of the expression given to them. Among the best are those on "The Open Mind," "The Wonderful Conversion," "The Faith that is Blessed," and "Caiaphas". Canon Henson has much to say on criticism and its rights, and to the statement which he gives of the general principles no objection can be taken. He insists largely, *e.g.*, on the fact that the New Testament writings cannot be withdrawn from

¹ London: Macmillan & Co., 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxii. + 333. Price 6s.

the critical sifting to which the Old Testament books have been subjected, and that the methods applicable in the latter case must be followed also in the former. This no one will question. But it is different when one looks at the results which the Canon appears to consider established by these critical methods. In the case of the narratives of the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection, and certain passages belonging to the heart of the Gospel story as it is given by the Evangelists, his tendency is to accept too readily the most negative conclusions and to give up somewhat precipitately the historical veracity of the reports. And this again drives him in upon purely subjective *criteria* of the truth of what is recorded of Christ. He falls back on the internal certitude, *e.g.*, which the Christian has of the reality of Christ's Resurrection, and which is thought to be independent of objective evidence in the witness of history. Even on the subject of our Lord's sinlessness, while he holds that hitherto nothing has been done by criticism to invalidate it, he seems to take refuge in an "interior certitude," and would "crave forgiveness for even seeming to suggest that the faith by which Christians have assurance of their Master's right to their worship depends on an appeal to documents, however authoritative and venerable". Apart from some exaggerated ways of putting things, and a certain inexactness of thought which appears now and again, these sermons, however, are admirable examples of telling popular discourse; *The Letters of John Hus*,¹ with introductions and explanatory notes by Herbert B. Workman, M.A., Principal of Westminster Training College, etc., and R. Martin Pope, M.A., a valuable and most welcome addition to our English literature on the great Bohemian Reformer, by which at last we get an adequate translation of a correspondence of great and varied interest. Both authors have done their part well. The English rendering, which is mainly Mr. Pope's, has been executed with much skill. The translator is to be

¹ London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxi. + 286. Price 6s.

congratulated on his work; for the peculiarities of the style of these compositions and the abundant occurrence in them of words uncertain in their application and exceedingly open to misunderstanding must have made his task one of very unusual difficulty. Mr. Workman, again, is an acknowledged master in the story of the Bohemian movement and the part played in it by Hus, and he has given us of his best in this volume. What he says of the *Letters* and their writer in his Introduction, he can say with authority, and he has done all that careful research renders possible in presenting the *Letters* in their historical setting and in illustrating their import. As they are now presented to us by the hand of a most competent editor, they help us to understand the Reformer better than before. They show "the whole man," as the authors rightly say in their Preface, "in all his strength and tenderness and, we may add, his weakness". They have not only the value of important historical documents but also the personal interest of so many passages in the history of a soul; *Sünde und Erlösung nach biblischer und babylonischer Anschauung*,¹ by Privatdocent Dr. Johannes Hehn, a very useful volume which brings together in handy form the most distinctive utterances of the Hebrew spirit and the Babylonian on the great questions of *Sin* and *Redemption*, puts us in the position of comparing them for ourselves, and provides us with important materials for determining the relation, whether of dependence or originality, in which the Bible stands to the ancient Babylonian faith. Dr. Hehn's own conclusion is that in the story of Tiamat and the powers of Chaos we have the primitive Babylonian view of sin, and in Marduk, the Babylonian victor or redeemer; that the two traditions, the Babylonian and the Biblical, coincide in the idea of a revolt against God; but that there is this great difference between the two—that in the Babylonian tradition the idea of redemption is a purely naturalistic one and the deliverance from sin and sickness is conceived to be effected in a magical way, while in the Biblical doctrine the Redeemer accomplishes redemption by self-sacrifice, and the re-

¹ Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 8vo, pp. vii. + 62. Price M.1.60.
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demption itself is set forth as a spiritual deliverance carrying with it the moral renewal and transformation of its subjects; *Things Fundamental*,¹ by Charles Edward Jefferson, pastor of Broadway Tabernacle, New York City—a course of thirteen discourses on Modern Apologetics, discussing the great questions of the Nature and Place of Faith, and of Reason in the Christian Life, the Cause of the Present Uneasiness in the Christian Church, How the Old Conception of the Scriptures differs from the New, the Deity of Jesus, Miracles, the Forgiveness and the Punishment of Sin, the Church of the Living God, the Immortality of the Soul, and the Power and Work of the Holy Spirit. These topics are handled in a frank, popular style, in a perfectly reverent spirit, with a just apprehension of the thoughts suggested by them to the average mind and the considerations most likely to bring relief where doubt or difficulty is felt. The book deserves cordial recommendation; *Immortality a Rational Faith*,² by William Chester, former co-pastor of Phillips (Madison Avenue) Presbyterian Church, New York City, and former pastor of Immanuel Presbyterian Church, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, a very able statement of the reasonableness of our faith in a future life, in the light of the predictions of science, philosophy and religion. The author starts with the principle that none of the arguments in behalf of the belief in man's enduring life is sufficient if taken by itself; that "no one of these arguments alone carries conviction to all minds at all times"; but that the case becomes different when we take them together and look at their cumulative force. He proceeds to give a careful estimate of what science, philosophy and religion respectively have to say or suggest on this great question, when each is interrogated by itself. The result is reached that "when it takes the grand cumulative argument, commencing and grounding itself in the hard, cold domain of science, rising up through the vast realm of philosophy to the moral

¹ London: S. C. Brown, Langham & Co., 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 372. Price 6s.

² Chicago, New York, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company. Cr. 8vo, pp. 207. Price 3s. 6d. net.

and theological climax, faith then finds she has a solid pyramid of confirmed truth on which to rest". An interesting chapter is added on the conditions of life after death; *The Teaching of the Gospel of John*,¹ by J. Ritchie Smith, minister of Market Square Presbyterian Church, Harrisburg, Pa., an exposition of the doctrinal contents of the Fourth Gospel, marked by unquestionable ability, popular in style, and showing throughout a very competent command of the best literature on the subject. The author takes the Gospel to be the work of the Apostle John, and gives a brief, sensible statement on the subject of its trustworthiness and the peculiar form in which the words of Jesus appear in it. He discusses also its relation to the Old Testament, and then takes up the main points in its characteristic teaching. He deals in succession with its Ideas of God, the Word, the Holy Spirit, Sin, Salvation, the New Life, the Church, the End of all Things. The summaries which the author gives of John's doctrine on these subjects are in most respects true to the contents and purpose of the Gospel, and should be of use to many minds. A very good chapter bearing the title of "John and Paul Compared" brings this instructive book to a fitting close; *New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a Lost Gospel from Oxyrhynchus*,² edited, with translation and commentary, by Bernard P. Grenfell, D.Litt., M.A., etc., and Arthur S. Hunt, D.Litt., M.A., etc., a reprint in the main from *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part iv., Nos. 654 and 655, giving the record of another interesting find which has rewarded the diligence and skill of Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt. It contains, first, certain new sayings of Jesus, with introduction, text, translations, notes and general remarks; second, the *Logia* discovered in 1897; and third, the fragment of a lost Gospel, again with introduction, text, translation, notes and general remarks. The second find, here specially chronicled, of a collection of sayings of Jesus, consists of forty-two incom-

¹ New York, Chicago, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company. Cr. 8vo, pp. 405. Price \$1.50 net.

² Published for the Egypt Exploration Fund by Henry Frowde, Amen Corner, London, E.C., 1904. 8vo, pp. 45. Price 1s. net.

plete lines on the back of a survey-list of various pieces of land, a plate of which is given as frontispiece to the volume. The date of this new collection is put by the discoverers at the middle or end of the third century. In style and arrangement it is pronounced to be very like the *Logia* of 1897. At the same time there are certain differences. The new collection, *e.g.*, has an introduction which is wanting in the former, and one of the sayings in the recent find is an answer to a question the substance of which is reported. There is also more of a connexion in thought in the second series than in the first. Some difficult and important questions are raised by this discovery, on which Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt do not feel entitled to pronounce a definite judgment. But they do not think that these sayings originated in or circulated among a particular sect. They do not recognise a "post-resurrectional point of view" in them, and they see grave objections to the supposition that they are extracts either from the Gospel according to the Hebrews or from that according to the Egyptians. The views which the happy discoverers themselves take of the reconstruction of the text, the general character of the sayings, and their bearing on the problems of the origin and relations of our Canonical Gospels, seem to us the most reasonable yet suggested, and for the rest we must wait in patience for the results of further study and, it is to be hoped, of further discovery in the rich field of Egyptian exploration.

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Recent Tendencies in American Philosophy.

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WE may naturally approach the problem of recent tendencies in American philosophy if we but think of the opposition between Neo-Kantianism (or "Neo-Hegelianism") and Naturalism, between the spirit, say, of Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics* and that of Huxley's *Hume*. Transcendentalism, to be sure, has existed in America since the days of Emerson and those of an early academic interest (Hickok, Bascom, Everett and others) in the writings of Coleridge and Kant and Cousin, in distinction to the still earlier absorption in the spirit of the Scottish Philosophy (maintained as late as the eighties at Princeton by McCosh). The most celebrated expounder of post-Kantian idealism a generation ago in America, however, was doubtless W. T. Harris¹ (he is the Nestor of Hegelianism in America very much as Hutchison-Stirling is in England), in whose *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* were to be found many valuable expositions and translations and criticisms of the literature of Transcendental Idealism long before the average American or even the average British student could approach this for himself in the original German. Soon after this there arose several young enthusiastic teachers of philosophy, such as Watson,² Clark-Murray,³ and Royce,⁴ and Morris,⁵ and Howison,⁶ and Schurmann,⁷ and Dewey,⁸ and others, who set forth the principles of the Kant-Hegelian philosophy in appropriate manuals and lectures and essays.⁹ On the other hand, there was John Fiske,¹⁰ the brilliant lecturer and man of letters, the ardent disciple and populariser of the philosophy of Herbert Spencer, the friend of both Huxley and Spencer,

who until his recent death occupied a foremost place in American literature on account not only of his philosophical but also of his historical activity. Fiske's *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy* were to many people for many years a clearer and more comprehensible account of the evolutionary philosophy than were the earlier writings of Herbert Spencer himself. The work of the propagandism of Naturalism soon transformed itself, however, into the more sober process of the gradual absorption of the facts of the natural sciences, first of biology¹¹ and then of physiological and physical psychology, and now recently of the sociological sciences. This is illustrated in the pioneer work of Ladd¹² (his *Elements of Physiological Psychology* for years took the place of Wundt for English-reading students) and of Stanley Hall.¹³ The latter gathered around himself, first at Johns Hopkins and then later at Clark University, a host of workers and colleagues like Cattell,¹⁴ Sanford,¹⁵ Donaldson,¹⁶ Dewey, Hyslop¹⁷ and others, who have since made contributions of great value to psychology and to the cause of philosophy in this country.

In thus suggesting the extent to which the attention of American students and teachers (it was at its height about 1890, when, owing to the energy and the ability of Dr. J. S. Schurmann, the Sage School of Philosophy and the *Philosophical Review*, agencies of the greatest educational potency in the last decade, were instituted at Cornell University) was divided between the newer psychology and the epistemology of Critical Rationalism, I by no means intend to imply that either rounded Idealism¹⁸ or rounded Materialism had ceased to exist, or that the fashionable creed of Monism¹⁹ was not preparing itself to engulf them both, or that there were not in chairs of philosophy and theology men who were faithfully serving philosophy by keeping themselves clear of all mere *Tendenzen* and by remaining loyal to classicism or realism²⁰ as they understood these terms.

While the first interests of the Newer²¹ Psychology were almost exclusively centred upon a psycho-physical study of the relations existing between sensations and their *stimuli*

(or conditions), or upon the problems of cerebral psychology and of the psychology of the special senses, the progress of science has opened up many other avenues of psychological research in which American investigators have done their full share of successful work. In addition to the early (1) *structural psychology*, the morphology of psychology, the analysis of the structure of mind, the "isolation of the constituents in the given conscious function," Experimental Psychology in the strict sense, Professor Titchener ²² (Cornell University, one of our leading experimentalists who has kept more devotedly and persistently than almost any of his compeers to the experimental point of view) notices (2) *functional psychology*, the study of mental processes as "shaped and moulded under the conditions of the physical organism," (3) *ontogenetic psychology*, the "psychology of individual childhood and adolescence," (4) *taxonomic psychology*, the classification of emotions, instincts, impulses, temperaments, the hierarchy of "selves," the typical mind of social classes, artists, soldiers, etc., (5) *collective psychology*, the study of the mind of the crowd, the nation, the society, etc., (6) *phylogenetic psychology*, the psychology of racial development.²³ And then we can point to work upon the psychology of religion,²⁴ the psychology of abnormal²⁵ man, the psychology of suggestion,²⁶ and so on. In the leading universities in the country the course in psychology is manipulated by from two to six or seven experts, and the student is also referred to related courses in the apartments of neurology, physiology, zoology, anthropology, sociology, theology, etc. All this represents an activity and an output that is having the greatest influence upon our general philosophy of human nature, upon education, upon popular thinking and upon social reform. In no country in the world is there such a premium put upon the "psychic factors" in civilisation, upon the differential advantage of mind and method and contrivance and upon "psychic control" as in America, and the protagonists in the study of mind have a veritable army of camp-followers and disciples and sympathisers in the founders of metaphysical cults, the woman's clubs, the teachers, the clergy

(regular and irregular), the preachers of "humanism," the philanthropists, the subjugators and "expansionists," the students of the art of government, the managers of reform schools, prisons, asylums, and so on. So much is this the case that two²⁷ of our leading psychologists, who are remarkable for the exacting manner in which they write of the necessities of science in relation to the necessities of life (the question is really a phase of the *epistemology* and the *methodology* of our passing critical age), have found it necessary to formulate their protests against hasty and indiscriminating attempts to apply "psychological" methods and results to concrete problems and conditions of all kinds, and against an over-credulous or objectionally intellectualistic ("cultural") faith in psychical theory as such.

Although it is quite a decade since American representatives of *general* psychology joined their British colleagues (*e.g.*, Ward and Pringle-Pattison) in taking exception to many of the assumptions and results of those who regard psychology as merely a natural science, one of the most characteristic trends in recent thought is the length to which this attitude has been carried by Münsterberg, long one of the most independent of Wundt's pupils, who nevertheless claims to stand nearer to the master than any of the rest. Münsterberg's way of putting matters is that the "presentationist"²⁸ or "atomistic" or "associational" account of mental phenomena is never for a moment to be taken as an account of what really takes place in the mind, nor indeed as any kind of reality whatsoever, but rather as a *transformation* of psychical realities for the descriptive purposes of science. The triumph of modern psychology in his eyes is "to master even the best in man, the will, and to dissolve even the will into its atomic sensations and their causal unfree play". It is perhaps needless to attempt to sketch the constitution of the realm of psychic atoms into which Münsterberg would reduce psychological phenomena. As a matter of fact, this would be a task of extreme difficulty for even the most careful student of the *Grundzüge der Psychologie* (its author prefers German to English for scientific or polemical purposes)

The reason is that psychic facts (being, in Münsterberg's opinion, "observable by but one subject," "timeless," "non-quantitative," "without causal interconnexion") can be set forth and described and explained only by their physical counterparts—Münsterberg's version of the theory of parallelism. Our interest is rather in his outspoken and elaborately developed theory that psychology must necessarily give a *transformed*²⁹ and therefore so far an unreal account of our mental life. Such an account is, to be sure, believed by him to be *in the service* of the practical life, of the purposes of our active selves as these are interpreted by the "subjectifying" sciences (psychology being an "objectifying" science) of history, æsthetics and so on (*die Geisteswissenschaften*—here Münsterberg adopts the standpoint of Fichte's early moral idealism), although many of his critics fail to see how such an arbitrarily fictitious, such an atomistic and semi-physical account of the mental life can be of service even to science, not to mention the practical life and its interests. Whatever else may be said for or against it, Münsterberg's atomistic psychology is the result of certain hypotheses of his own (wherein to be sure freedom must be allowed him) regarding mental processes in relation to our purposive activity and in relation to physical processes. Taken along with the confessions and concessions of other American psychologists, his procedure is but new confirmation of the position that while different psychological disciplines have different standpoints regarding mental process, the *complete* account of such process can be furnished only by the philosopher of mind who makes a synthesis of various partial standpoints, or only by a psychology that is so broad in its scope and so clearly conscious of mental life as an organic whole that it is essentially what in Hegelian language may be called a phenomenology of mind. I do not say that we can as yet point to any psychologist of prominence in America whose treatment of psychology can fairly be called that of a phenomenology of mind unless we are willing to concede the term psychologist to philosophers³⁰ who write upon certain aspects of psychology which they may fairly claim to have

mastered, or unless we take "social" (or "genetic") psychology to be the whole of psychology. But I do say that the present defence of the "experimental" point of view as only a "point of view" about mind, and the present halting procedure of the average psychologist (of alternating between different points of view), is tantamount to the position that general psychology must be associated with a general philosophy of mind. It is significant that a good recent manual³¹ has taken the ground that the business of psychology is to study consciousness not merely as a series of mental processes but "as a relation of conscious selves to one another".

Turning for a moment to *genetic* psychology (since Aristotle's *De Anima* the natural avenue to "teleology" and philosophy proper), we are aware that a plausible feature of the evolutionary philosophy has long been its vaunted competency to show how our whole psychical world with its ideas and ideals and institutions has slowly developed itself out of a "sub-human" world of struggle and conflict and association. There is to be seen in many recent American writers the same effort as that with which we are familiar in the writings of Schopenhauer, Haeckel, Topinard, Huxley, Sutherland and others, either to bridge the chasm between the sub-human and the human by the play of a gradual development, or to point out in human association³² the controlling and determining influence of certain differential factors and conditions. A work from which it may be learned how a *quasi*-evolutionary or genetic account of individual and social development does not ultimately conflict with the traditional idealistic account of morality or with an idealistic philosophy of society is the highly original and suggestive volume of Professor J. M. Baldwin entitled *Social and Ethical Interpretations of Mental Development*. The most striking and the most relevant contribution to contemporary philosophy by this work is its exposition of the fact that there are at work in society and in social organisation *largely those same factors* (imitation, invention, the "absorption" of "personal material") *that organise and develop the life of the individual*, and of the fact that (so far as the

characteristic fact of mind is concerned) we never do and never can think of the 'self' (ego) without at the same time thinking of the 'other' (*alter*). The 'self,' Baldwin maintains, is always one pole or term of a relation [between self and other] existing *within* the consciousness of human beings who (naturally and reflectively) regard themselves as sharers in a common (physical and mental) life. When we grasp this truth we can see that it is, as Tarde [a worker on lines similar to those of Baldwin] puts it, as much an *inconcussum quid*, as much a principle of personal thought, as the *cogito ergo sum* of Descartes. The *ego* is indeed nothing without the thought of the *alter*, the *meum* without the *tuum*. We can, too, if we reflect, see that it is this thought that constitutes the rational basis for that spiritual philosophy of society that emanated in both a practical and a theoretical way (in Toynbee and his movement as well as in Ritchie and Mackenzie and Bosanquet) from the teaching of that remarkable man whose thought has meant so much for England and America, T. H. Green. This social conception of the *ego* (it is in Hegel to be sure as it is in the New Testament, only Baldwin has been the first to show its importance for the facts of personal development) is not only additional material for the philosopher who is to generalise the psychologising of the last two generations, but is also a most important consideration for those who seek to effectuate the much-needed transition in philosophy from *Monism* (whether idealistic or naturalistic) to *pluralism*—to a theory of being that allows for the harmonious development of the lives of different persons instead of the mere life of a single thinker or a single supreme consciousness. The self that Neo-Kantians proudly looked upon as the "source of the categories" and the key to all reality has through an unconscious logic been too readily identified with the self of the ordinary individual or with that of the supreme self-consciousness of the universe. If on the contrary the key to the self and the eternally personal world that we inhabit from our birth to our death ('totemism,' Christian baptism, the phenomena of adolescence, etc., all suggest this) is to be found in the consciousness of a "self-

situation" that is "common" to different persons in a realm of persons, then we ought to incorporate in our epistemological³³ philosophy the principle of a pluralistic conception of being as the key to all ontology. This inference has been confirmed again and again by the turning of so many of our representative thinkers from Hegel to Leibniz, and it has been lately confirmed anew by Mr. McTaggart's ingenious interpretation of the Hegelian Absolute as a society.

A more complete development of the epistemological conception of science and scientific hypothesis, in conjunction with the social conception of the ego and in entire conformity with the spirit of Critical Idealism, is to be found in the epoch-marking (epoch-making, in some respects) *Gifford Lectures* (at Aberdeen) of Professor Royce, of Harvard University—an admirable instance of the inevitable co-operation that exists between the two great groups of workers of our common Anglo-Saxondom. *The World and the Individual* the writer is inclined to regard as one of the most important recent manifestations of the progressive idealism of American and British workers since the time of Green. In addition to a certain hardness and rigidity and a certain obscurity and mysticism, this work has many of the drawbacks incidental to a combination of the lecture and the research method, but in its scholarship and its sustained dialectic ability it stands a peer to the *Naturalism and Agnosticism* (the hard-headedness revealed in both works seems peculiarly appropriate to their Aberdeen setting) of Professor Ward, of Cambridge, its predecessor as a *Gifford* output. As an attempt at construction Royce's work begins where the accurately conceived and accurately executed (Cambridge) work of Ward terminates; and on the other hand, Royce would be less hard reading had he said outright that he practically presupposed some finished work (like that of Ward) upon the entire body of the presuppositions of modern science. I have referred to the rational basis for a pluralistic or a social idealism (it takes a theistic turn with Royce that differentiates his results from those of McTaggart) that Royce finds in the social conception of the ego—a

position that he cordially accepts from his friend Baldwin after having himself years ago worked out some interesting psychological matter³⁴ regarding the influence of the social factor upon our perception of external reality. The *meaning* (*meaning* is Royce's key to all reality whether that of the self or things or God or the animal species) of *my* life must be seen to develop itself in harmony with the purposes and meaning of other lives (God's, my fellow's, my loved one's, my enemy's) that give to my life the appropriate stimulus of opposition or co-operation or completion (idealisation). The reader can but be commended to Royce's two big volumes for the development of this socialised and theologised conception of personality and meaning.

The other line of fundamental reflection in Royce may be called *in the broadest sense of the term*—Pragmatism. As I have already attempted in a recent number of *Mind* (Oct., 1900) a critical study of this celebrated conception of philosophy as set forth by James (Royce's colleague at Harvard), and as the British reader has now the volume of the "Oxford Eight" upon *Personal Idealism* before him, I may be excused with but a passing remark. Generally speaking, Pragmatism is nothing but an extension of the epistemological idea to philosophical as well as to scientific hypotheses; it is the treatment of all hypotheses, whether those of science or of art or of social theory or of philosophy, as subservient to the needs of our complete (mental and moral) development—to the needs of *Appreciation* as opposed to those of mere *Description*. From this it is obvious that Pragmatism professes to pay a somewhat greater attention to the fact of our mental and moral activity than has been customary with Critical Rationalism. The importance to philosophy of the notion of activity was expressed years ago in *Basal Concepts in Philosophy* by Professor Ormond, of Princeton, and it is also emphasised by Professor Ladd in his *Psychology* and in his *Theory of Reality*. Professor Dewey, too, has been largely influential in disseminating the instrumental or the pragmatic conception of philosophy and of ideas as such.³⁵ "The present work," says Professor Royce, "is a deliberate effort

to bring into synthesis, more fully than I have ever done before, the relations of knowledge and will in our conception of God." In his earlier work Royce had, like so many of us who had turned for our first *insight* to Green and Hegel, preferred the use of the term Thought as the best name for the final unity of the Absolute. Independently of Münsterberg, Royce had in 1892, in his *Spirit of Modern Philosophy*, worked out the distinction between the world of description and the world of appreciation which is now almost a commonplace of American thinkers—it is a modern version of Kant's distinction between *quid juris* and *quid facti*. The needs of "description" to Royce are in every instance (even in the case of an elaborate philosophical system) subservient to the needs of "appreciation" to the comprehension of *meaning*. Rational comprehension, as it were, is but the increased comprehension of the *meaning* that is implied in consciousness whenever we think or feel or act, that is implicit even in the simplest reactions of our organism upon its environment. "Completed self-consciousness"—to use a Hegelian expression—would be to Royce the completed consciousness of meaning (or the consciousness of completed meaning)—an idea that is in harmony with the dynamical conception of being held by modern science as well as modern philosophy. Starting as he does with the organic (or the dynamic) conception of consciousness, it is not hard for him to make a synthesis of the *meaning* of consciousness with the *meaning* that (as we have indicated) is the key to being as such. Begin where we may, he practically contends, life or reality is invariably *meaning*, for neither on the naturalistic nor on the idealistic theory is there any actual or conceivable (complete) separation between the self and its environment (whether physical or social). Thus although Royce ends in a theological pluralism with an immortality for the individual conscious person, his point of departure is that of a monistic attitude, the monism of ideal realism—the position that the datum of consciousness is consciousness of meaning. "Dualism," he says, "in the interpretation of the relation of the self and its environment is wholly laid

aside." In the development of his philosophy that the meaning of the universe is to be found in its meaning relatively to the purposes of conscious lives, Royce makes a speculative effort that in many ways is nothing short of remarkable (although in entire conformity with the best spirit of the Kantian philosophy) to justify the fact of conscious *meaning* in face of the so-called facts of change and sequence and death and of the consciousness of beings that are lower or higher than we in the scale of existence. The student of the difficulties of such topics as "Time and the Hegelian Dialectic," "Evolution and Immortality," "Hegel and Darwin," "Human and Animal Consciousness," will find much ingenious speculative philosophy in these striking attempts at philosophical construction.

It is not one of the least of Royce's merits that he has entered so abundantly into fields where others have laboured, for his book is both radical and catholic. At the same time one of the difficult questions regarding his book is as to the extent to which he, a professedly rational philosopher, is or is not dependent, not so much on the mere theories of other thinkers as on the actual *experience* of others who have entered most deeply into the spirit of pain and sorrow and redemption, and through whose spiritual labours we are enabled to interpret (even rationally) the *meaning* of our lives. But I must not anticipate the findings of those who shall peruse his volumes in the interest of the deeper questions of the philosophy of religion.

¹ Now (since 1889) U.S. Commissioner of Education. The *Jour. Spec. Phil.* was started at St. Louis in 1867—nine years ahead of *Mind*. It does not seem to have appeared regularly since 1878. E. Caird, Hutchison-Stirling, Watson, Royce, James, T. Davidson, Morris, all contributed to it.

² Professor J. Watson, of Kingston, Canada. *Kant and his English Critics* (1881). *An Outline of Philosophy* (1898, 2nd ed.)—a valuable introduction to Idealism through studies of Comte, Mill, Spencer. Watson's most widely read book, however, is *Christianity and Idealism*—a fresh and interesting presentation of Idealism, with answers to criticisms old and new.

* Professor J. Clark-Murray for about thirty years the honoured teacher of philosophy in McGill University, Montreal, Canada—a Scotchman, born in Paisley and educated in Glasgow under Veitch and Caird. *Introduction to Ethics*, 1891 (London). Also a work on psychology, and numerous essays in the *Phil. Rev.* and *Int. Jour. Ethics*.

* See towards the close of this article.

* Geo. S. Morris, formerly professor, University of Michigan. "Kant's Critique" in Morris' *Phil. Classics* (Griggs, Chicago).

* Professor S. H. Howison, California. *Limits of Evolution*, 1901. *Conception of God*, 1897.

* President (formerly Professor) G. G. Schurmann, Cornell University. *Kantian Ethics and the Ethics of Evolution*, 1881. *Ethical Import of Darwinism*, 1888. *Belief in God*, 1890.

* Professor J. Dewey, University of Chicago (also Director, School of Pedagogy). *Psychology*, 1890. *Critical Theory of Ethics*. *Study of Ethics*. The last two suggest an ingenious reconciliation of the idealistic and the evolutionistic point of view. Like W. T. Harris and N. Murray Butler (Columbia Univ.), Dewey has a wide influence as an educational philosopher, lecturer and teacher. His *School and Society*, although a mere booklet, sets forth in an interesting way the relation of the cultural and the technical conceptions of education. See also numerous articles in the *Phil. Rev.*

* Many of the works of these teachers are still of critical importance and are used by English as well as American students of philosophy.

¹⁰ *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, 1874. In his later works (extremely popular in America, praised by liberal theologians), *The Destiny of Man*, *The Idea of God*, and particularly *Through Nature to God*, Fiske manifests a transition from naturalistic to idealistic evolution. Regarding Fiske's historical work (*The American Revolution*, etc.), a critic in the *Nation* (July, 1900) remarks: "We presume no other man did so much to correct the old popular notions about the philosophy of the American Revolution. To Fiske, as to the clearest-headed English writers, as to Lecky, Sir George Trevelyan and John Morley, the revolution of the American colonies was simply an episode in the English struggle for liberty."

¹¹ Among works from the biological side that are of importance to the philosopher may be mentioned *From the Greeks to Darwin* (H. Osborn), *The Foundations of Zoology* W. K. Brooks).

¹² Professor G. T. Ladd (Yale University). One of the most persistent workers at philosophy and science, and a voluminous author. His subsequent work, *Psychology, Descriptive and Explanatory*, has been called by Titchener the best American psychology.

¹³ President (and Professor) G. Stanley Hall, Clark University (an institution devoted almost entirely to research). Co-editor *American Journal of Psychology* and of the *Pedagogical Seminary*.

¹⁴ Professor J. McK. Cattell, Director of the Department of Psychology, Columbia University, New York City, joint-editor of *Psychological Review*, editor of *Science* and the *Popular Science Monthly*, a man of far-reaching influence as investigator, essayist and academician.

¹⁵ Professor E. C. Sanford, Clark University. *A Course in Experimental Psychology*—a work commended by Titchener and others.

¹⁶ Professor H. H. Donaldson, University of Chicago. *The Growth of the Brain* (Int. Scient. Series).

¹⁷ Professor J. H. Hyslop, Columbia University, author of text-books on *Logic* and *Ethics*, a treatise on *Democracy*, numerous articles upon psychical research.

¹⁸ See, e.g., the earlier works of Professor Royce. *The Religious Aspect of Philosophy* (1885), and *The Spirit of Modern Philosophy* (1892).

¹⁹ See the *Monist* (issued quarterly) and the writings of its editor, Dr. Paul Carus (*Fundamental Problems*, *Primer of Philosophy*, etc.), and the publications of the "Open Court," Chicago. The *Monist* is a richly endowed publication and commands the services of the best American and European thinkers upon all subjects relating to science and philosophy. It is indispensable to the student of Monism.

²⁰ E.g., in different ways by Ladd, McCosh (a generation ago), President F. L. Patton (McCosh's successor), Ormond, Griffin (Professor at Johns Hopkins—see article "Psychology and Natural Science," *Presbyt. and Reformed Review*, Oct., 1901). Ladd in his *Theory of Reality* tells in an interesting way of his philosophical development of the high hopes he once had from psycho-physical study and of the modification of these in the direction of a belief in the uniqueness and independence of the life of mind. President Patton, through his work as a philosophical and theological teacher and as a brilliant controversialist, has had great influence in the direction of a realism regarding human and Divine personality.

²¹ See *The New Psychology*, by E. W. Scripture, of Yale University (Col. Science Series).

²² See "Postulates of a Structural Psychology," *Phil. Rev.*, vii., 449—in reply to the article of mine upon his (Titchener's) book.

²³ *Outlines of Psychology* (1897, Macmillan & Co.) is one of the freshest and clearest manuals upon structural psychology (I discuss the view of the self taken by the book, *Psych. Rev.*, July, 1898—paper before Amer. Psych. Ass.). Also *Experimental Psychology*—in two volumes (Macmillan & Co., 1901), evidently our most complete and replete English manual—a monument of industry.

²⁴ Starbuck (E. D.), *Psychology of Religion* (Col. Science Series). Coe (G. A.), *The Spiritual Life* (New York, 1900, Eaton of Maine). And James' much-discussed *Gifford Lectures*, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*.

²⁵ Macdonald, *Abnormal Man*. Kellor, *Experimental Sociology* (New

York, 1901, Macmillan). (Application of psycho-physics to study of paupers, criminals, etc.)

²⁶ Sidis (B.), *The Psychology of Suggestion*.

²⁷ Münsterberg, *Psychology and Life*, a highly interesting attempt to separate the conceptions of psychology from the conceptions of our real life. Jastrow, *Fact and Fable in Psychology* (Boston, 1900)—an important attempt to determine the legitimate subject-matter of psychology in distinction from many "mystical and legendary" interests. Topics treated of are, e.g., The Modern Occult, Psychical Research, Mental Telegraphy, Deception, Hypnotism, The Mind's Eye, Prepossession, Dreams, etc.

²⁸ On this point Ward's article (*Mind*, 1893), "Modern Psychology—A Reflexion," will be found instructive. Also Pringle-Pattison's on "The New Psychology and Automatism" in *Man's Place in the Cosmos* (A. Seth).

²⁹ For a good account of Münsterberg's *Grundzüge* see the review in a recent number of *Mind* by Mr. A. E. Taylor. There has been considerable controversy regarding this volume. In replying to one of his critics (Stratton, in the *Phil. Review*) Münsterberg makes much of the fact that the philosophy of the book was elaborately considered by Otto Ritschl in a recent programme of the University of Bonn—an admission that somehow confirms the reader in his opinion that Münsterberg's attenuation of psychological reality cannot be defended on psychological reasons alone.

³⁰ See, e.g., W. T. Harris' excellent book upon the *Psychologic Foundations of Education* (Appleton, 1898)—a work that may strongly be recommended, it seems to me, to the teacher or the clergyman desirous of perusing a short modern account of psychology. Harris teaches a psychology of freedom—experimentalism being only a point of view.

³¹ Calkins, *Introduction to Psychology* (New York, 1901, Macmillan).

³² E.g., Lester Ward's *Psychic Factors in Civilisation* (Boston, 1893). S. H. Patten, *Theory of Social Forces* (Annals Am. Acad. Pol. Soc. Science, 1896—discussed by me in *Int. Jour. Ethics*, 1897). E. A. Ross, *Social Control* (Macmillan, 1901). President Butler in his book on *The Meaning of Education* (New York, 1898) bases his theory of education on the fact of the prolongation of the period of infancy in the human species—a fact of which he has elsewhere made much—in general philosophy.

³³ Professor Howison in his *Limits of Evolution* makes an attempt to revive *personal* idealism as distinguished from impersonal monism. See also Watson's *Christianity and Idealism*.

³⁴ See, e.g., *Phil. Rev.*, iii., pp. 513-545, "The External World and the Social Consciousness".

³⁵ See *The Significance of the Problem of Knowledge* (University of Chicago Contributions to Philosophy).

Faith and Knowledge.

Sermons by W. R. Inge, M.A. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1904.
Pp. x. + 292. Price 4s. 6d. net.

The Teaching of Jesus.

By Rev. D. M. Ross, D.D. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1904.
Pp. 212. Price 2s.

SOMEONE said recently that we should never preach well until we gave up preaching from texts. This, we presume, was a protest against the way some modern preachers have, of taking a verse or half a verse from the Bible, reading into, or squeezing out of it, three or four moral or religious sentiments, fitting these neatly and prettily together, and then working round to a seemly conclusion on a somewhat deeper note. Is that preaching or is it only sermon-making? The sentiments so crisply stated and so cleverly fitted are, it may be, quite unimpeachable, but they are almost certain to be mere loose and wandering ideas, without root or foundation in deep and consistent thought. After such conjuring with texts and pretty sermonising, Mr. Inge's volume comes to us as a welcome relief. He seems to care almost nothing for the art of arrangement, and his sermons will scarcely be popular; but they are of the very best, solid yet never dull, earnest without being cloudy. The great note of these sermons is their reality. They are entirely without pose or frill. They are the work of a scholar, and above all of a thinker—of one who does not say merely what a text might permit him to say, but speaks out of large knowledge and deep reflection. They are at once an intellectual feast and a spiritual tonic. As to their content, they are not doctrinal, nor are they merely ethical; they deal rather with the

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deepest matters of the moral and spiritual consciousness. As the title of the book indicates, the main subject of several of them is faith and knowledge. Mr. Inge has no sympathy with those in our day who decry and distrust the reason and would make the intellect the mere servant of the will. "There must be no *acquiescence*," he says, "in irrational or unscientific beliefs"; and he calls for a resolute discouraging of "the notion that God only begins where nature leaves off". Faith is opposed not to reason but only to sight, and is meant to pass into sight. "That is the goal towards which we ought to be moving continually. . . . We are to wish for, strive for, and expect gradual enlightenment. Therefore, never disparage reason, or play tricks with it, or think of it as an irreligious faculty" (p. 103). "We must therefore accept much on authority; but always with the hope and resolve to diminish, each year that we live, the proportion of truth which we have not yet made our own. We must not be *content* while anything in God's law remains external to us" (p. 162). In like manner Mr. Inge makes a vigorous protest against that divorce between faith and reason which appears in Ritschl and also in Loisy. "A man may accept without hesitation, but he cannot believe, a series of propositions which stultify his intellectual faculties. Such a faith is not loyal submission, it is self-mutilation, inflicting a deep wound on the moral character" (p. 289). Liberal Catholicism "surrenders far too much in order, as it thinks, to get back all. It does not get back all. It saves the Creeds, but loses the Gospels; it emancipates the will, but degrades the intellect. It will be an evil day when the troubled faith of English Churchmen seeks refuge by this road" (p. 292). Mr. Inge quotes more than once the saying of Benjamin Whichcote, the Cambridge Platonist: "It ill becomes us to make our intellectual faculties *Gibeonites*"; which suggests our saying in conclusion that these remarkable sermons owe much of their freshness and richness to the author's unrivalled knowledge of the mystics.

The Teaching of Jesus is the latest, and it is a worthy, addition to the series of Handbooks for Bible Classes edited by Drs. Dods and Whyte. It is at once scholarly and readable. What is more, it comes to us with a delightful atmosphere of freedom. Thus in dealing with the sources, Dr. Ross states freely the results of modern inquiry. The Gospel writers or editors were no mere letter-bound compilers of information, but earnest disciples who wrote with a purpose, and, aiming at the edification of their readers, treated and grouped their materials as they thought best. Their reverence for the Master ensures substantial accuracy, but that they made no fetish of verbal accuracy is plain from the documents themselves. There may also have been later changes or additions which cannot now be traced, and if some scholars have been far too ready to press this possibility into their service for the cutting of knots, "the abuse of this consideration is no reason why it should not be allowed its due weight in the solution of admitted difficulties" (p. 39). These things are familiar to scholars, and if the younger generation is to be led forward to broader and more liberal views of inspiration, a Bible Class handbook is the very place in which they ought to be frankly yet cautiously explained. There is another way too in which Dr. Ross has escaped the touch of the iron hand, by refusing to find in the teaching of Jesus a system of doctrine or a system of ethical precepts. "It is not materials for a structure of doctrine which the teaching of Christ gives us, but suggestions, visions, flashes of insight for the quickening of the heart, and the uplifting of the life. In our eagerness to crush Christ's thoughts into a system we may crush the life out of them, and turn them into the mere dry formulæ of an intellectual creed" (p. 48). "So in Christ's teaching on duty to God, He is not concerned to correct the current teaching by substituting a better system of rules than the old. He throws mere rules into the background, and lays the whole stress upon a childlike attitude towards the Father in heaven. It is therefore more in harmony with the mind of Christ to speak of filial tempers than of duty to God" (pp.

83-84). "What we are to look for therefore in Christ's teaching is not so much laws as to what we are to do, as indications as to what we are to be, not so much precepts as ideals" (p. 102). Guided by such wise and fruitful principles, Dr. Ross not only succeeds in writing freshly on a subject already much written of, but leaves his readers with the sure conviction that the teaching of Jesus is a real and living unity.

JOHN LENDRUM.

1. The Kingship of Love.

*By Stopford A. Brooke. London: Isbister & Co., Ltd., 1903.
Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 351. Price 6s.*

2. Christ.

*By S. D. McConnell, D.D., LL.D., Rector of All Souls' Church,
New York. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1904. 8vo,
pp. vii. + 232. Price 5s. net.*

3. The Philippian Gospel, or Pauline Ideals.

*By W. G. Jordan, B.A., D.D. London and Edinburgh:
Fleming H. Revell Company, 1904. 12mo, pp. 292. Price
3s. 6d. net.*

4. The Discipline of Faith.

*By Darwell Stone, M.A. London: S. C. Brown, Langham &
Co., Ltd., 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 198. Price 3s. 6d.*

5. Astronomical and Historical Chronology.

*By William Leighton Jordan. London: Longmans, Green &
Co., 1904. 8vo, pp. 70. Price 2s. net.*

1. ANYTHING from Mr. Brooke's pen is sure to find readers, and those who take up this volume of twenty-five sermons will recognise the author's well-known tolerance of view, disregard of orthodox or traditional dogmas, and cultured literary style. Mr. Brooke's holiday thoughts are well expressed in the opening sermon, "From the Sea to the City," but in this discourse, as in others, we are not led on to any particular conclusion. Topics such as "The Excellent in Christianity," "The Gloom and Brightness of Life," "The Important and Unimportant," indicate the ethical and practical bent of Mr. Brooke's preaching, while his exposure of social evils is given forcibly in the sermon on "Citizen

Sunday". There is little evidence of the author's careful statement or appreciation of Christian dogmas, as in dealing with "Christmas Day and the Lord's Supper". Mr. Brooke's theology is not massive, but his optimism is attractive and his desire to bring all under "The Kingship of Love".

2. Dr. McConnell is dissatisfied with the view of Christ and of the Christian Church that has been formulated in the creeds and dominated past thinking, and he undertakes in the nine vigorously written chapters of his work to give "a new and independent estimate of Christ". He points out the error and distortion due to our having conceived Christ's teaching from a political instead of a biological standpoint. "Religious thought no longer moves among governmental ideas and legal fictions. It has become biological. In the processes of the spirit the watchwords are not justification but development; not salvation but character; its antitheses are not acquittal and condemnation, but living and perishing" (p. 41). The task before Christ was biological and it was successfully accomplished in the Resurrection, an actual event to which Dr. McConnell gives the highest importance in the course of his argument. It was in virtue of the Resurrection, our author contends, that Christ won His place in history and human regard, and through the Apostles' message "took possession of the minds and imaginations of men who before had no expectation of a future life of any kind" (p. 72). We think that here and at other points Dr. McConnell's assertions are too blunt and unqualified. Nor do we agree that if Christian theology had been formulated by naturalists and scientific men instead of metaphysicians and jurists, "the world would have been spared an incalculable confusion" (p. 87). Dr. McConnell's test of admission to the Christian Church, as implied on his last page, is a very simple and broad one, but we doubt if his biological method in theology and his humanitarian standard of Church fellowship would prevent confusion. Dr. McConnell's criticism of creeds and creed-makers is bold and outspoken, but his work would have

been more valuable had his criticism been calmer and his statements more exact. The Hymn ("Rock of Ages") objected to (p. 44) is neither correctly quoted nor understood. The value of such vigorous criticism as runs through this volume is that it rouses a healthy counter-criticism. With reference to Dr. McConnell's estimate of St. Paul (p. 74), "Never was a more exasperating expounder than he," we can only say the reading of this author leaves us with a different impression.

3. Professor Jordan, of Kingston, Canada, has followed up his earlier volume on "Prophetic Ideas and Ideals" by an equally useful and admirable series of meditations on "Pauline Ideals" as found in the Epistle to the Philippians. The volume pretends to be no more than a series of "simple expository sketches" in thirty-one chapters, but it fulfils this modest aim very successfully and puts the Apostle's great thoughts before us in a lucid, practical and suggestive manner. These expositions abound in teaching and illustration that will serve the preacher's purpose, and the author shows that he has insight also in dealing with Paul's mind and personality. "Of Paul we may say that he gave due prominence to moral character and noble conduct, but his ethics grew out of his theology" (p. 267). With not less truth and point it is said on a later page—"He was the great constructive genius of his age. He believed thoroughly in the rights of the individual reason and conscience, while no one preached more powerfully the great truth that we are members one of another." Professor Jordan's exposition is to be welcomed for the light it throws on "The Philippian Gospel" and as a timely contribution to the needs of to-day.

4. The *Sermons and Addresses* by Rev. Darwell Stone, Pusey Librarian, form one of the volumes of "The World's Pulpit Series". They are not marked by special freshness or thoughtfulness, and indeed most of them "were preached without having been written". Eleven of the seventeen

addresses published were given in a "Retreat," and the topics chosen—"The Call of God," "Sin," "Humility," etc.—are handled with devout and appropriate seriousness. Mr. Stone writes on topics of real interest but hardly with sufficient thoroughness. It would require the sententious gifts of Lord Bacon to comprise a sermon (preached at Ordination) on "Loyalty to Christ" in four small pages!

5. Mr. Jordan, the author of the little book on *Astronomical and Historical Chronology*, is a member of many learned societies, and seems well qualified to take part in "The Battle of the Centuries," and to state the argument of the astronomers for calling the year immediately before 1 A.D. the year 0 instead of (the vulgar reckoning) 1 B.C. The author in concluding his able and abstruse discussion, remarks—"If 1 B.C. is to be allowed to continue to immediately precede 1 A.D. as it does in our existing vulgar system, the twentieth century cannot commence until 1900 A.D. has ended". It is added that the German Emperor, who celebrated the commencement of the twentieth century on 1st January, 1900, and the English Prayer Book, are in accordance with the astronomical system advocated by Mr. Jordan; and these authorities seem sufficient to bring about the reform argued for and to sweep away a vulgar error in reckoning.

W. M. RANKIN.

Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament, Dodekapheton, Erste Hälfte.

Erklärt von D. Karl Marti, Ord. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Bern. Tübingen und Leipzig : J. C. B. Mohr ; London : Williams & Norgate, 1903. Pp. 240.

Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients.

Von Alfred Jeremias. Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung ; London : Williams & Norgate. Pp. xiv. + 384. Price 6s. 6d. net ; bound, 7s. 6d. net.

THE first half of Marti's *Dodekapheton* includes Hosea, Joel, Amos and Obadiah. As regards Hosea and Amos, a *Grundschrift* belonging to the eighth century is recognised in each case, but in both books the references to Judah and the promises of a future restoration are regarded as post-exilic additions. The result is curious: according to this view, both prophets deal exclusively with the Northern Kingdom, and predict its final ruin; and it becomes possible to interpret their silence as to Judah to mean that the Southern Kingdom could survive to be the recipient, the guardian, and the exponent of Revelation. Marti himself merely mentions this view, and is not inclined to adopt it. Indeed there are many serious difficulties in the way of its acceptance; it would seem to imply a spiritual superiority of Judah which would be hard to reconcile with the teaching of Isaiah. Nevertheless the view is attractive; the guilt and doom of Ephraim might well absorb the thoughts of the two prophets; and they might not feel called upon to deal with Judah. Doubtless the traditional contrast between the two Israelite states was mistaken; but there has been a tendency recently to treat them as too much alike; and there may very well have been differences which would prevent Hosea and Amos from

feeling that a message to Israel must also have an application to Judah.

Marti dates the *Grundschrift* of Hosea from shortly before the fall of Jehu's dynasty in 743 to before 737. It is a set of poems written and collected by Hosea. Marti doubts whether Hosea was a preaching prophet at all; he does not think that his writings read like reports or abstracts of speeches. The prophet, he supposes, may have exercised his ministry by circulating written copies of the poems. Why not by public recitation? Our author holds that chapter i. is an account of actual matrimonial experiences, but that chapter iii. about a second marriage is an allegory added by a later writer.

The *Grundschrift* of Amos is dated about 750; its sections were also written down by the prophet himself, and circulated in leaflets. These were collected into a single work by a later editor, perhaps a contemporary of Isaiah. Apart from textual corruptions the book assumed its present form in the fourth century B.C., and may have been the earliest of the prophetic books completed in its canonical form, as Amos was the earliest prophet whose works are extant.

We may return for a moment to the passages which Marti regards as later additions. He holds that in Hosea 49 out of 197, and in Amos 39 out of 146 verses are wholly or partly additions; most of them largely because they refer to Judah or to the restoration. Such criteria are simple and easy of application; but are they valid? A final answer to this question would afford great satisfaction to students of Old Testament theology, who had not committed themselves in the opposite direction; but at present such a decision hardly seems in sight. Nevertheless, the trend of criticism is in favour of our author, and against a pre-exilic origin for the prophecies of restoration. Even critics who treat such passages as part of the original Hosea or Amos do not seem to follow a positive conviction, but rather to give the benefit of the doubt to a convention; much as a chairman gives his casting vote against an innovation when the other votes are equally divided. It must be admitted that in many cases

comparison with the context supports Marti's contention that certain passages are not original. For instance, in Hosea v.-vi., he maintains that Judah has frequently been substituted for Israel, a view that is largely confirmed by the fact that in many couplets Ephraim and Israel are parallel, *e.g.*, iv. 16, 17; v. 3, 5, 9; vi. 10; vii. 1, 8-11; viii. 8, 9, etc., etc. These chapters would be more homogeneous, consecutive and coherent if they were emended as Marti suggests, so that the internal evidence is appreciably in his favour; and if we once accept an editorial revision and annotation, the *à priori* difficulty of regarding any given passage as a later addition is sensibly lessened. At the same time the principle that pre-exilic prophets never predicted a restoration hardly seems self-evident. For instance, Hosea xiv. 9 (EV) certainly strikes one as a reader's comment, but there seems no conclusive reasons why Hosea should not have written verses 1-8. If they were added after the exile, one would have expected some reference to Judah; unless indeed the references to Judah in the body of the book had not yet been inserted.

However, most folk are intolerant of open questions, and controversies have a mysterious way of settling themselves; though, unfortunately, different schools sometimes suppose them to have been settled in opposite ways. *Primâ facie* it seems only fair to give the integrity the benefit of the doubt so long as any reasonable room for doubt remains; yet, on the other hand, it will seem to many that when the editorial activity of Jewish scholars is fully realised, evidence that is *primâ facie* slight becomes convincing. Considerations that cannot be put into syllogisms, and are more easily felt than stated, grow upon one till they seem decisive; and it may be so with many of the contested passages of the pre-exilic prophets.

Little need be said on the sections dealing with Obadiah and Joel. Short as is the former book, it is composite; the *Grundschrift*, so to speak, is dated B.C. 500-450; verses 16-21 were added about B.C. 312, and verses 8, 9, 15a somewhat later. Jeremiah xlix. 7-22, which has much in common with Obadiah, is a late portion of Jeremiah, written B.C. 300-200,

and dependent on the oldest portion of Obadiah. The book of Joel is dated B.C. 400-343.

Dr. Alfred Jeremias states that parts of his *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients* may be regarded as "Schrader Redivivus". Doubtless the form of the third edition of *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* was a great disappointment to many. They expected and desired a collection of monumental and other texts arranged in the order of the Biblical passages which these texts illustrated; but Zimmern and Winckler preferred to arrange their material according to subjects, and to occupy much of their space in discussions of the results which might be deduced from Assyriological discoveries. Dr. Jeremias, on the other hand, devotes most of his space to illustrations of Scripture texts from inscriptions, etc., and to comments on the interpretation of these texts in the light of Assyriological and other discoveries; the texts are dealt with according to the place of the books, etc., in the Bible. The reasons for the method adopted by the editors of Schrader are obvious; Assyriology at present is almost crushed beneath the enormous mass of available documents, which accumulate faster than they can be read, or at any rate faster than their contents can be properly digested and appreciated. A collection of all the passages which illustrate Scripture would be unwieldy in itself; and it would often be unintelligible or misleading if its bulk were not increased by copious annotation. Dr. Jeremias himself constantly gives a summary of the evidence from inscriptions instead of quoting the texts. Apart from arrangement, his book largely covers the same ground and contains the same material as the third edition of Schrader; but in some respects the two works supplement each other, and the student will need both.

The two works have other features in common; both are expositions of the theory that the form of the Biblical narratives has been largely determined by the astral mythology of the primitive Semites, best known to us in the religion of

Babylonia. The Israelites assimilated the stories of the achievements and catastrophes of their national heroes to the doings of the deities of the astral myths; much as sculptors have clothed their statues of modern worthies with Roman togas. Joseph, for instance, descended into the depths, into the pit and the prison, but rose to shining heights, and became a source of blessings to his own people and to Egypt. The narrator, therefore, adorned his story with traits from the myth of Tammuz, the life of Nature, who descends into the underworld in the winter and reappears in the spring scattering blessings. The well into which Joseph is cast is suggested by the fact that in Eastern myths a well is the usual entrance to the underworld. Dr. Jeremias, however, strongly maintains that the casting of the narratives in mythological forms is quite consistent with the historicity of the facts they relate—how, or to what extent, he does not make clear. "History," "historical," "historicity," occur frequently in the spaced type which answers to our italics; but these words hardly have the meaning which they bear in popular traditional apologetics. These terms are often used now with a bewildering vagueness, and are quoted in misleading fashion. As far as we can make out when our author writes of the patriarchal narratives as historical, all he means is that the patriarchs actually existed and that some of the leading statements about them, *e.g.*, the migration from Ur, are historically true. This migration, however, and much else that is narrated were incidents of tribal history; the genealogies are late artificial constructions—"Every one wished to trace his descent to the heroes of antiquity"; and the patriarchs were the leaders and not the ancestors of Israel. Abraham is associated with the moon-myths, because he was a wanderer, and the moon is a wanderer in the legends. The story of Chedorlaomer and his allies, and Lot, and Melchisedek is substantially historical; but the number 318 is an ornamental addition from the moon-myth, being the number of days the moon is visible in a year: and so forth.

We might analyse Dr. Jeremias' work into two varieties

of material : first, a collection of information from the inscriptions illustrating Old Testament texts ; and, secondly, based upon this information, controversial arguments in support of the author's theory of "historical" narratives set in a framework of astral myths. It is all interesting and useful, but we could wish that our author had separated the information and the arguments and published two books. At any rate, we should have liked the information by itself ; the arguments, doubtless, could hardly have been given without the grounds on which they rested. But there is still room for a popular work giving the facts as to parallels between the inscriptions and the Old Testament, with the necessary explanations and nothing more, so that the student may be left to form his own conclusions without being asked to accept the critical opinions of the Assyriologist. A scholar is not necessarily an infallible critic because he is widely read in hieroglyphics, or cuneiform inscriptions, or both.

Many of Dr. Jeremias' readers would have followed him more easily if he had explained some of the less elementary astronomical terms and facts involved in his arguments, and had given diagrams.

W. H. BENNETT.

1. The Mind of St. Peter and other Sermons.

*By Mandell Creighton, D.D. Sometime Bishop of London.
London: Longmans, Green & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 192.
Price 3s. 6d. net.*

2. The Christ from Without and Within: a Study of the Gospel by St. John.

By Rev. Henry W. Clark. London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 224. Price 3s. 6d. net.

3. Service and Inspiration.

By Alexander Smellie, M.A. London: Andrew Melrose. Royal 18mo, pp. 131. Price 2s. net.

4. The Common Hope: First-Fruits of Ministerial Experience in Thought and Life.

Edited by Rev. Rosslyn Bruce, M.A., with an Introduction by the Bishop of Stepney. London: Longmans, Green & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. + 207. Price 3s. 6d. net.

1. THE publishers are doing well in giving us this complete and comely edition of the works of the late Bishop Creighton. The present volume of sermons takes its title from the first of them, "The Mind of St. Peter". The three addresses under this head were delivered at the Bishops' Devotional Meeting at Lambeth Palace in 1904, and the reading of them fully justifies the great impression produced by them at the time. Under the three words "Hope," "Sobriety," "Patience," there will be found one of the freshest and most striking expositions of the Apostle's character ever published. "He was chosen by our Lord as the typical representative of those on whom His Church was to be built. Many have

wondered why it should have been so. He was a man whose faults were obvious, whose weakness was made manifest; he was a man of no commanding intelligence, of no extraordinary gifts of nature. Yet the reason of our Lord's choice seems to be clear; he was above all things a man, and a man of good-will, sincere when he blundered, simple in his impetuosity, affectionate, trustful, teachable, capable of growth. His qualities were those which were most receptive of the influence of the Holy Spirit of God. He was a splendid example of the transforming power of grace." These are the lines on which Dr. Creighton builds up what Bishop Westcott called "his glowing and powerful" exposition of Peter's character.

Space permits only one other note on this valuable volume. Of almost equal rank with the first sermon is that on "Liberty". When men's minds are so much exercised on this subject, one can think of nothing better than to send them to the perusal of this weighty deliverance, where a master in History traces the growth, development and application of that liberty ever to be found where the Spirit of the Lord is.

It is both an education and an inspiration to read this volume of sermons. It is full of ripe wisdom, and the style is perfect in clearness and strength.

2. *The Christ from Without and Within* is a volume from one who has already commended himself to all who appreciate thoughtful and spiritual teaching. The present work is a study of St. John's Gospel, not in detail, but in the various impressions made by its successive sections—"a concentration upon the Spirit behind the recorded deeds and utterances, rather than upon the deeds and utterances themselves".

The point of approach is indicated in a carefully written introduction. Substantially it is that associated with Westcott's view of the Mission of the Son, where the emphasis is as much (perhaps more) on the Incarnation as on the Atonement. "Even if Christ had not needed to come as

Jesus, to save His people from their sins, He would still have made our world glorious as Immanuel God with us. In Him God does what He always intended to do. . . . God put His own life into the Christ, and through the Christ into man."

It does not perhaps fall within Mr. Clark's aim to discuss this question. If it did, he would doubtless see how much consideration is demanded in accepting a view, not only entirely speculative, but one that seems to shift the weight of the New Testament from one centre to another.

Apart from this, the book deals with its subject-matter with great spiritual insight and tenderness of touch. As examples of this, one may note the sections on John the Baptist, and Christ in contact with different human types. The study of the woman of Samaria—"Christ arousing Self-Knowledge"—is a gem of exposition. Mr. Clark devotes five chapters to the Johannine conception of Christ as Light, Life, the Water and the Bread of Life, and the Good Shepherd, and the exposition shows all the qualities of cultured aspiration that we have learned to expect from this writer.

Altogether, this is a volume full of suggestiveness; valuable for its spiritual apprehension, and not less for the searching application of the profoundest truths to the experience of the ordinary Christian.

3. Those who know Mr. Smellie's *Hour of Silence* will welcome *Service and Inspiration*. It is on similar lines—devotional, with marked evangelic sympathies, and there is the same feeling and skill for literary grace. Mr. Smellie's style shows how much at home he is in good literature. The book consists of eight addresses. Five of them were delivered at the Centenary Meetings of the Sunday School Union. They are admirably calculated for their purpose, and two of them—"The Song of the Well" and "The Great Hope"—are models of exegesis.

The fourth of these addresses has the title "The Reading which Feeds the Heart"—short studies on Augustine, Pascal, Vol. XIV.—No. 6.

Herbert, Christina Rossetti, etc. As introduction to these devotional writers, Mr. Smellie's appreciation can scarcely be surpassed for aptness of touch and wisdom of selection. The book is beautiful all round, in form, style and contents.

4. *The Common Hope: First-Fruits of Ministerial Experience in Thought and Life*, is a volume of ten sermons contributed by as many writers—clergymen of the Church of England. It is introduced by a preface from the Bishop of Stepney, in which, without making any great claim for the sermons on the score of power and originality, he commends them as "voices of confidence, of happiness and hopefulness". Such a claim may be allowed, especially in its first term.

The sermons are on the social side of Christianity, and embrace a variety of topics. "The Church and Her Testimony" and "Convictions" are first in the book and, *longo intervallo*, first in worth and importance. Other subjects are "The New Imperialism," "The Church and Temperance" (characteristic and characteristically from Burton-on-Trent), "Clerical Mannerisms," "The Church and the Children," "The Joy of Ministry," "Church Army Methods," and a sermon on "The Christian's Sunday". In this last, which upsets many conventional ideas of the Lord's Day, but consoles us with the confession of the Lord Chancellor that "he plays golf on Sunday without neglecting the worship of God," there occurs the naïve conclusion, "This surely is the true Christian view of a difficult question". It is almost a pity to upset the Chancellor's theological reputation in this summary manner. The volume partakes of the character of all first-fruits. It is fresh, and it has *other qualities* usually associated with first-fruits.

W. M. GRANT.

A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century.

By John Theodore Merz. Vol. II. London : Blackwood & Sons, 1903. 8vo, pp. 807. Price 15s. net.

THE author of this volume has undertaken the Herculean task of writing the history of European thought in the nineteenth century. In the volume before us, the second of the series, he has completed the record of scientific thought. It is a wonderful story, and shows the workers a very host in number and belonging to many lands, a galaxy of powerful minds and strenuous investigators; shows them labouring patiently in nature's fields, studying her minute and large, her multitudinous and complex processes, collecting facts and making experiments, advancing step by step, step leading to step, leading so inevitably that often more than one at the same time lighted upon the same advance; shows facts and experiments leading to laws and laws to theories more or less sustained. In this history we have the division into the Kinetic view of nature, the Physical, the Morphological, the Genetic, the Vitalistic, the Psycho-physical, the Statistical, and the Mathematical. We can only give a very general view of its contents.

I. The Kinetic View. Ancient philosophers saw perpetual motion in things that appeared to be at rest. Epicurus and Lucretius put forward this view, but occupied themselves more with describing the primal element of matter, the so-called nature of things than with the modes of their motion. In modern times Huygens and Euler first cultivated and rendered it fruitful. Young, Rumford, and Fresnel followed, and in the nineteenth century Foucault, Kirchhoff, Clerk

Maxwell, Helmholtz, Stokes, Lord Kelvin, and others. As the result of their investigations the conclusion has been reached that there are motions, motions everywhere, and not a thing at rest. In material elements there are motions to and fro, or translational, rotary motions as in solids. In the ether there are motions forward and vibratory. The tendency has always been to find motion within motion, and now even atoms are conceived as systems of electrons moving ceaselessly.

II. The Physical View. In the first half of the century under review, expositions of inanimate nature were based on a variety of forces, as gravity and chemical affinity. In the second half a general and unifying principle was gradually and slowly reached in the conception of energy. To it mechanical work in every form is due. Other expressions were at first employed, as working power, availability, etc., until Lord Kelvin, following Young and Joule, clearly put forward this term to the satisfying of the scientific world. The two great principles of the conservation and dissipation of energy have also been established. By the former is meant that no measure of it is lost or extinguished. It may however be transformed from one form to another. Heat, electrical, and magnetic energies are mutually convertible. By the latter is meant that they may pass into such a condition as not to be available or recoverable for work, as heat into space.

Up to our century natural things were divided into animals, vegetables and minerals. During its course these divisions were broken down, and the division has been made into abstract and concrete or actual things. All sciences that deal with the latter are included in natural history. In this field two general terms are employed, morphological and genetic, the one applied to the form in which things at any time are found, the other to the manner in which they reached their form. Other divisions are the vitalistic and psychophysical.

III. The Morphological View. This view embraces the sciences of crystallography, minerals on a large scale, the

existing forms and structures in and on the crust of the globe, animal and vegetable forms and cells. From 1800 to 1860 may be termed the morphological period. Natural history had before concerned itself with the description and classification of specimens. Cuvier, De Candolle and Humboldt on the continent, and Owen in this country, gained great fame in this field. Cuvier and Owen made great advances in the study of animal forms, and later investigators in the knowledge of cells.

IV. The Genetic View. This deals with the question how things came to be as they are. Our author prefers the term genesis to evolution. Leibnitz was the first who dealt with this view in a scientific manner. He conceived that fire and water had been at work in forming the surface of the earth, and suggested that various localities should be examined in order to arrive at general conclusions. Not a few carried out his suggestion. The great philosopher Kant made an attempt to trace out the chief stages in the formation of the planetary system. Forty years after La Place propounded his nebular hypothesis as a possible one. In the first half of the nineteenth century a cyclical view prevailed, maintaining that everything runs in a cycle. This view was strengthened by the ideas of the periodicity of the planets and fixity of species, and it was generally held that all things begin and end, develop and decay. During the latter half of the century the genetic view came into prominence. There were not a few premonitions of it. But not until Darwin published his famous work on the Origin of Species did it really enter the field. With respect to it Hartmann writes: "In the sixties of the past century, the opposition of the older group of savants to the Darwinian hypothesis was still supreme. In the seventies the new ideas began to gain ground rapidly in all cultured countries. In the eighties Darwin's influence was at its height, and exercised an almost absolute control over technical research. In the nineties a few expressions of doubt and opposition were heard, and these gradually swelled into a chorus of voices aiming at the overthrow of the Darwinian theory. In the first decade of

the twentieth century it has become apparent that the days of Darwinism are numbered.

V. The Vitalistic View. The question has arisen: Is life the result of the form into which molecules have been built up, or is there a special life force? Huxley in a well-known passage put forth the first view. Professor Kerner von Marilaun says: "By what name shall we now designate that force in nature which is liable to perish whilst the protoplasm suffers no alteration, and in the absence of any extrinsic cause, and which yet so long as it is not extinct causes the protoplasm to move, to enclose itself, to assimilate certain kinds of fresh matter coming within the sphere of its activity? It is not electricity, it is not magnetism, and I hesitate not to designate it vital forces." Professor Virchow has also written: "We cannot see how the phenomena of life can be understood simply as an assemblage of natural forces in those substances". A school, however, arose which taught that living forces were the manifestation of certain power to do work, and that that power could be stored as potential energy. None of the men to whom is due the extension of biological knowledge favoured or embraced this view. Huxley at first belonged to this class. Schwann conceived the cell to be the biological unit. He also formed the conception of metabolism, *i.e.*, the changes that go on in cells in form and chemical constitution. Every organism is a society of cells. The most important property of all living matter is that it is reproductive. Protoplasm takes in food, grows, divides and multiplies. It forms cells, egg cells, male and female cells, which united build up the most complex organisations. There have been two views as to how they do this. There is (1) that of preformation and development or that in the united cell is found the miniature of the full-grown animal; (2) that of epigenesis or successive division and differentiation.

VI. The Psycho-physical View of nature deals with the common ground where physical, mental and psychical phenomena meet and interact. In 1834 Cabanis brought before the scientific world the problem of the relations between

body and mind. In order, he wrote, to arrive at a correct idea of those operations from which thought arises, we must consider the brain as a particular organ destined specially to produce it in the same way as the stomach and intestines are there to perform digestion, the liver to filter the bile, the parotid, maxillary and sublingual glands to prepare the salivary juice. When the interest in animal electricity was at its height, many hoped that in it the secret of life and consciousness would be revealed. The mystical processes of Mesmer, resulting in fanciful theories, brought this whole line of thought into contempt. Helmholtz and Du Bois Reymond brought the subject back to a scientific basis, and showed that in organic systems as in inorganic, the energy proper to them can appear as mechanical, thermal, electric or chemical energy, and that in none of these is the principle of life to be found, much less of consciousness. Gall and Spurzheim located the various faculties and powers in different spheres of the brain, and represented these as distinguishable on the surface of the skull. Their views were speedily and easily refuted. The whole subject is still highly controversial. Professor Ferrier says: "It is undoubted that the nerve systems of the body have their special work to do, and also parts of the brain, but the time has not come to explain its mechanism". Helmholtz has done more than any other to advance the subject by his studies of vision and hearing and the inner structure of their organs. Herbart rendered important service by insisting that in the analysis of sensations the underlying mental unity is the supreme central phenomenon of psychology and psychophysics. The psycho-physical method can go only a little way, though it is evident that nothing takes place in our consciousness without motion and activity in the brain. The introspective method, Professor Bain says, is ten times all other methods put together, and fifty times the utmost range of psycho-physics alone.

VII. The Statistical View. In our day statistics are everywhere and applied to everything. La Place laid the foundation of their scientific treatment in his doctrines of

average and probability. Much might be said of their usefulness, but space prevents.

VIII. The Mathematical View. Mathematics has been denominated the Queen of Sciences, and arithmetic the Queen of Mathematics. They had their origin among the Egyptians, being required for mensuration purposes. Euclid, taking much from Eudoxus, and Theaetetus, put together the elements, and subjected them to rigorous proofs. In modern times, as in Egypt, their advance has been largely due to the requirements of science. They were necessary to the uranometry of Kepler, Newton and La Place. Their main development consisted in the introduction of algebra and its application to geometry and dynamics, and in the invention of the infinitesimal methods, and their application to an infinite variety of curves and surfaces in which the objects of nature present themselves, and even still more in the translation of algebraical formulæ into geometrical conceptions. Curves and curved surfaces were regarded as made up of an infinite number of small straight lines and their properties deduced therefrom. In them lie the greatest questions of all the modern sciences of number and measurement, the *rationale* of the doctrines of the integral calculus, the calculus of operations, the doctrine of series, the methods of approximation and interpolation, the application of analysis to geometry, the theory of curves of the higher order, the solution of equations, etc. One of the greatest names in the history of mathematics is that of Gauss. The advances made throughout the century were largely anticipated by him. Cauchy, a brilliant professor in Paris, pointed out the only right road to progress. Abel, Euler, Monge, Poncelet, Charles, Sir William Rowan Hamilton, Cayley and many others, laid new foundation principles or devised new methods. The foundation principles of arithmetic, algebra and geometry were philosophically examined and fruitful ideas brought forward. Angles have become lines of direction. Figures are regarded not as fixed and rigid, but as moving about in space, not as isolated but in mutual relations. Lines and surfaces are viewed as infinite in extension.

These are the graphic method, which employs figures to represent problems, the method of projection, the ideas of duality, reciprocity, invariants, forms, symmetry, and determinants of groups, functions and the potential, etc.

The parallelism between geometrical and algebraical ideas, the habit of expressing the former by the latter, and interpreting the latter by the former, led to purely imaginary ideas, such as four and even more dimensions in space. The fundamental notion, says Cayley, underlying and pervading the whole of modern analysis and geometry, is that of imaginary magnitude in analysis and imaginary space in geometry. I include in imaginary the real. This notion, he maintains, even if belonging to mere technical mathematics or referring to nonentities, ought not as a subject of philosophical discussion to be ignored.

Mathematics have played a principal part in the advancement of science. The fundamental idea of all the sciences is that law and order reign throughout, that all things, all magnitudes, weights, lengths, energies, etc., are measured, that everywhere there is mathematical accuracy. And the more carefully mathematical measuring has been applied, and the more powerful mathematical methods of analysis have become, the greater the discoveries that have been made.

But mathematics have become not only a power in advancing other sciences but have themselves a claim to be a science and one extraordinarily rich in facts and relations, in principles and laws, in wonderful methods and powers, in suggestive ideas as numbers, magnitudes, correspondences, space and time.

This volume is of extraordinary interest and usefulness. From it may be learned the great truths of all the sciences, and the processes by which they were reached. We see giant minds grappling with the most intricate and complex problems, patiently and strenuously bending their strength to their solution. We see them misinterpreting phenomena, forming false and imperfect theories, theories that for a time held the field, and were received by some with enthusiasm, by others with dismay. We see them at the same time

advancing with the greatest caution, exercising the noblest patience, and victoriously wresting from nature her grandest secrets. The labour expended, the knowledge gathered for the production of this magnificent work, fills us with wonder and admiration.

WILLIAM PROFEIT.

The Influence of Roman Law upon Christianity.

By the Rev. H. W. Gibson, M.A., LL.B.

THIS is a comprehensive title. It was framed so advisedly. Under cover of it, not only the external but the internal influence of Roman Law on Christianity may competently be treated of. Not only did Roman Law exercise an influence upon Christianity in affording protection to its propagators, but it exercised an internal influence upon the development of Christian doctrine. Among the various elements which prepared the way for, and facilitated the reception by men of, the Incarnation, Roman Law was not one of the least important. If the fulness of time was shown in the self-confessed inability of ancient philosophy to stem the moral degradation of mankind, in the closed doors of the Temple of Janus and the universal peace which existed when the Prince of Peace was born; if a language of rare beauty and flexibility, as the common tongue of the educated, civilised world of the time, presented itself as the medium wherein was enshrined the Gospel of Peace; if those monuments of industry and perseverance which even yet in their endurance move us to admiration—those roads which stretched like a network to the North and to the South, to the East and to the West of that same civilised world, became highways for the feet of those who preached the Gospel of Peace;—if the expansion of one great temporal kingdom and its consolidation and concentration in the person of one earthly ruler familiarised the mind with the conception of a great spiritual kingdom embracing all nations and kindreds of the earth with one Head, Jesus Christ, so did the majesty of the Roman Law minister to the spread of Christianity when it threw its protecting ægis over him who was a chosen vessel to bear Christ's name to the Gentiles.

Before proceeding then to consider the internal influence of Roman Law, it may not be altogether inappropriate to follow out this last thought and to show what an important ally Christianity, in its infancy, found in the law of Rome.

St. Paul was essentially a Roman citizen. He was, it is true, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, a Pharisee of the Pharisees, saturated with Jewish tradition, but, over and beyond this, he was possessed of a privilege which even the High Priest himself might not possess. He had inherited the Roman franchise. He was a free-born citizen of the Roman Empire. St. Paul knew what this meant. He knew the value of it, and when occasion demanded he could assert his rights with dignity and effect.

Roman citizenship was very different from and had more far-reaching effects than the citizenship we speak of nowadays. Our citizenship often means nothing more than the payment of rates and taxes, with the corresponding privilege of exercising the franchise. But Roman citizenship meant much more than that. Originally the right was confined to the city of Rome, though it was gradually extended with the expansion of the Empire. But at first it was not so. It was confined to the inhabitants of the city on the banks of the Tiber—or, to be more accurate, to the patricians. Plebeians and other non-citizens could not buy or sell according to the Roman Law, nor contract the highest form of marriage; but, as the Republic and then the Empire extended, this exclusiveness was gradually broken down: and one of the greatest benefits Rome could bestow on the cities or nations she conquered was this right of citizenship. The privilege would be even more restricted and consequently more valued in the provinces than in Rome itself. The wholesale manumission of slaves by wealthy Romans in the time of the Empire entailed a lowering of the *Civitas*, and the *Lex Furia Caninia* was passed in A.D. 8 with a view to checking the indiscriminate manumission of slaves.

Englishmen are proud, and justly proud, of this realm of England. They have served themselves heirs to the glorious heritage won by their forefathers, they feel they have a share

in the prestige of the British arms, they appropriate to themselves, half-unconsciously perhaps, the respect and regard which are shown to their country; and, though far from home, they feel that they have the British army and the British fleet with its "all-shattering guns" to protect them from injury and insult.

Such would be something of the feeling experienced, however, in probably an even greater degree, by the Roman citizen. He might be the inhabitant of a conquered province—his home might be in some obscure corner of the Empire—but would he not forget his humiliation in his new freedom as he became linked to and incorporated with the mighty Empire of Rome? Wherever he went he was covered as it were with a shield. These simple but significant words—*Civis Romanus sum* ("I am a Roman citizen")—were his passport and credentials. Thus it was one of the counts in the indictment by Cicero of Verres, that he had trampled upon the rights of Roman citizens.

In Verrem (Cicero) v. 57: *Cervices in carcere frangebantur indignissime civium Romanorum, ut jam illa vox et imploratio Civis Romanus sum, quae saepe multis, in ultimis terris, opem inter barbaros et salutem tulit, ea mortem illis acerbiorum et supplicium maturius ferret.* (The necks of Roman citizens were broken with the greatest indignity in prison, so that already that voice and plea "I am a Roman citizen," which often to many in distant lands did afford help and safety amongst barbarians, brought to them a more bitter death and a riper punishment.)

Sometimes this right of citizenship was conferred by gift, *e.g.*, when a slave was manumitted and became a free man. Sometimes it was obtained by purchase, as, *e.g.*, in the case of the centurion who told St. Paul that he had obtained this freedom with a great sum. Sometimes it was inherited, as in St. Paul's own case, *accidens autem tribunus, dixit illi, Dic mihi si tu Romanus es? At ille dixit: Etiam. Et respondit tribunus: Ego multa summa civitatem hanc consecutus sum: et Paulus ait Ego autem et natus sum* (Acts xxii. 27-28). St. Paul then was a Tarsian, a citizen of a distinguished city. "He

was not merely," says Professor Ramsay, "a person born in Tarsus, owing to the accident of his family being there: he had a citizen's rights in Tarsus. . . . If Paul's family had merely emigrated to Tarsus from Judea some years before his birth neither he nor his father would have been 'Tarsians' but merely residents (*incolae*).'' Professor Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*) thinks "It is probable, but not certain, that the family (of the Apostle) had been planted in Tarsus with full rights as part of a colony settled there by one of the Seleucid kings in order to strengthen their hold on the city. Such a re-foundation took place at Tarsus, for the name Antiocheia was given it under Antiochus IV. (B.C. 175-164). The Seleucid kings seem to have had a preference for Jewish colonists in their foundations in Asia Minor. Citizenship in Tarsus might also have been presented to Paul's father or grandfather for distinguished services to the State; but that is much less probable."

Be that as it may, St. Paul had inherited this right, and its possession must have influenced his thoughts and determined to some extent his position in life. It is well to get this idea clearly in our minds that, whatever other qualifications he possessed, whatever other accidents attended his birth, he was first and foremost, as the society of the world was then constituted, a Roman citizen. That qualification placed him among the aristocracy of any provincial town; it secured to him the protection of the Roman Law. Had he always timeously insisted upon it, it might have exempted him from much that he suffered. By right of it he was entitled to appeal to Cæsar, and was thereby enabled to carry his message into the very palace of the Emperor himself—into the very heart of the civilised world of his time.

Thus, at Philippi, when St. Paul and St. Silas had been scourged and imprisoned, the magistrates were afraid on learning that they were Roman citizens, and humbly besought them to depart out of the city. So also, when St. Paul was being bound preparatory to being scourged after the uproar in the Temple at Jerusalem, he claimed and successfully enforced his rights as a Roman citizen.

At Thessalonica the complaint was "these that have turned the world upside down are come hither also; whom Jason hath received: and these all do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying that there is another king, one Jesus". The Roman officials troubled themselves very little about the disputes among the Jews; like Gallio they "cared for none of these things". Their attitude was one of cold contempt. The only hope then of those who stirred up the agitation against the Apostle and his companion was to try and bring them within the scope of the Roman Law; and the instrument they used was the same as that brought against our Lord Himself—the Law of Treason—*De Majestate*. According to Cicero, "*Majestas est quaedam magnitudo populi Romani*"; and the act of treason would according to Ulpian be committed by speaking *adversus populum Romanum*. So that, when in course of time the Emperor came to personify the whole people, the crime would be committed simply by speaking against Cæsar (*cf.* Scots Law, Lease-Majesty—leasing making).

Probably enough has been said to show the external influence of Roman Law upon early Christianity. Before it became a *religio illicita*—singled out for persecution—its professors enjoyed a certain immunity; it had time to develop under the tolerant administration of the Roman Empire, but, over and above this, it was an important factor that he who was especially the Apostle of the Gentiles should have enjoyed exceptional privileges by virtue of his status as a Roman citizen.

It might doubtless be shown, too, how in later times the Roman civil administration perhaps affected and helped to mould the organisation of the Church. But it is not proposed to go into that now, and the internal influence of Roman Law on Christian doctrine will now be considered.

St. Paul's theology was essentially forensic. He breathed the atmosphere, he lived under the spirit of the law of Rome.

In the Epistle to the Romans—which is more of a sustained treatise than a letter—it is not surprising that we find

this forensic element much in evidence. The old civil law of Rome, the *jus civile*, had been modified and had undergone amelioration and expansion from two distinct sources—the law of nations, *i.e.*, the *jus gentium*, which resembles though it is not the same as that which we call international law nowadays. It was rather a system of equity which grew up alongside of the strict civil law of Rome and in process of time was gradually incorporated with that law. “*Jus praetorium est quod praetores introduxerunt adjuvandi vel supplendi vel corrigendi juris civilis gratia propter utilitatem publicam.*” (The praetorium law is what the praetors introduced for the sake of assisting or supplementing or correcting the civil law on account of public utility), *e.g.*, it countenanced the right of a *non civis* though it could not confer the *patria potestas*. Again, as regards property, it recognised quasi ownership in the *non civis*, the *possessio honorum*, though not the *dominium* or full right of property enjoyed by the Roman citizen.

The *jus gentium* had been built up by the contact between Romans and non-Romans, but, prior (to some extent) as well as subsequent to the consolidation of the praetorian edict, the civil law of Rome was leavened by an influence emanating from an altogether different source. This was the *jus naturale* of the Greek and especially of the Stoic philosophers. The conception of a *jus naturale*—to which men ought to conform—something above and beyond all positive law, adapted itself to the Roman mind, and found able exponents in such men as Cicero and much later Seneca.

“There is,” says the former, “a true law, a right reason conformable to justice, diffused through all hearts, unchangeable, eternal, which by its commands summons to duty, by its prohibitions deters from evil. Attempts to amend this law are impious, to modify it in any respect is wrong, to repeal it is impossible. From this law neither Senate nor people can relieve us, and it shall not be one law at Rome, and another at Athens, one now and another hereafter. But the one eternal and immutable law shall sway all nations for all time and be the common law and master of all.” *C/.*

Butler on "Conscience": "Had it strength, as it has right; had it power, as it has manifest authority; it would absolutely govern the world" (sec. ii.).

It was this conception which the jurists, practical men of affairs, took, it has been said, from the "Philosopher's Cell," and gradually wove into the civil law of Rome; and it was this conception, on the other hand, which enabled St. Paul to meet the Romans on common ground. He says: "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves: which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another" (Rom. ii. 14, 15).

This law, as well as the law of Moses for the Jews, was a servant or slave—a pedagogue—to lead the children of men to Christ. All men had sinned and "come short of the glory of God". In God's sight should no man living be justified. This "ineradicable taint of sin," as it has been called, is acknowledged by those without as well as by those within the pale of Christianity. One Latin poet has acknowledged that no one is born without vices, while another, in words not unlike those used by St. Paul, declares that, while he sees and approves the good, he follows the evil.

Video meliora proboque
Deteriora sequor.

Cf. too:—

The universe
In Nature's silent eloquence declares
That all fulfil the works of love and joy—
All but the outcast *man*.

There was no "Daysman" fit to stand between man and his offended Maker: until Christ came and paid the penalty of man's sin. Man was "justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus". "For if we have been planted together in the likeness of His death, we shall be also in the likeness of His resurrection: knowing this, that our old man is crucified with Him, that the body

of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin. For he that is dead is freed from sin" (Rom. vi. 5-7).

"The word 'freed' is literally 'justified'. The passage should run thus: 'He that dies (and so exhausts the law's penalty and claim) is justified (or has been justified) from the sin'. In the terms of the old Scottish jurisprudence 'justify' means to suffer the penalty of the law, so that a justified man would mean one who had completed his term of punishment and so was free" (Bonar's *Way of Peace*, p. 63).

It is also quite possible that in this aspect of the Atonement, as a liberation from the dominion of sin, we have a reference to the *jus postliminii* of the Roman Law. See Justinian's *Institutes*, i. xii. 5: "If an ascendant is taken prisoner, though he becomes the slave of the enemy, yet his paternal power is only suspended, owing to the *jus postliminii*; for captives, when they return, are restored to all their former rights".

The head of a family thus suffered a temporary *diminutio capitis*, i.e., loss of *status*. But his rights were only temporarily suspended. If he returned, they re-emerged. He was able to assert them over, say, his son, who had been *sui juris* during his absence. If he did not return, however, he was presumed to have died at the moment of the commencement of his captivity.

Conditionally then, Christ has taken sin into captivity. He has "led captivity captive".

Enough has probably been said to show how essentially forensic was St. Paul's conception of the Atonement. Such a conception, too, would probably fall in with and receive development from the legal genius of the Roman mind.

Turning now to the subject of Adoption, we shall see how much light the Roman Law throws upon that great doctrine. We, too, no doubt, employ the term in a general way. We know what adoption is. It is comparatively common for those to whom God has denied the blessing of children to adopt a child and bring it up as their own. But that child, just as it has no right of succession to its adoptive parents

at common law, so, by adoption, it does not lose its rights as against its natural parents. True, its adoptive parents may, and possibly would, provide for it by will or bequest, but the point is that this is purely voluntary on their part. By the law of the land there is no succession of the adopted child to its adoptive parent, nor of the adoptive parent to the adopted child. What the law of England looks to is blood relationship. Under the Roman system the case was different. Adoption was a much more important matter. It went deeper and had further-reaching effects. It was a legal act involving correlative rights and responsibilities as regards the parties to it. It was of two kinds.

1. *Adoptio*.—Adoption proper. This took place when one who was himself subject to the parental control of his natural father was assumed into another family. Here the transaction took the form of a fictitious sale, based on the analogy of the purchase of a slave. The transaction took place before seven witnesses. The scales were produced, the money was weighed, and the adopting parent, placing a wand over the head of the person to be adopted, said, "I take this man to be my son," just as in the case of the sale of a slave he would have said, "I take this man to be my slave". When such conveyance was complete, the child's rights as against his natural father were extinguished. But, on the other hand, he, by adoption, acquired equal right of succession to his adoptive parent along with that parent's own children. All succeeded equally. "There is no difference," says Gaius, "whether they are natural or adopted"—*nec interest utrum naturales sint an adoptivi*.

2. *Abrogatio*.—The other form of adoption took place when one who was himself head of a family was adopted into another family. This was a much more serious matter, involving as it did the possible extinction of a family, and the consent of the State to the proposed change was required. The State had to be satisfied that the person to be adopted had other brothers to perpetuate the family. But if this consent were obtained then the person adopted, along with his children and property, passed into the family of the

person adopting him. His rights as against the family of his birth ceased and determined, and new rights accrued to him in the family of his adoption. Adoption thus meant a clean sweeping away of the past—the abrogation of old, and the acquisition of new rights, privileges and responsibilities. The man passed entirely into a new family. His debts were cancelled. So completely was he regarded as a member of the new family, that though of course there might be no blood relationship, he was debarred from marrying within what would have been the forbidden degrees just as if in fact such blood relationship had actually existed. The incorporation with the new—the severance from the old—was complete.

Christians, too, have a seven-fold witness of their adoption—a seven-fold witness of the Holy Spirit that they are the children of God—and, if children, heirs, heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ. In the baptismal service we pray—"Give thy Holy Spirit to this infant that he may be born again and be made an heir of everlasting salvation". And in reply to the priest's demand, "Dost thou in the name of this child renounce the devil and all his works," etc., the godparents reply, "I renounce them all". It is a renunciation of the old family, and a declaration of readiness to be received into the new. The putting off of the old man, the putting on of the new—an abandonment of the death unto sin and the entering into a life unto righteousness. We are buried with Christ in order that we may also live and reign with Him. Just as the Roman placed his wand over the head of the son he was about to adopt, so Christ's minister makes the sign of the cross on the forehead of one who has just been adopted into Christ's family.

The following points may be noted in conclusion. One of St. Paul's objects in writing to the Galatians was to deter them from falling back upon the "weak and beggarly elements" of the Jewish Law. That law was, as it were, a *pactum adjectum* upon the original promise of salvation—the *protevangelium*—that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, or at all events the promise to Abraham

before circumcision. Those under it were, as it were, under tutors and curators until the time appointed of the Father. This conception was quite in keeping with the discretionary power vested in the author of the guardianship. "There is no doubt," says Justinian, "that a tutor may be given for a certain time or from a certain time, or under a condition or before the institution of the heir" (*Institutes*, I. xiv. 3).

The Roman testamentary law throws some light, too, upon a word—*διαθήκη*—the centre of some learned discussion. Was it a testament or a contract? Perhaps the word contains both meanings. Wills were, I believe, a Roman invention. They might entail an interference with the ordinary legal order of succession, and hence, in their infancy at all events, their execution was a public act. The State was a witness of this public act in the *Comitia Calata* which assembled twice a year for the purpose.

One form of will, before written wills came into vogue, was that *per aes et libram*, which was really a sale by the testator to the heir during his life. Besides the balance holder there were five witnesses of the transaction. It was really a conveyance *inter vivos* though executed *mortis causa*. It is stated there was an understanding not to disturb the testator during his life. How far this is so I am not prepared to say. The point is that in this aspect the early Roman will partook somewhat of the nature of a contract as well as of a testament.

When the written will came into vogue it had to be signed and sealed by the testator and seven witnesses who also signed and appended their seals. "Among the Romans," says Lord Mackenzie (*R. L.*, 259), "the testament was opened in the presence of the witnesses or the major number of them who had signed it; and after they had acknowledged their seals it was read and a copy made, after which the original was deposited in the public archives, from which a fresh copy might be afterwards obtained if required."

It is interesting to compare this description with that of the parchment roll and its seven seals in chapter v. of the Revelation of St. John, and it is difficult not to believe that

the writer of that prophecy had the praetorian will in his mind's eye (see Rev. E. Hicks' *Traces of Greek Philosophy and Roman Law in the N.T.*).

Many points may have been left untouched, but enough has been adduced to show how much Christianity is indebted, externally and internally, to the law of Rome.

H. W. GIBSON.

**Die Bedeutung der Sprüche Jesu Ben Sira für die
Datierung des Althebräischen Spruchbuches.**

Untersucht von Dr. Joh. Konrad Gasser. Gütersloh : Bertelsmann ; London : Williams & Norgate, 1904. 8vo, pp. 270. Price 5s. net.

Samaria und Seine Propheten. Ein Religionsgeschichtlicher Versuch mit einer Textbeilage : Die Weisheitslehre des Phokylides, Griechisch und Deutsch.

Von Dr. Karl F. A. Lincke, Gymnasial Professor in Jena, Tübingen und Leipzig : J. C. B. Mohr ; London : Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. viii. + 179. Price 4s.

DR. GASSER is of opinion that the considerations hitherto adduced and mainly relied on for the determining of the date of the canonical book of Proverbs have not led to a satisfactory result. An important point in the discussion has been the relation of Proverbs to the other books of the Old Testament—particularly to the book of Deuteronomy. Dr. Gasser raises the question whether the apocryphal book of Jesus the son of Sirach may not help to settle the date of the Old Testament book of Proverbs? The present volume is his answer to that question. He finds important differences—along various lines—between the two books. These differences, in his opinion, bear directly on the question of the date of Proverbs.

In proceeding to discuss the question, he assumes (1) that the date of the "Wisdom of Jesus the son Sirach" was about B.C. 180—perhaps B.C. 190, certainly not later than B.C. 170; and (2) that the date of Sirach's book constitutes a *terminus ad quem* for the date of Proverbs. In other words, the book of Proverbs is not later than the work of Sirach.

The differences which Dr. Gasser finds between the two books are partly of a historical and partly of an intellectual

or spiritual character. In prosecuting the investigation, the author divides his work into three parts: (1) The historical background of the two books; (2) The *spirit* of the works—their intellectual and religious relations to the history of Israel; and (3) their relation to the literature of the Old Testament. In all three parts important differences are found. And on the strength of these, Dr. Gasser concludes that it is out of the question to assign the book of Proverbs to the Grecian period; while the contents of the book make a post-exilic date highly questionable.

It is unnecessary to say that there are many critics who will not accept this conclusion. Prof. Toy, *e.g.*, in his *International Commentary on Proverbs*, holds that the book contains "philosophical conceptions which are out of place in any pre-exilian century or during the exile. They manifestly belong to the time when the Jews came into close intellectual contact with the non-Semitic world" (Introduction, p. xxii.). The criticism of these days is so largely subjective that we may expect differences of view of this kind to be constantly emerging.

One example may be given to show the kind of work which Dr. Gasser has taken in hand. In the second part there is a section on the cultus. Prov. iii. 9 is quoted, "Honour the Lord with thy substance, and with the first-fruits of all thine increase". The question is, "Is there here any definite reference to the Mosaic ceremonial law—any bringing into prominence of the national cultus? And the answer must be, No." Compare with this Sirach vii. 29-31: "Fear the Lord with all thy soul and reverence His priests. Love Him that made thee with all thy strength, and forsake not His ministers. Fear the Lord and honour the priest; and give him his portion as it is commanded thee; the first-fruits, and the trespass offering, and the gift of the shoulders, and the sacrifice of sanctification, and the first-fruits of the holy things." The difference in the language is sufficiently striking, and the inference may appear to be plain. Still, the conclusion from the verse in Proverbs rests on the argument from silence, which is frequently far from satisfactory.

A man might very well be exhorted to honour God as in Prov. iii. 9, although there was a very detailed legislation to be observed in behalf of the priests.

The book is not of very great practical importance. But the subject discussed is an interesting one. The work shows the patience and regard to detail which we expect from German critics. And to students of the period of the Wisdom literature of the Jews it is of considerable value.

The subject discussed by Dr. Lincke is suggested by the title of Wellhausen's well-known work, *The History of Israel and Judah*. Israel and Judah are in antagonism in this volume. According to Dr. Lincke, from the time of the split in the kingdom, in the reign of Rehoboam, the enmity between Israelites and Jews was such that the question might fairly be raised whether they came of the same race. Our author agrees with the view, which is largely held in our time, that the influence of Babylon appears in the history and literature of Judah—in the popular sagas, the history of Creation, and the hierarchical legislation. The question is, "Was a similar influence exercised in Israel?" On the answer to that question a good deal depends. For this antagonism between Israel and Judah is really a conflict between religious and moral ideas on the one side and hierarchical ideals and institutions on the other—between prophecy and law. For the former we turn to Israel or Samaria. That is substantially the view of Dr. Lincke.

The book contains a great deal of interesting matter, a good many assertions for which some proof should be offered, and some peculiar opinions which are not likely to find acceptance. The work is divided into five parts. In the first part which bears the title, "The Prophets of Ephraim," a *résumé* of the history is given to the time of the exile. How freely the history is handled in support of the position assumed, will appear from the following reference to Moses. Moses, the judge of a settled community in Kadesh, cannot

be the same man as the shepherd Moses at the mount of God in the Sinaitic peninsula. Moses the judge at Kadesh, the prophet who died and was buried in the land of Moab, is the head of the Joseph-tribe of Ephraim who crossed the Jordan and settled in Northern Palestine. Moses the Levite, the shepherd at the mount of God in the wilderness, is an Arab (of Northern Arabia), whose father-in-law was a Midianite, and whose wife was a Cushite (from Southern Arabia). This Moses joined the tribe of Judah in Goshen, and settled with them in Southern Palestine. And so we have the rival peoples facing each other, and the way is open for the conflict. The perplexing thing is, that they appear in history as if united under the same leader, and that leader Moses. *That* we owe to the writer or writers of the history, and to the influence of Judah. This will appear when we turn to the last chapter of this first part of the book. The theme is Hosea and Jeremiah, in whom we have the richest fruit of that prophecy which should be set over against the hierarchical legalism of Judah—as the true preparation for Christianity. Hosea, in thought and diction, is allowed to occupy an unique place in the Old Testament. “His words are a Gospel from which issue light and warmth.” That the fate of Ephraim is pointed to in the symbolical names of the opening chapter of Hosea is obvious. But it is utterly inconceivable that Hosea should have given such a picture, or uttered such a doom. No! the picture is an expression of the hatred of Ephraim cherished by Judah and the Levites. So long as Ephraim survived, that hatred maintained its strength.

About the time of Hosea's labours in the north, Isaiah was active as a prophet in Judah. But Isaiah, as we shall see, was not fit to be associated with Hosea in the prophetic ministry. A century later—a century after the doom pointed to in the opening chapter of Hosea had fallen on Samaria—Jeremiah began his ministry in Jerusalem. Here at last is a prophet in Judah to stand alongside of Hosea in Israel. Jeremiah entered on a conflict with the priests of the temple in Jerusalem from the year B.C. 621, when the book of the

law found in the Temple was accepted by king and people. No one will object to the praise of Jeremiah. He stands out as the most pathetic figure in Jewish history, till He came Who was *the* man of sorrows. He commands the sympathy and admiration of every one who reads his book. And in several respects he deserves to stand beside Hosea. The important point for Dr. Lincke is the polemic which Jeremiah waged against the priesthood of the Temple in Jerusalem, and the hierarchical legal movement that received such an impulse through the book of the covenant introduced in 621. The premonitions of the post-exilic priestly domination were already becoming prominent; and Jeremiah lifted up his voice and spared not. This book of the Law brings us back to Isaiah. That great prophet left a written roll with his disciples (chap. viii. 16, "Bind up the testimony, seal the law among my disciples"). What was the Torah thus left by Isaiah? Says Dr. Lincke in reply: The draft, if nothing more, of that book of the Law found in the Temple, and read before Josiah in 621, which with a very general consent on the part of critics is regarded as the book of Deuteronomy. "The law of the Covenant from the year 621 was the Torah of Isaiah, and of the Levites, the priests of the Temple at Jerusalem, the Torah which Jeremiah, Isaiah's greatest opponent, absolutely rejected" (p. 63). At last, then, the main difficulty regarding Deuteronomy is solved. The author is no longer one of the great unknowns. The name of Moses is no longer needed to give authority to the new legislation. Indeed, the use of the name of Moses becomes more perplexing than ever if the legislation is substantially from Isaiah. It is also a new thing even in Old Testament criticism to place Isaiah among the prophets against whom (as well as against the priests) Jeremiah had to fight.

It has been thought desirable to state at some length the critico-historical position assumed by Dr. Lincke. No space is left even to refer to the other parts of the book, the subjects of which are—Phokylides, the Essenes, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Maccabees.

Of special interest is the discussion of the pseudepigraphic poem that passed so long under the name of the Greek Gnostic poet Phokylides, and the comparison of that work with the parts of the Pentateuch with which it agrees and from which probably it was derived. (The text of this poem with a German translation in a parallel column on the same page is given in an appendix.)

But this, along with the discussions of books of Wisdom, etc., in which the ideas of the best prophecy of the pre-exilic days here and there appear and prepare the way for the better days to come, must be left to the reader.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum and a History of Classifications of the Sciences. By the Rev. ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1904. 8vo, pp. x.+340. Price 12s. 6d. net.

IN this book Professor Flint returns to a favourite study of his youth. While yet a student in Glasgow University he wrote a paper on "The Relations of the Sciences" for a literary and philosophical society, and ever since then he has had the subject more or less in his mind. At last he has been able to give to the public the results of his life-long studies and reflections on this topic. The volume is one to read rather than to criticise. It gives the substance of extensive reading—extensive indeed and all-comprehending beyond the measure of most men. It gives the pith and essence of the writings of a multitude of authorities of all grades of distinction belonging to many different lands and centuries. It does this in terms which no reader can find either obscure or dull, and in a way which makes one feel all along the course of the history of thought on these subjects the sure foot of a master. We offer the learned author our congratulations on the accomplishment of this long-contemplated task, and express the hope that in the leisure which he now enjoys he may be able to carry to their completion other works which have been eagerly expected.

In the first part of the work, which covers only sixty-three pages, Dr. Flint deals with the question of philosophy as *Scientia Scientiarum*. He points out the necessity of a science that is general, a science of the sciences—"a science which determines the principles and conditions, the limits and the relations of the sciences". This he holds to be the function of *philosophy*, and he states the claim which philosophy has to be recognised as the "Queen of the Sciences," without

whose help we can have no true or adequate conception of the magnificence of the system of which each particular science is a part. It is the final science, the highest science, doing for the various sciences as a whole what each particular science does for its own matters, relating science to science, and showing how each fits into each, so that all may "compose the symmetrical and glorious edifice of human knowledge which has been built up by the labours of all past generations".

His plea on behalf of *philosophy* in this sense as the supreme science embraces several points, which are all put with much force and pertinency. There is the consideration, for example, which has just been touched on, *viz.*, that it brings out the higher unity, a unity not simply in any particular science within itself, but a unity between all the sciences, and so saves science from "something essentially disappointing to the human mind"—the lack of the fair and harmonious body which it craves for truth. There is again the consideration that only such a comprehensive survey of the sciences as is implied in this *philosophia prima* can give us a correct idea of the special province of any one science. For "the greater the multiplication of sciences the more chaotic must be the effect they produce unless the mind can locate them aright, can refer them to their place in a system, and see how they stand to one another and the whole". Further, it is urged that this philosophy does us the great service of helping us to see how and when the different sciences can assist each other, in so far as it exhibits the co-ordination of the sciences and gives a comprehensive view of their natures. And yet again it is of incalculable use in counteracting the "evil intellectual and moral influences of specialism," as well as in directing attention to a class of truths which should have as real a place in our regard as those *within* the sciences, *viz.*, truths which lie *between* the sciences—the relations, *e.g.*, in which the mathematical sciences stand to each other and to physics.

Following up these pleas, Dr. Flint next sets forth four very complex and comprehensive problems to which philo-

sophy has to address itself if it is to rise to completeness and self-consistency. These are the problems of its duty towards the special sciences—the duty of forming a right estimate of them and taking up a right attitude to them; the investigation which it is bound to institute into the nature of *knowledge* itself, the theory of *being* and *becoming* which it has to construct in accordance with its “views of the sciences and its criticism of knowledge”; and the *forecast* which it should be able to give of the future of the world and life, of humanity and science, as well as the determination it should offer of the worth of enjoyment, and of what truth, beauty, virtue, and piety are in relation to one another, and to the great final end of existence.

In accordance with the four functions thus ascribed to philosophy Dr. Flint distinguishes between four kinds of philosophy: *positive* or *phenomenological*, *critical* or *epistemological*, *metaphysical* or *theoretical*, and *practical*, covering four great regions of thought. There is much else that one might notice in this section of the book. There are, for example, some good observations on the subject of animal intelligence or consciousness, its existence on earth incalculable ages before man appeared, its right to a place in psychology and the philosophy of knowledge, and the futility of the considerations which have led not a few to regard the study of animal mind as impracticable.

The strength of the volume, however, lies in the second section, which deals with the classification of the sciences. What Dr. Flint gives us here is a history and a criticism of the various classifications which have been constructed. This is done on a large and comprehensive scale. Every scheme of the kind from early Greek times down to the present year of grace seems to be included, and the reader whose knowledge is less encyclopædic than Dr. Flint's is introduced to many names which are utterly unfamiliar to him but with which the author is perfectly at home.

The first scheme that is examined is the Platonic. Here the question is at once put whether the division of philosophy which is most commonly attributed to him, namely, into

dialectics, physics and ethics, has any sufficient claim to be really his. Dr. Flint dissents from the position adopted by authorities like Schweigler, Zeller, Ferrier, Ueberweg and Erdmann, and holds that there is no substantial warrant for attaching that division to the great name of Plato. He explains how it may have come to be credited to him, but he points out how Plato's distribution of knowledge is one "involved in his very theory of knowledge"—in his affirmation of two worlds, a visible and an intelligible, each in turn falling into two divisions. He compares with this the Aristotelian scheme, which adopted a three-fold division of philosophy, science or knowledge, namely, into theoretic, productive and practical, and brings out in a very incisive way the defects of each, showing how Aristotle was the better fitted to deal with the complex and Plato with the abstract. From the two great Greek sages the history is carried on to the Renaissance, then from the Renaissance to Kant, from Kant to De Tracy, from Bentham to Gioberti, from Whewell to Zeller, and finally from Bain to Wundt.

But it is unnecessary and indeed impossible here to go into details. It is enough to say that in each case Dr. Flint's summaries and analyses are so lucid and so full that he makes us feel almost as conversant with the long line of thinkers and systems which he brings under review as if we had studied them at first hand. Much attention is naturally given to the classifications devised by men like Bacon, Kant, Comte, Whewell, Bain, Spencer and Janet. The criticisms are sometimes severe, as, for example, in the case of Sir William Hamilton. But they are always informing and suggestive. The book is one to which the student will often turn and which he will consult with confidence.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Christian Life in the Primitive Church. By ERNST VON DOBSCHÜTZ, D.D., Ordinary Professor of New Testament Theology in the University of Strassburg. Translated by the Rev. GEORGE BREMNER, B.D., and edited by the Rev. W. D. MORRISON, LL.D. London: Williams & Norgate; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904. 8vo, pp. xxxix. + 438. Price 10s. 6d.

Die urchristlichen Gemeinden: Sittengeschichtliche Bilder. Von ERNST VON DOBSCHÜTZ. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. 8vo, pp. xv. + 300. Price M.6.

PROFESSOR DOBSCHÜTZ'S treatise, which attracted considerable attention when it was published in Germany some two years ago, now appears in an English version. It is a testimony to the worth of the book that an English translation has been undertaken so soon, and the work of the translator has been well done. His rendering reads pleasantly, and it gives a very good representation of the original. In addition to the preface which the author wrote for the German edition, he has prepared a new preface to the English edition. Here he states anew the object of his book, namely, to give a "picture of early Christian life on its moral side," and explains his own conception of what Christianity is. It is of importance to see what that is. The answer which Professor Dobschütz returns to Harnack's question, "What is Christianity?" is that it is not "morality, moral renovation both of the individual and society," but something more distinctive and farther-reaching than that. It is "salvation by faith, faith in God through Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son". To the moral transformation which it has in view and which it effects he attaches the utmost importance. It is with this that he is to deal; and he discerns in it the most effectual proof of the truth of Christianity. But he recognises that still it is only the proof, not the essence of Christianity. What Christianity distinctively is, what it brings to man as its essential contents, is this *salvation by faith*, and by such a faith as can neither arise in man apart from revelation nor

maintain itself in sinners without the assurance of forgiveness.

In defining the aim which he sets before himself in this volume, Professor Dobschütz comments upon the need of a new handling of primitive Christianity. Much has been done in exhibiting the objective content of Christian truth. Much labour has been expended on the question of Christian dogma both on the historical side and on the speculative. And in Germany in particular a considerable school, consisting mainly of the younger theologians, has arisen which has a strong mystical tendency and looks for the special power of Christianity in "enthusiasm and in ecstatic spiritual phenomena". Some members of this school go the length of representing our Lord Himself as an "ecstatic who lived in a Utopia of eschatological ideas". Others regard His apostles as men who "fell back to the level of the surrounding religions". In the judgment of our author, therefore, the time has come for a renewed study of Christianity on its moral side, and he points out very appropriately that "if Christianity is the religion in which everything is defined by the historical person of Jesus Christ, it is clear that at once the ideal of Christianity and the standard by which its historical forms are to be judged must be sought not in ecstatic bursts of feeling but in the doing of God's will".

In dealing with the moral side of Christianity, however, he does not concern himself so much with the code of ethics, if we may use such a term, found in the New Testament or with the ethical theories which have been constructed by Christianity from time to time, as with its practical results, the actual effects produced by it on the life of the individual and on that of society. The questions he regards as specially demanding answers at present are these—"How far was it found possible to realise the Christian ideal in practice? How did things look in the early Christian Communities? What was their actual moral condition? What was the individual's contribution to the moral life of the Community?" These are questions of commanding interest, to which, strange to say, comparatively little attention has been given of late

even in schools of theology which might have been expected to make much of them.

In addressing himself to his task Professor Dobschütz explains that by Primitive Christianity he means the historical entity which includes "the first century of development from the death of Jesus up to the time of Hadrian (30-130)," the period which saw an end put to the national Judaism of Palestine by Bar-Cochba, Aelia Capitolina occupying the holy place of Jerusalem, a Gentile Church settled there, Christianity beginning to "covenant with Græco-Roman civilisation" and the sinking of the primitive Christian enthusiasm. His inquiry being a historical one he takes it that all Christian compositions which belong to the period thus defined are to be used as sources, without any distinction between canonical and non-canonical. Further, he thinks that the inquiry can be properly conducted only by taking things piece by piece and giving a series of single pictures, the differences being so great in the forms of life which rose on different soils, Jewish and Greek, and in different circumstances. And again he is careful to notice that the moral condition of the non-Christian world has also to be taken into account, because only from it, as he briefly puts it, can we learn "why Christianity had such a hard fight to establish its fundamental moral thoughts," and because only in this way is it made clear to us that the "*morality* of early Christianity notwithstanding its imperfections was unmistakably higher than all that Greek civilisation could achieve".

He begins, therefore, by placing over against each other the noble and high-pitched description of the lives of Christians which Aristides gives in his *Apology* and the counter-picture in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, which sets in so strong a light the defects and disorders existing in Christian homes and in the Christian society about the same date. The question which emerges is this, How does the one description agree with the other? Which of the two is right, Aristides or Hermas? And the answer which is given to that question at the end of the elaborate historical inquiry with which the body of the book is occupied, is that Aristides was

justified in giving the description of the Christian life which he addressed to the emperor.

This conclusion is established on the basis of a series of particular studies all conducted with very great attention to details as well as to the diverse historical situations. The Pauline Churches form the first subject of investigation. After some excellent remarks on the education of the Churches, the Church of Corinth is taken in hand and a careful estimate is given us of the conditions and character of its life, its mistakes, its disorders, its defects in consistent morality, etc. The Churches of Macedonia, those of Asia Minor, and that of Rome are next dealt with in the same way, a survey of the Pauline Churches being given at the end of this division of the volume. The Second Book addresses itself to Jewish Christendom, dealing first with the Primitive Church of Jerusalem, and then with the Churches of the transition to Catholicism, this section again being brought to its conclusion with a final judgment on the case of Jewish Christianity as a whole. Each of these chapters contains many fine studies in the historical conditions of things and in the interpretation of particular passages. In not a few cases Professor Dobschütz's views are open to criticism, but the general picture which he places before us is one that commends itself as true to fact. He has done us an important service, for which we owe him much.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

THE *Journal of Theological Studies* for October opens with a paper on the late Professor Robert Campbell Moberly, by his son, W. H. Moberly. It takes the form of a review of an article which appeared on the same subject in the April number of the *Church Quarterly Review*. F. Granger writes in a curious and inconclusive way on what he terms the "Inspiration of the Liturgy". He begins by asserting the "community of feeling through which the harmonious and organised activity of the Church is made possible". This "community of feeling," he says, "rests on a unity of life which transcends and includes the individual life," and he selects the term *inspiration* as best marking off this "deeper aspect of the Christian experience, so far as it goes beyond the bare conditions of the individual life". He proceeds then to set forth what he regards as the *inspiration* of the Christian Society, as he finds that disclosed in the composition of the New Testament and of the liturgy. In following out his argument he comes to this conclusion among others—that the "Roman primacy and the high doctrine of the Eucharist have a meaning for the history of the whole Christian Church, in so far as the declarations of the Roman bishops secured the two-fold view of the person of Jesus, and the Eucharistic Symbolism maintained the feeling of the incorporation of the Church in a divine body". We have also a short paper by G. St. Clair on "The Book of the Dead," dealing mainly with the astronomical basis of the ancient Egyptian theology.

But the most important article is one by Professor A. A. Bevan on "The Beliefs of Early Mohammedanism respecting a future existence". The point of the paper is that the religion of the heathen Arabs did not include any belief in a Paradise or a Hell; that Mohammed's own teaching on the

subject of a future existence, "far from supplying any easy explanation of his success, is proved to have been a great stumbling-block to his contemporaries, and was never fully accepted by his followers in subsequent ages"; and that there is a vast difference between the teaching of the Koran itself on the subject and that of the sacred tradition and the theologians. In connexion with this general position the particular doctrines of *resurrection* and *retribution* are examined, and the difference between the earlier books of the Koran and the later is explained. The doctrine of the resurrection is considered to have been derived by Mohammed rather from Christian sources—probably from wandering ascetics and sectaries—than from Judaism or Zoroastrianism. One important difference between the one doctrine and the other is pointed out at the same time, namely, that the doctrine as given in the Koran does not connect the future resurrection of the dead with the resurrection of Christ as the "first-fruits of them that sleep". And as regards the doctrine of retribution, we are reminded that the elaborate descriptions of the judgment, Paradise and Hell, are confined to the older chapters of the Koran which were produced by Mohammed at Mecca; whereas in the later chapters, written after Mohammed had established himself in Medina, the allusions to these subjects "became much rarer, and seldom differ from those which are found in popular Christian writings". The strange developments of the doctrine of the Koran which took place in the theologies—the extraordinary ideas regarding examination and suffering taking place in the grave, the extravagant attempts also to spiritualise the promises and threatenings of the Koran, etc., etc.—are briefly but incisively described in the closing portion of the article.

The most interesting article in the *American Journal of Philology* (vol. xxv., p. 2) is one by G. L. Hendrickson on "The Peripatetic Mean of Style and the Three Stylistic Characters". The conclusions of the writer are these—that the doctrine of the different styles, whether as presented by Dionysius, or in the more typical formulation of other sources, cannot be referred to Theophrastus; that it is not an his-

torical development from the peripatetic triad of the extreme, the deficiency, and the mean; and that the conception of style of whatever kind as a mean is fundamental to Aristotle's theory and was defined more accurately and illustrated by Theophrastus.

To the October issue of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, the editor, Dr. W. T. Davison, contributes two brief but very interesting papers, one on "Newly Discovered Sayings of Jesus," and another on "The Problem of Pain".

The October issue of the *Catholic World* opens with an instructive paper by the Rev. John Driscoll on "Mr. Mallock and the Philosophy of Theism". And among other things there is a very readable account of "Hildesheim, the Capital of the Prince-Bishops," by C. T. Mason.

The *Princeton Theological Review* for the last two quarters contains a number of papers which deserve attention. We notice especially in the July number the second part of Dr. Paul van Dyke's interesting study of "Thomas Cromwell," a very good discussion of "The Place of οἰκοδομή in New Testament Worship," by Professor Hugh M. Scott, and a careful and suggestive article by Professor G. Macloskie on "Mosaism and Darwinism". In the October issue Professor Robert Dick Wilson continues his elaborate essay on criticism under the designation of "Royal Titles in Antiquity". Professor B. B. Warfield contributes a learned and instructive paper on "The Millennium and the Apocalypse," in which he takes the millennium of the Apocalypse to be the "blessedness of the saints who have gone away from the body to be at home with the Lord". He finds that "John knows no more of two resurrections—of the saints and of the wicked—than does Paul"; and that the "whole theory of an intervening millennium—and indeed of a millennium of any kind on earth—goes up in smoke". Dr. Edward White Miller writes well on "The Great Awakening," that is to say, the remarkable revival of religion which took place in America at the time when the work of the Wesleys was beginning in England; and Professor Orr discusses the question "Why the Mind has a Body".

In the *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* for June-July we find a good paper by Georges Michelet on "Kant en France d'après M. Schanz".

Mind for October is a particularly rich number. Professor William James opens with a paper in his best style on "Humanism and Truth". F. C. S. Schiller writes "In Defence of Humanism". It is a criticism and appreciation of Mr. Bradley's article on "Truth and Practice" in the July issue of the same magazine, which he regards as marking an epoch in the history of British philosophy. Among other important contributions to this number we may call special attention to an elaborate article by A. E. Taylor on "Mind and Body in Recent Psychology".

In the *Homiletic Review* for October Dr. Frank F. Ellinwood continues his papers on "New Religions of the Nineteenth Century," giving a brief study of "Babism". Dr. Isaac Funk writes on "The Fraudulent Side of Spiritualism," Dr. D. Bradley writes instructively on "Effective and Ineffective Doctrinal Preaching," and there is abundance of good matter in the sections devoted to "Sermonic Criticism and Suggestion" and "Studies on Bible Themes".

The current issue of the *Church Quarterly Review* has a larger number of articles than is usual with it which have a special interest for the Anglican Church. These include papers on the "English Church in Syria," "Church Reform," the "Liverpool Cathedral and Diocese," not to speak of the opening article on "Religion in Cambridge". These are all of value from the English Church point of view. But in addition to these we have interesting papers of a different kind, one, *e.g.*, on "Christina Rossetti," which is appreciative and well worth reading, another on the "Oxford School of Historians," and a third on "The Return of the Catechist". There are other two articles, however, which are of more general importance than these, and to which the attention of more readers will naturally be turned. One of these deals with "The Christian Society". It is an introductory paper discussing the "Jewish Community". The writer very properly begins by stating that "any attempt to investigate

the origin and development of Christianity as a society should begin with an examination of the Jewish environment out of which it grew," and what he does in this paper is to inquire "how far the conception which we describe by the name of a Church was realised or latent in the Jewish nation at the time when Christianity first began". He gives, therefore, his view of the position occupied by the Jewish race in the ancient world, discusses very carefully the history of the term *ecclesia*, and states the principles involved in the idea of Judaism and the organisation, whether central or local, of the Jewish community. The other paper is on "The Virgin Birth of Christ". It keeps in view the best of the English books, pamphlets and articles which have appeared recently, and the German contributions to the subject, especially those of Lobstein and Schmiedel. It deals ably with the question of the supposed insufficiency of evidence. It goes into a very careful estimate of the *a posteriori* evidence as contained in the narratives of Matthew and Luke, and then of certain phrases in the writings of Paul and John as well as some in Ignatius and one or two other early Christian writers. Here the article brings out the independence of the accounts and the fact that the Matthean and Lucan narratives rest on "two convergent traditions, coming from distinct sources, which "mutually corroborate and sustain each other". Further, it shows how incompetent it is to say that the statement of the virgin birth is to be explained by the operation of the popular imagination on certain passages of the Old Testament or on current Messianic ideas. It affirms Dalman's position when he declares that "no trace is to be found among the Jews of any Messianic application of Isaiah's words concerning the Virgin's Son from which by any possibility—as some have maintained—the whole account of the miraculous birth of Jesus could have derived its origin". Passing from the evangelical records the article proceeds to look at larger considerations, especially at the necessity of reading the story of the virgin birth in the light of the resurrection of Jesus and also in that of His sinlessness, and comes finally to this as the prac-

tical issue, *viz.*, that this article of faith, though it may seem to occupy small space in the New Testament, has a significance which becomes greater the more it is pondered; that no Anglican priest has the "right" to repudiate it; and that the Church ought still to guard this part of her creed.

The current issue of the *American Journal of Theology* opens with an interesting article by Mr. A. Taylor Innes on "The Religious Forecast in England". Mr. Innes thinks we can at least "dimly discern better things in the later years of the century whose threshold we have been permitted to see". He dwells on the "proposal to Englishmen to believe in religion as culture rather than in God as fact". He thinks there is much to favour that, in the English habit of compromise, the desire to mend rather than end whatever is doing any good work, the preference for conservative custom, and the like, but that all this may be more than counter-balanced by "the sturdy individuality of the people". But he is not hopeful of the best until the English working class comes to its own. There is another paper which will have much interest for many, that is one in which Lewis Bayles Paton of Hartford, Conn., writes on "The Oral Sources of the Pentateuch". He finds the narratives of the patriarchs traceable to four main sources—the tradition which Israel brought into the land of Canaan, the tradition developed after the Conquest, the tradition derived from Babylonia, and the tradition learned from the Canaanites. He thinks this account of the origins clears the narrative of its perplexities and seeming confusions, and has the further advantage of restoring two lost sources of history, *viz.*, the Canaanite traditions and the experience of the Hebrews after the conquest of the land. Other articles by Rudolph M. Burder, of New York, and Dr. Benjamin W. Bacon, of Yale University, deal with "Art, Religion and the Emotions," and "The Problem of Religious Education and the Divinity School".

In the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October, Dr. Kuyper continues his discussion of the "Biblical Criticism of the Present Day," and Philip Hudson Churchman gives the second part of his "Appeal to the New School of Theology". Edward M.

Merrins writes on "The Malady of Saul, King of Israel," which he takes to have been epilepsy. Dr. A. A. Berle contributes a somewhat extravagant disquisition on the "Illusions of a Personal Theology," in which he has much to say about the demoralisation of the religious world, the labyrinth of theological symbolism, etc. In the theological productions of the last twenty years he discovers too much of the "passionate assertion of the value of the individual, and of his supremacy in the matter of religious judgment, and the inviolability of his primitive emotions and instincts, and the godlike quality of his 'natural' aptitudes and insights". He finds so much of this as to make one think "that organised collective religion is a mere dream, and that Christianity is a sort of universal eclectic system, wherein each one takes and uses what he wishes, without any respect to his fellow-men". But what is the meaning of all this? R. E. Neighbor writes on "The Diaconate: a New Testament Study," and Frederick W. Hass on the "Development of a Political System in the Early Church". There is also an article by Dr. Robert Cameron on "New Light on the Psalms," which expounds the main points in Mr. Thistle's work on "The Titles of the Psalms," claiming enormous importance for Mr. Thistle's discovery and showing how it will affect certain conclusions of the critical schools.

The sixth issue of the fifth volume of the *Teologisk Tidsskrift*, edited by Messrs. Andersen, Floystrup and Torm, contains a good article by Pastor L. J. Koch on "Kanon og Kritik," and a number of careful reviews of books.

The *Baptist Review and Expositor* (Norton Hall, Louisville, Ky.), the commencement of which we reported in a previous issue, has now reached its third quarter. The numbers for July and October are quite equal in quality and variety of contents to the first number. In the July issue Dr. Henry C. Vedder discusses the question "Is there a true Christian Mysticism?" Dr. James Stalker gives an excellent and very readable account of the "Teaching of Jesus on the Highest Good"; and Professor John R. Sampey writes on the "Code of Hammurabi and the Laws of Moses". The

October number opens with papers by Dr. James Orr on "Christ in the Thought of To-Day," and Dr. O. P. Gifford on "Old and New Evangelism". Under the title of "The Book of the Unseen World," Dr. J. Hunt Cooke gives an interesting account of an important theological treatise or poem found elaborately carved on the lid and bottom of a large ancient sarcophagus in the museum in Lincoln's Inn Square, London, which formed the resting place of Seti I., one of the great Pharaohs of the oppression of the Israelites. Dr. Cooke claims among other things that in this "Book of Hades," as it is designated, may be found "a clue to the understanding of the magnificent vision with which the book of Genesis opens". President J. J. Taylor contributes a study of "Herbert Spencer," and there are other papers of good quality together with some valuable reviews of books.

We have also to notice the following publications. *Books to Read and How to Read Them*,¹ by Hector Macpherson, author of *Adam Smith*, *Thomas Carlyle*, *Herbert Spencer*, etc., a collection of papers which appeared originally in the columns of the *Edinburgh Evening News*, and which the accomplished journalist, their author, has done well to publish in book form. They range over the great subjects of Biblical Criticism, Philosophy, Science, the Ethical Evolution of Man, the Development of Man and Society, the Elements of Greek Civilisation, the Evolution of Greek Literature, the Evolution of Pagan Thought and Life, the Hebrews in History, the Key to Modern Civilisation, the Renaissance and the Reformation, the Reformation as an Epoch, Currents in Modern Civilisation, and Currents in Modern Thought. On each of those subjects the author gives a summary of the main positions, his own view of the validity and the results of those positions, and a statement of the most important books. One cannot agree with him in all that he says about the literature of these subjects. There are some books which we should be inclined to leave out and some which we should add. But as a whole the

¹ Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. 252. Price 3s. 6d. net.

volume is wonderfully complete and just in its summaries and wonderfully correct in its references to literature. Mr. Macpherson's own criticisms of some of the popular theories of the day hit the mark in most cases. In some instances they are as pungent as they are independent. Let the reader turn, *e.g.*, to what is said of Darwin's theory of Natural Selection; *A Short History of the Westminster Assembly*,¹ by W. Beveridge, M.A., a publication which appears at an opportune time and which ought to have a special interest for Scottish readers. Its object is to "give a fair and accurate statement of the historical facts associated with the Assembly," and to bring out the epoch-making character of the Assembly in the period of history to which it belonged. This is done with great care, with perfect fairness, and in a way that gives us to feel at every step of the statement that we are in the hands of one who has the right to speak to us which comes of wide and first-hand acquaintance with the abundant materials at our disposal. The book begins with a short chapter on the Puritan Preparation and proceeds then to deal with the Calling, Constitution, and Character of the Assembly, the Scope of its Deliberation, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Questions of Church Government which came up for discussion, the Directories and the Psalm-Book, the Confession of Faith, and the Catechisms. On these subjects a mass of information is given which helps the reader to a very clear understanding of the work of the Assembly, and the importance of much that it did. An appendix is added, giving the ordinance by which the Assembly was called, a list of the members, the text of the Solemn League and Covenant, and Robert Baillie's description of the Assembly. Important notes are also furnished on the question of "Spiritual Independence" and "the Confession of Faith and the Free Church of Scotland Declaratory Act of 1892". These have an important bearing on the crisis created by the recent judgment of the House of Lords, and the denial of any legislative power to the historical

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 169. Price 2s. 6d. net.

Presbyterian Church in Scotland. The author deserves our congratulations on the production of a volume so full of valuable information and casting so much light on the far-reaching questions at present occupying the mind of the Scottish people; *The Truth of the Apostolic Gospel*,¹ by Principal R. A. Falconer, D.Litt., a volume which does not aim at anything like a complete system of Christian Apologetics, but seeks simply to give a series of studies, taken as far as may be from the New Testament itself, with the view of "setting forth the essence and the strength of the Gospel which is at its heart". After a concise introduction on "Attitude and Sources," the writer deals in Part I. with "The Phenomena of the New Testament" (the rise of a new brotherhood, the hope of the brotherhood, the sense of power in it, etc.), while in Part II. he gives the New Testament explanation of these phenomena ("The Gospel," "The Jesus of the Gospels," "The Jesus Christ of the Apostles," etc.). In Part III. he discusses the "Credibility of the Apostolic Gospel," under the particular topics of the "Trustworthiness of the Gospels," "The Christ of the Gospels," and the "Witness of the Works of the Living Christ". These studies are done with much care. They furnish a good guide to college students and others, and meet in a fair and reasonable spirit many of the difficulties for which younger students not unfrequently have to seek an answer; *Young England*,² an illustrated magazine for boys throughout the English-speaking world—a publication which we can again heartily recommend as admirably suited to the class it seeks to reach and sure to interest them; *The Three Graces*,³ by Evelyn Everett-Green—a good story well told, which provides pleasant and profitable reading for young people; *The Empire Elocutionist*,⁴ a series of readings selected and arranged with much good taste by A. L. Haydon, giving many

¹ New York: The International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, 1904. 8vo, pp. 148.

² London: 57 and 59 Ludgate Hill. Pp. 492. Price 5s.

³ London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 245. Price 3s. 6d.

⁴ London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 607.

telling passages from the best authors and a very useful introduction in which Professor P. J. Cooke, of the Northern Polytechnic, London, deals very sensibly with the art of elocution—a volume well adapted for its purpose; *On Public Speaking*,¹ a series of sensible and suggestive chapters, by “a public speaker,” on eloquence, what it is not and what it is, its importance and how it is to be acquired, etc.; *Twice Born and other Sermons*,² by D. W. Simon, D.D. (Edin.), author of *The Redemption of Man, Reconciliation by Incarnation*, etc., a volume which takes its title from the discourse on John iii. 3 with which it opens. Among other themes which it handles are these: “Obedience and Knowledge,” “Spiritual Energy and Law,” “Divine Fatherhood,” “God’s Commendation of His own Love,” etc. They are all weighty themes, most of them touching the very centre of Christian truth and Christian experience. They are expounded with much spiritual insight and applied with great practical power. The book is one that serves well the primary interests of Christian intelligence and Christian edification, and deserves a large welcome from those whose desire is to be instructed in the deep things of God; *The Revelation of the East*,³ by A. Morris Stewart, M.A., a series of chapters originally contributed to the *Contemporary Review*, suggested by the Japanese war, and discoursing in a pleasant and suggestive way on the “Westward Drift,” “New Birth from the East,” etc.; *Hurrah for the Spanish Main*⁴ and *The Other Fellow*,⁵ by Robert Leighton, two stirring, healthy and well-told tales, the one relating to Drake’s third voyage to Darien and the other touching colonial life, excellent examples of books designed for boys’ reading; *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*,⁶ by Morris Jastrow, junr., the

¹ Dublin: James Duffy & Co., 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. 171. Price 2s.

² London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 248. Price 3s. 6d. net.

³ London: Andrew Melrose. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. 52. Price 6d. net.

⁴ London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 312. Price 6s.

⁵ London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 308. Price 6s.

⁶ Giessen: Richter, 1904. 8vo, pp. 385-464. Subscription price, M. 1.50.

sixth instalment of the German translation of the new and thoroughly revised edition of the learned author's valuable work, indispensable for all students of Babylonian and Assyrian religion; *Samuel Rutherford*,¹ by Robert Gilmour, described as a "Study Biographical and Somewhat Critical, in the History of the Scottish Covenant," a welcome addition to our literature on one of the most remarkable of Scottish divines and one of the epoch-making periods in the history of the Scottish people. Mr. Gilmour's book is full of interest. It gives us not only a fresh and independent study of Rutherford himself and his career, but also a very careful estimate of the great revolutionary movement with which his life and work were connected. The book is thrown into a series of short, lively, pointedly constructed chapters, which carry the reader easily along and leave him with a very vivid impression of the distinction of the man and the character of the era in which he stood out so prominent a figure; *The Golden Book of John Owen*,² by James Moffatt, B.D., D.D. (St. Andrews), a handsome, instructive and attractive volume. It consists, as the sub-title expresses it, of "passages from the writings of the Rev. John Owen, M.A., D.D., sometime Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford and Dean of Christ Church". But it is prefaced by an elaborate introductory sketch by Dr. Moffatt which extends to ninety-six pages. In this sketch the main points in the career of the great Puritan are brought before the reader in a clear and interesting way. The outstanding qualities of his character, the place he occupied in the great Puritan movement and the value of his work are also ably dealt with and brought very distinctly before our notice. The study of this sketch should do much to revive the memory of a theologian of high rank who once on a day was far better known than he is now and who does not deserve to be forgotten. In this introduction Dr. Moffatt makes use of a mass of knowledge drawn from many different quarters and sometimes of a rare

¹ Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. 244. Price 2s. 6d. net.

² London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904. Pp. xx. + 244. Price 6s.

and curious order, which is skilfully employed in the production of a picture of the man, his times and his work, which is worth our study. And it is far from a simple laudation of Owen. Dr. Moffatt applies a critical eye to his subject and says what requires to be said about Owen's occasional mistakes in judgment, his lack of the historical sense, his vast prolixity, the lack of anything like style in his writings, etc. His aim has been, as he explains it, "to focus general readers as far as possible for an appreciation of this gaunt, noble, half-forgotten Puritan, which will present him, not as a voice alone, but as a breathing figure in the misty, complex spaces of our seventeenth century". He has succeeded in this, but he has also done much more. The passages have been selected with care and good judgment. They are never very long. Many of them are of great interest. Those which seem to us to be most striking and of greatest value are the very brief declarations which are given under the head of "Sentences and Aphorisms". Many of these will have a sure place in our memories and quicken our thought on the profounder questions of faith and theology. But we need say no more of this attractive and useful volume than that it must have cost Dr. Moffatt much, and that we hope he may have his reward in finding it the means of sending many readers back to the study of one of the greatest names in the religious and theological thought of one of the most momentous eras in our history; *Eli, Samuel and Saul*,¹ by the Rev. Charles A. Salmond, South Morningside, Edinburgh, a small volume which is fitly described by the author as "A Transition Chapter in Israelitish History". The period of the Old Testament history which is covered by it is full of interest and it is appropriately set forth here. The outstanding events in the times in question are told in good style; the great actors in it are vividly presented; and the operation of the Hand of the God of Israel in the course of the history is fittingly exhibited. It is a good book for Bible-class work; *Ezekiel: His Life and Mission*,² by the Rev. W. Harvey-Jellie,

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Pp. 104. Price 6d.; cloth 8d.

² Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Pp. 99. Price 6d.; cloth 8d.

M.A., B.D. (London), Cheltenham, a very careful study of a dark period in the history of Israel and the great and pathetic figure with which it is peculiarly identified in the long line of the prophets. The author has steadily kept in view the main purpose of the volume, namely, use in Bible-class work, and has produced an excellent primer, lucidly written and giving a vivid picture of the third of the great prophets, the prophet of the exile, the disastrous times in which his lot was cast, his character and his peculiar mission. Many readers outside the circle to which it is specially addressed will find much to interest them in the volume and much that will help them to a better understanding of the book of Ezekiel—one of the least studied and least appreciated of all the Old Testament writings; the *Expository Times*,¹ edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., a new volume, the fifteenth of a magazine which has firmly established itself in the goodwill of a large class of readers and continues its useful career with undiminished vigour. Scholars of many different Churches, English and foreign, bishops of the Anglican communion and representatives of many other religious bodies contribute to this volume and enrich its contents. From month to month clerical readers, and many more than they, find in this magazine the help that they need; *Sons o' Men*,² by G. B. Lancaster, a good story, powerfully told, of colonial life in South New Zealand; *The Bible Handbook: an Introduction to the Study of Sacred Scripture*,³ by the late Joseph Angus, M.A., D.D., a new edition, thoroughly revised and in part re-written by Samuel G. Green, D.D. Dr. Angus's handbook was a very useful volume in its time, and in this new issue, brought up to date as it is with remarkable thoroughness and eminent good sense by one of our most venerable scholars, it may well look forward to a new career of usefulness. In a concise and serviceable form it gives a great mass of information suitable to the student's needs

¹ Volume XV. T. & T. Clark. Pp. viii. + 508. Price 7s. 6d.

² London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 299. Price 6s.

³ London: The Religious Tract Society, 1904. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 832. Price 6s. net.

regarding the languages, the Canon, the text, the transmission, the translations of the Old Testament and the New, the credentials and claims of the Bible, the interpretation of Scripture, etc., as also a careful account, conservative in tendency, of the contents, origin, authorship, date, integrity, etc., of each particular book in the Canon; *The Republic of Plato*,¹ by William Boyd, M.A., B.Sc., a book founded on a course of lectures in connexion with the class of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, and addressed in the first instance to "the beginner in philosophy who finds Plato difficult even when read with the help of the excellent expositions of his English commentators". It gives a very useful account, expressed in a clear and simple style, of Plato himself, and his teaching on justice, the origin and growth of the ideal city, the first education of the guardians, communism, the philosopher as king, the higher education, the theory of education, the imperfect states, the quarrel between philosophy and poetry and the immortality of the soul. Mr. Boyd's expositions are necessarily brief. In some cases, especially on the subject of immortality, they are too concise. But generally speaking, they give a correct and informing summary of the subject in hand. Those entering on the study of Plato will certainly find a very good guide in the writer of the volume; *Questions of Faith*,² a series of lectures on the Creed delivered in Renfield Church, Glasgow, by Professors Denney, Dods and others. The Creed is not expounded and defended as a whole, but the fundamental articles are selected. Each of these lectures is helpful in its own place and each treats its particular subject in a way that should appeal to mind and heart alike. Each, too, gives a remarkably adequate and convincing presentation of the case which it has in hand; *On the Church of England*,³ sermons and addresses by Herbert Ryle, D.D., Archbishop of Winchester,

¹ London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 196. Price 2s. 6d. net.

² London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904. Small cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 212. Price 5s.

³ London: Macmillan & Co., 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. 276. Price 6s.

the product of a lengthened period of illness from which the author, we rejoice to know, is now restored. The opening sermon is on "The Spirit of Faction". It deals with the state of the English Church, its renovated activities, its multiplied agencies, and the strong life it has notwithstanding failures in the past and the present, and reviews succinctly the Evangelical Movement, the Oxford Movement, and the movement less easy to define which is connected with the names of Arnold, Robertson, Maurice, Kingsley, Tom Hughes and their comrades. This is followed by two important pronouncements on the "Appeal to Antiquity as a Principle in the Reformation Settlement" and the "Protestantism of the Church of England". The object of the former is to show how the reforming divines in the Church of England, taking the sovereign position of Holy Scripture as the primary thing, appealed to antiquity, and how this appeal is seen in its application in the writings of Cranmer and Ridley, in the Homilies of the Church and in the later writings of Hooker, Field, Pearson and Barrow. The object of the latter is to show that the term *Protestant* as used of the English Church is not merely retrospective, but possesses a real significance for us now. These questions are handled with historical insight, with sobriety of judgment, and in a liberal spirit. The statement of the Protestant character of the Church and what determines it deserves special attention. Three great principles are expounded as belonging to that Protestant character, *viz.*, that Holy Scripture is the one absolute standard of Christian doctrine and conduct; that liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment are the prerogatives of the believer; and that a National Church is independent of foreign control. The volume contains a number of discourses on topics of a different kind—on "Spiritual Sight," "Elijah's Mantle," the "Doctrine of the Trinity," etc., all well worthy of a careful perusal; *Seeking Life, and other Sermons*,¹ by the Rt. Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D., late Bishop of Massachusetts, the tenth series of the sermons of

¹ London: Macmillan & Co., 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 374. Price 6s.

the eloquent Boston preacher, and the last that is to be published. The volume, if it does not contain any of his very greatest efforts, is rich in admirable specimens of that pulpit work which won for him so eminent a place among the notable preachers of the nineteenth century. In such discourses as those on "The Child's Leadership," "The Nearness of God," "Self-Consciousness and Self-Forgetfulness," "The Mystery of Man," to mention but a few, the reader will come under the spell of a rarely gifted minister of Christian truth and find much to quicken his religious life.

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